The London School of Economics and Political Science

''They've come into our area and they're tryna make us feel like we don't belong here'' :

Young people's wellbeing and mixed income social housing regeneration

Rana Khazbak

Declaration

I certify that the thesis I have presented for examination for the MPhil/PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work other than where I have clearly indicated that it is the work of others (in which case the extent of any work carried out jointly by me and any other person is clearly identified in it).

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. Quotation from it is permitted, provided that full acknowledgement is made. This thesis may not be reproduced without my prior written consent.

I warrant that this authorisation does not, to the best of my belief, infringe the rights of any third party.

I declare that my thesis consists of 98,664 words.

Rana Khazbak

Abstract

In the past two decades Britain, along with other countries in the western world, has pursued urban regeneration policies that encourage the demolition of social housing estates and their replacement with mixed tenure developments. The aim is to create communities of residents with a mix of income levels and break down spatial concentrations of poverty. Growing up in the latter is evidenced to have a negative impact on individual life chances. Young people are thought to be among the most disadvantaged by these adverse neighbourhood deprivation effects. It is believed that the presence of more affluent households will improve their outcomes by exposing them to aspirational peers and role models, building their social capital, revitalising local economies and improving area reputations. However, there is limited academic evidence of these pathways in the UK context.

This thesis explores the mechanisms by which the wellbeing of low-income teenagers is influenced by mixed income social housing regeneration. The capability approach is adopted as an analytical framework, whereby wellbeing is defined in terms of people's capabilities or freedoms to be and do the things they value in life.

To achieve this, the thesis undertakes a case study of a council estate in London that has been redeveloped into a mixed income neighbourhood. Guided by the principles of youth-centred research, a mix of ethnographic and participatory methods, semi-structured interviews and document analysis is adopted. A total of 76 people participated in the study, 40 of which were aged between 12 and 19 years, while the remaining 36 were adult community stakeholders. Data was analysed thematically using a hybrid process of inductive and deductive coding.

The thesis does not find evidence of the hoped-for benefits of replacing social housing with mixed income communities. Instead, empirical findings show that there are four pathways through which young people's valued capabilities are influenced. These are (1) dispossession, (2) social division and inequality, (3) stigmatisation and exclusion, and (4) community breakdown.

While the effect of these mechanisms varied by age, relative disadvantage, gender, ethnic background, and personal circumstances, overall young people experienced restrictions on many of the things they value being and doing, with negative implications on their wellbeing.

The thesis makes a number of contributions. It advances the understanding of how disadvantaged young people's wellbeing is influenced by living in mixed income communities. Based on such understanding, it proposes implications for the policy and practice of social housing regeneration and creating more inclusive communities. The thesis also develops a novel theoretical conceptualisation of capabilities as groups of interrelated and overlapping clusters rather than a mutually exclusive linear list of domains. This marks a departure from the dominant approach in capability theory and applications. Finally, the thesis adopts a unique blend of ethnographic and participatory research methods, which provides a possible prototype for future qualitative research on community regeneration.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the product of a collaborative effort, even though it has my name as its sole author. I am most grateful for the participants who took part in the study. Thank you for giving me your time and allowing me inside your worlds and thoughts. I personally learned a lot from you, but your participation is also immensely valuable for our understanding of young people's experiences of social housing regeneration.

I was extremely lucky to have had the best supervisor any PhD student could ask for. My sincere and heartfelt gratitude to Tania Burchardt for being such as a dedicated, generous and empathetic supervisor. Your guidance and intellectual acumen have enriched this thesis. I am also very thankful to Michael Shiner, Bert Provan and Moira Wallace for their wisdom and guidance throughout my PhD journey.

I feel very privileged to have been able to make, what I hope are, lifelong friendships during my four years of doctoral study at LSE. The support from my colleagues made it possible to get through the toughest moments. I especially want to thank Liz Mann, Nora Ratzmann, Orsola Torrisi, Melissa Shannon, Ellie Suh, Laura Sochas, Julia Philipp, Rishita Nandagiri, Philippa Mullins, Joe Strong and Alexis Palfreyman. You have been my rock throughout these challenging years.

I am forever indebted to my family for their unwavering belief in me and backing of my academic endeavors. Without your financial support, I would simply have not been able to achieve any of it.

I am also grateful to Funds for Women Graduates (FfWG) for their grant during my final year. It made it possible to dedicate my time and effort to finishing my PhD.

I am equally thankful to the LSE PhD Academy team for always being there to help, come rain or a pandemic!

Last but not least, my special appreciation goes to my partner Jarek for his tremendous understanding, support and encouragement in the past few years.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

In a small studio room at the back of a local youth club in London, I am sitting with Joseph[1]. He is one of the first young people I met when I started volunteering at the youth centre about three months ago. He is usually quiet but friendly, and we have developed a close relationship very quickly. Joseph is 18, black, and lives with his single mother in one of the socially rented flats on the estate. He studies fashion at college and dreams that one day he starts his clothing brand. His other passion is music and he comes to the centre every week to work on it. One day he offered to play me the latest song he wrote. I jump on the occasion thinking it will give me a window into his world. He tells me "*this is not what you would normally expect. It's a little different*". I am not sure what he thinks I expect, and I do not know what to expect. Joseph starts singing and the chorus goes like this:

> *I ride around H town*
> *Everything is upside down*
> *Nothing is how it's supposed to be*
> *Everything is backwards*

As the song comes to an end we sit in silence for a few moments, then I ask him what the lyrics mean to him. He says:

> *Just the state of this area that am living in, the youth, everything is upside down… people taking drugs on your staircase, people selling it. You just gotta keep it moving, don't get involved, keep yourself to yourself. That's what I do. But a lot of the younger ones, cause they see all the older guys and what they do and how they make money, that lifestyle becomes glorified in a sense and they aspire to be those guys. Instead of chasing their dreams, people are trying to chase material things, you know, life is chaotic, there is a lot of violence. It's like an escape for them. Being here in this environment for so long is a bit depressing at times, it's like there is a weight on your shoulders, there's like a dark cloud over you.*

I am somewhat surprised by his depiction of the area and his life in it. Even though the neighbourhood was deprived for a long time, it has witnessed a huge transformation over the past ten years as a result of a large-scale regeneration project. Many of the old council housing blocks have been demolished and replaced with modern buildings, some of which are socially rented

---

[1] Name has been changed to preserve anonymity. This applies to all other names of participants mentioned in the rest of the thesis.

while others are sold in the open market. More affluent people have moved into the area. Its public spaces have been renovated and there are now many new facilities and services. I ask Joseph about his thoughts on the regeneration and whether it has had a positive effect on him and other young people he knows. He says:

> *I've not seen it made any difference to any of this, not at all. Things are still going on.*
> *I feel like all this has done is create a divide, because it's like you've got the people of*
> *a certain class in this area and then you've got us here…You know what? Honestly,*
> *it's not even about class. It's not made a difference in any sense. Not at all.*

After my conversation with Joseph, I set out on a journey to find out if other young people in the area feel the same way and to understand why the neighbourhood's regeneration has not improved many of the problems young people like him experience. If it has not changed their lives for the better, I wanted to explore what impact it has had on them. Policymakers claim that similar mixed income regeneration projects in London and other cities will mitigate crime and violence and improve the life chances of social housing residents. However, there is a dearth of evidence of these effects.

Since the 1990s governments across the UK, other Western European countries, the US, and Australia have embarked on large-scale urban redevelopment programmes designed to replace complexes of public housing estates with 'mixed income communities'. The purpose of what are called the 'new urban renewal programmes' is to eradicate and prevent spatial concentrations of poverty. Large social housing estates, themselves initially built after World War II to replace slums, were seen by policy makers, academics and the media as crucibles of crime, violence and social disorganisation (Watt 2017). Between the 1960s and 80s many fell into physical decay and housed mostly disadvantaged populations with high levels of unemployment and low educational attainment. The solution has been – in many cases but not exclusively – to demolish them and start anew by building a mix of social and private housing tenures for people with different income levels.

Thus, what differentiates new urban renewal from more traditional forms of urban redevelopment is that they aim to alter neighbourhoods' population composition to create a higher socio-economic mix. Social mixing objectives are commonly also accompanied by traditional regeneration interventions such as, the upgrading of the built environment and local services

11

(Tunstall and Lupton 2010). Funding for the schemes in most cases relies on cross-subsidies from the private sector. Local governments typically forge partnerships with property developers and investors, whereby some of the returns from the sale of private housing is used to fund social housing development (Tunstall and Lupton 2010).

The US government first led these renewal strategies in 1992 after launching HOPE VI[2], a federal programme that removed thousands of 'severely distressed' public housing projects predominately occupied by African-Americans, and replaced them with mixed tenure developments comprising of public, mid-range and market rate housing (Popkin et al 2004). HOPE VI inspired other countries in Europe and Australia to develop their own renewal programmes, despite their distinct housing contexts. One main feature that differentiates the US model from other places, however, is that public housing residents whose neighbourhoods are targeted by the schemes are given vouchers that subsidise private market rents to help them relocate to less disadvantaged areas. This is not common in other countries.

Similar projects took place in Australia, the UK, Netherlands, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland (Watt 2017; Czischke 2009; Musterd and Andersson 2005). For example, Australian housing authorities broke up public housing concentrations in large cities and replaced them with higher density developments that comprised a maximum of 30% public housing, while the rest was sold for private ownership (Darcy 2010). Between 2004 and 2020 France undertook a huge demolition programme of 160,000 social housing estates in 600 neighbourhoods, the majority of which were located in Paris (Daniele 2020; Deboulet and Abram 2017). The main goals of the programme included diversifying the housing mix of the demolished areas, improving their public facilities, and opening them up to the rest of the city (Agence Nationale Pour la Renovation Urbaine n.d.). In the Netherlands, political debates about dispersing the economically disadvantaged took on an ethnic dimension too (Musterd and Andersson 2005).

In Britain, the New Labour Government (1997-2010) embraced 'mixed communities' as an all-encompassing model that defined their urban and housing policy (Tunstall 2011). Social mix was a main tenet of the National Strategy for Urban Renewal, the vision of which was that "no-one is seriously disadvantaged by where they live" (Social Exclusion Unit 2001, p.5). Demolishing and replacing council estates with a mix of social (or 'affordable') and private-sale properties was a main tool to achieve this vision (AMION Consulting 2010). The strategy also involved a range of

---

[2] HOPE VI stands for Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere

locally targeted schemes to improve the social and economic conditions of multiply deprived neighbourhoods, with the ultimate goal of reducing their residents' social exclusion (Wallace 2001[3]). British policymakers have until the present day continued with mixed community interventions. UK governments that succeeded the New Labour administration since 2010 have encouraged demolition and tenure diversification of social housing estates (sometimes also through infill) particularly in London (e.g. Department for Communities and Local Government 2014, Prime Minister's Office 2016a; Savills 2016; Greater London Authority 2018, 2021). It is estimated that since 1997, 161 London council estates and about 55,000 homes have been taken down as part of redevelopment schemes that replaced them with mixed tenure communities (https://www.estatewatch.london/research/). Dozens more are earmarked for demolition and regeneration projects.

Tenure diversification schemes are expected to improve deprived areas and the life chances of their residents through a number of mechanisms, which - this thesis argues - are not backed by strong evidence. The rise of new urban renewal programmes coincided with growing academic evidence suggesting that the geographical concentration of disadvantaged people itself has adverse effects on their life chances over and above their individual circumstances (Tunstall and Lupton 2010; Cabinet Office 2005; The Social Exclusion Unit 2001). This is referred to in the literature as neighbourhood or area effects. Thus, it is believed that creating an income mix through housing tenure diversification will result in a de-concentration of poverty and in turn mitigate these harmful neighbourhood effects (Rose et al. 2012). More specifically, the presence of more affluent households in mixed communities is thought to improve the lives of more disadvantaged residents through improving area reputations, revitalising the local economies (due to increased spending) power, reducing pressure on public services and increasing social organisation (Tunstall and Lupton 2010; Arthurson 2002; Kearns et al. 2013). Additionally, social interactions with better-off residents is envisaged to increase lower-income groups' social capital and expose them to advantaged social and job networks, positive role models and aspirational peer groups (ibid).

Despite their popularity with policymakers there is a weak evidence base to support the proclaimed rationale behind the new urban renewal programmes. Research that looked into the mechanisms underpinning social mixing interventions produced mixed results (Sautkina et al. 2012; Tunstall and Lupton 2010). While there is a large body of literature on the negative effects of living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (e.g. Dietz 2002; Durlauf 2004; Ellen and Turner 1997), this

---

[3] A New Approach to Neighbourhood Renewal in England

evidence does not directly address the question of the effect of encouraging affluent residents to move to deprived neighbourhoods. Moreover, after more than two decades of research in this field, we now understand that the effect of neighbourhoods are heterogenous. They depend on a range of other factors related to the characteristics of neighbourhoods themselves, but also the population and outcomes under study (e.g. see Lupton 2003a; Small and Feldman 2012; Sharkey and Faber 2014; DeLuca et al. 2012). Nevertheless, social mixing schemes have been implemented without regard for national contexts, the conditions of different localities and the populations that inhabit them (Arbaci and Rae 2012; Darcy 2013; Ruiz-Tagle 2017; Musterd 2002). When it comes to academic evidence on the effects of neighbourhood income mixing on young people, the picture is even more ambiguous, hence the motivation for this thesis.

1.1. Motivation for the thesis

The thesis was motivated by the gap in empirical evidence on the influence of mixed income regeneration on young people from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Teenagers received special attention from both qualitative and quantitative researchers concerned with the effects of living in deprived neighbourhoods. It is expected that adolescents are among the groups most impacted by neighbourhoods because at this stage of their life the influence of their family weakens and peers start having a bigger role in their socialisation (Berndt 1996). They have a higher tendency to spend time with their friends outdoors and locally compared to adults or children (Ellen and Turner 1997). Studies investigated neighbourhood (dis)advantage effects on teenagers' school performance, sexual behaviours, psychological and physical health, delinquent and criminal activity and employment outcomes (e.g. Sampson 2012; Crane 1991; Lupton and Kneale 2012; Cushon et al. 2011; Case and Katz 1991; Musterd and Andersson 2005; Sloggett and Joshi 1998; Kling et al. 2005; Weinhardt 2010; Boardman and Saint Onge 2005; Garner and Raudenbush 1991; Kauppinen 2007).

Nevertheless, despite the attention afforded to understanding the effect of neighbourhood disadvantage on young people, there is a striking lack of evidence on how they are impacted by income/tenure diversification interventions. The existing knowledge is primarily US based and focuses on those who moved to neighbourhoods with less poverty, rather than those who stayed or went back to their social housing estates that have been transformed into mixed communities. In the UK, a majority of studies concentrate on adult residents' experiences or their perceptions

of how children are affected. There is a handful of qualitative studies that interviewed young people in areas subjected to regeneration (e.g. Speak 2000; O'Sullivan et al. 2020; Watt 2013; Brown and Lees 2009), but they did not aim to understand the effect of the mixed communities approach in particular.

This is surprising for two reasons. First, young people are usually perceived to be at the centre of many of the 'problems' within deprived neighbourhoods that social mix policies are meant to fix. As mentioned above, they are most vulnerable to negative peer influences, which previous research linked to criminal activities and substance use (Case and Katz 1991; Simons et al. 1996; Trucco et al. 2014; Chung and Steinberg 2006; Deutsch et al. 2012). Growing up in areas where a high percentage of adults are unemployed, it was found, gives teenagers few positive role models and diminishes the perceived returns to education (Wilson 1987). Some researchers even argued that the presence of too many children and young people relative to adults in high-rise buildings, is in itself partially responsible for the decline of public housing because it makes it difficult for adults to maintain social order (Hunt 2009; Power 1997). Thus, if mixed communities aim to improve the life chances of people living in impoverished social housing estates (e.g. through positive roles models and aspiration peer groups), youths are expected to be among those most likely to be affected. Yet, there has not been a systematic exploration of whether and how they are, particularly in the UK.

The second reason that the lack of evidence on young people's experiences of mixed income regeneration is surprising is that it is at odds with child and youth rights principles. In the past two decades international and academic conventions have been established which place children and young people as active agents with the right to have a say in issues that affect their lives and to have their voices respected and listened to. These principles are institutionalised in the 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which has been ratified by 196 countries. It coincided with the rise in child/youth-centred academic movement that sought to change research practices by emphasising the importance of studying experiences of children and youths in the present, not merely because they are in transit towards adulthood (Clark 2010; Prout and James 2003). Somehow these developments have not extended to the study of the new urban renewal and particularly tenure/income mixing.

1.2. Research aims

Accordingly, the main aim behind this study is to explore the mechanisms by which young people's wellbeing is influenced by the mixed income (tenure) redevelopment of their social housing estates. It is my intention to develop a rounded understanding of the impact of these pathways on the different dimensions of young people's wellbeing, rather than on one specific element or outcome. I explore the research questions from young people perspectives and lived experiences, with the goal of balancing out the adult-centric literature in this field. But I also seek to investigate the social, institutional and environmental context that shapes their subjective experiences.

To this end, I adopt the capability approach as a framework for conceptualising and analysing wellbeing. It was developed by the renowned economist Amartya Sen along with philosopher Martha Nussbaum in the early 1990s as a tool to assess wellbeing through evaluating an individual's real freedoms and opportunities (capabilities) to be and do the things they value in life (Nussbaum and Sen 1993). The capability approach, I argue, has the potential to illuminate unique insights for the study of urban regeneration. It goes beyond looking at whether individuals possess rights and have access to resources, and instead is concerned with determining whether they actually have the freedom to enact and use these rights and resources to achieve their valued beings and doings. In other words, it diverts our attention towards the factors (e.g. social, institutional, environmental and person factors) that affect the ability of individuals and/or groups to convert resources into opportunities for improving their wellbeing.

In summary, this thesis examines an important yet under-explored area in the literature on mixed communities. Governments continue to pursue the income/tenure diversification of social housing estates which often involves selling valued public land. Yet, the theoretical justification for these schemes is weak and the empirical evidence on – and from – the people most exposed to both the potential benefits and potential harms is largely lacking.

The thesis makes three key contributions. First, it adds to the knowledge about the things low-income young people value and understanding the barriers they face in converting the resources brought by their neighbourhood's regeneration into these valued capabilities. Accordingly, implications for the policy and practice of mixed income social housing regeneration are discussed.

Secondly, the thesis makes a theoretical contribution to the capability approach literature. It proposes a novel conceptualisation of valued capabilities as interrelated *clusters*, rather than a linear

list as has been customary among capability approach scholars. It is argued that the cluster formulation more accurately reflects the complex and interdependent ways freedoms are experienced.

Thirdly, guided by a critical realist youth-centred approach the thesis adopts a unique mix of ethnographic, participatory, interview and document analysis research techniques that manage to highlight young people's subjective interpretations while simultaneously producing an analysis of their socio-structural contexts and mechanisms.

1.3. Outline of the thesis

The chapters of the thesis are structured as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the relevant policy and academic literature. It provides an overview of British social mix policies, what we know about the possible pathways through which neighbourhoods influence children's and young people's outcomes, and the existing evidence about the impact of mixed communities on these outcomes. The review shows that we know very little about how disadvantaged young people's wellbeing is impacted by turning their deprived housing estates into socio-economically mixed neighbourhoods. It also demonstrates that the available evidence is adult-centred with very few studies exploring young people's own perspectives. The chapter, thus, argues that borrowing insights from the youth wellbeing and capability approach literatures could help us in conceptualising and investigating the mechanisms through which mixed income regeneration affects youth wellbeing. The chapter ends by a statement of the thesis's research questions.

Chapter 3 describes and justifies the methodology the thesis adopts in answering the research questions. It explains that the study upholds a critical realist approach to ontology and epistemology and gives a brief description of its main principles. A single case study research design is also explained and justified in light of the thesis's youth-centred and capabalitarian approach. The chapter then provides a detailed description of how the case study neighbourhood was selected and its main characteristics. The rest of the chapter addresses the fieldwork procedures, sampling strategies, methods used in data production and analysis, and ends with a discussion of research quality and limitations.

Chapter 4 marks the first in a series of six presenting the empirical findings of the thesis. It examines young people's conceptualisation of their valued capabilities i.e. the things they value being and doing. A new conception of capabilities as clusters is proposed, as opposed to the

common practice of producing a list of capabilities. It is argued that grouping capabilities into interconnected and overlapping clusters is a more accurate reflection of participants' experiences and meanings, than a list of disconnected categories. The cluster framework also illuminates the interdependencies between young people's freedoms.

Under the theme of dispossession, chapter 5 explicates the first set of mechanisms underpinning the relationship between mixed income regeneration and young people's wellbeing. It is found that young people's experiences of dispossession are driven by three main processes: the commercialisation and gentrification of the neighbourhood; the drastic change in its physical and demographic characteristics; and the shifting in service provision towards catering for the more affluent residents, at the expense of low-income young people.

Chapter 6 examines the second group of processes taking place in the case study area under the umbrella theme of 'social inequality and division'. It is argued that the regeneration accentuates inequalities and social division within the local area. The discrepancies in living standards and neighbourhood experiences between the private housing residents and young people emphasise the latter's relative disadvantage. The divide is exacerbated by the social distance between the two groups.

Chapter 7 addresses the mechanisms of stigmatisation and social exclusion experienced by young people. It is found that the regeneration facilitates harmful processes of formal control and marginalisation that limit young people's access to the redeveloped public spaces and facilities. Young people are also among the groups with lowest levels of participation and influence over the regeneration decision making processes.

Chapter 8 considers ways the regeneration drives a breakdown in young people's community relations through: their limited opportunities for socialisation; the disruption to their local friendships caused by the estate's demolition; and the fragmentation in social interactions between private and social housing residents.

Chapter 9, the final empirical chapter revisits the capability clusters first presented in chapter 4. It reflects on the implications of the mechanisms of dispossession, division, exclusion and community breakdown for young people's valued freedoms. It also explores their influence on participants' ability to benefit from the neighbourhood improvements. It is found that the

regeneration imposes restrictions on many of young people's capabilities and hinders their ability to convert the neighbourhood resources into valued beings and doings. These effects are not uniform, however. Effects on capabilities vary based on young people's gender, age, ethnic background, relative disadvantage, previous experiences, and current life circumstances.

Finally, chapter 10 addresses how the findings answer the study's research questions and in what ways they contribute to existing knowledge about how young people's wellbeing (capabilities) is influenced by mixed income regeneration. It is held that the thesis makes three types of contributions: a contribution to understanding, to theory and to methodology. The chapter also explores implications for the policy and practice of social housing regeneration.

2. Evidence Review

This chapter offers a review of the evidence on which the thesis builds and accordingly makes the following arguments. It points to the limited evidence for the assumptions underpinning the British mixed income regeneration policies. Existing empirical studies demonstrate that the level of neighbourhood (dis)advantage where young people live has independent effects on their outcomes through a number of social-interactive, institutional, environmental and geographical pathways. They also show that the impact of these pathways is complex and not uniform: they vary by a range of individual and contextual factors. However, systematic knowledge about what constitutes these heterogeneous effects is not clear. Moreover, there is scant UK-based research on the impact of tenure diversification of deprived social housing areas on young people's wellbeing. A majority of available studies are adult-focused and indicate that the expected benefits of income/tenure mixing are not apparent. This casts doubt on the efficacy of the mixed communities regeneration approach and calls for a better understanding of how they influence the life chances of disadvantaged youths.

The chapter starts with providing an overview of the urban social mix policies in Britain. This is followed by a review of the main body of academic literature that the thesis draws on: neighbourhood effects and mixed communities. The primary focus is on studies that address the impact of neighbourhood (dis)advantage and mixed communities on children's and teenagers' outcomes in the UK context, including the mechanisms involved in this relationship. Where there is limited availability of studies meeting these criteria, I include useful findings from studies with adults or those conducted in other countries.

The chapter then proceeds with a shorter review of relevant knowledge from two other bodies of literatures: child and youth wellbeing and the capability approach. It is argued that due to the gap in theoretical and empirical evidence for mixed communities on young people, as well as the more adult-focused nature of existing knowledge, insights from the wellbeing and capability approach fields can fruitfully advance our understanding of the mechanisms at play.

Finally, the chapter ends with a statement of the research questions that the thesis seeks to answer.

The review does not cover research on traditional neighbourhood renewal approaches which improve conditions of local areas without fundamentally altering their socio-economic

composition. It also does not include the literature on market-led gentrification. Even though the latter's effects might overlap with government-supported income mix interventions, they differ in what they aim to achieve. The purpose behind the state-led regeneration is to improve disadvantaged areas and the life chances of its residents by introducing a mix of housing tenures, rather than by moving them out, as is the case with market-led gentrification. Evidence from the latter is, however, discussed in comparison with the thesis findings in the final chapter.

(See footnote[4] for a guide to the 'social mix' terminology used in this chapter and the rest of the thesis)

2.1. Background and overview of Britain's social mix policies

The idea of social mix has featured in British urban policies in some form or another since the post-war era. After WWII, council estates were built with a vision of creating mixed communities through provision of a socially inclusive single housing tenure akin to the universal health and education public services (Cole and Goodchild 2001). Social mix was also an important component of the New Town programmes promoted by the post-war Labour government to create self-sufficient communities that accommodate residents with a mix of backgrounds, incomes, and social classes (ibid). Successful realisation of these policy goals was, however, short-lived.

Not long afterwards, from the mid-1960s, council housing started undergoing a process of residualisation, whereby a majority of its residents were increasingly on very low incomes, unemployed, claiming welfare benefits, single parent families and low-skilled manual workers (Forrest and Murie 1983). The drivers behind this residualisation are complex. They can be summarised as a convergence of factors related to the provision of council housing itself (e.g. poor structural design and management, and capping the income of tenants), and wider processes of economic, social, and national policy changes (e.g. the marginalisation of manual workers due to the shift from manufacturing to service employment, increasing private sector rents, the sale of council housing stock, a policy preference towards homeownership and the Right to Buy, and reduction in public spending in the 1980s which manifested in greater reliance on means-tested

---

[4] While the concept of social mix could broadly refer to mix on the basis of ethnicity, social class, age, types and sizes of households, etc., this thesis is concerned with a mix of people from different socio-economic backgrounds. Thus, unless otherwise stated, it is a socio-economic mix that is meant whenever terms 'income mix', 'mixed communities' and 'social mix' are used. House tenure mixing (of social, affordable and private housing) is the main policy tool used in the UK to increase the socio-economic mix of neighbourhoods. Therefore, the terms 'tenure mix' and 'tenure diversification' refer to these interventions.

benefits and cuts to social housing subsidies) (Power 1997; Forrest and Murie 1983; Hills 1998; Jones 2010). These changes triggered social and economic polarisation between those on high and low incomes. As the latter became concentrated in social housing neighbourhoods it worsened their stigmatisation and social exclusion, and provided the impetus for another wave of social mix policies.

Attempts to increase the tenure mix of council housing and deprived neighbourhoods emerged in the mid-1980s as part of the Estate Action initiative (1985-1994) which aimed to renovate and improve the physical and social conditions of run-down council estates. Tenure diversification was one of the criteria for government funding under the scheme (Pinto 1993). Afterwards, individual local authorities bid for funding from the Single Regeneration Budget[5] (1994-2002) to demolish some of their estates and introduce a mix of homeownership and social renting (Tunstall 2011; de Souza 2019).

However, it was under the New Labour government that social mix arose as a main policy goal within a general direction towards area-based approaches to tacking deprivation and social exclusion. Transforming existing council housing estates into mixed income communities formed an important element of Labour's neighbourhood renewal strategy, as they were estimated to make up the majority of the country's poorest areas (The Urban Task Force 1999). This was accompanied by a range of locally targeted public service provision to improve deprived neighbourhoods' outcomes related to educational attainment, health, worklessness, crime and offending and skills development (The Social Exclusion Unit 2001). It was believed that "the quality and tenure mix of the housing is a key factor in causing neighbourhoods to decline" (The Urban Task Force 1999 p.206). Accordingly, promoting "a more even distribution of wealth" through a mix of tenures was key to avoiding "the concentration of poverty, need and families with problems in a residualised social housing sector" (The Urban Task Force 1999, p.37; The Social Exclusion Unit 1998, 2001). Areas with concentrations of poverty rather than concentration of affluence, however, were the main target of social or tenure mixing interventions. Tenure mix was also encouraged in all new residential developments.

The policy literature does not specify the ideal tenure mix that should be sought after. In practice this has largely varied, but generally the importance of tenure mix was seen as being about the

---

[5] From 1994 to 2002, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) was the UK government's main regeneration fund intended to enhance the quality of life of local people in deprived areas

'balance' between social renting and owner occupation (Livingston et al. 2013). This was achieved through involving the private sector and housing associations to develop homes for ownership in council housing estates. One prominent example of this type of interventions was the Mixed Communities Initiative (MCI), announced in 2005 as a practical demonstration of tackling deprivation in 12 areas chosen from among the most disadvantaged in England (Department for Communities and Local Government 2010). The areas were meant to be 'pathfinders' for the mixed-communities approach and were selected to have diverse local characteristics and located across different regions (ibid).

The MCI was designed to achieve fundamental long-term transformation in the 12 deprived areas through substantially changing their tenure mix (typically from 60-80 per cent social rent to 30-40 per cent), upgrading their housing, facilities and infrastructure and adding new ones (e.g. schools, health centres) (Department for Communities and Local Government 2010). According to the MCI's theory of change, these changes will "lead to direct improvements in life chances for existing residents and to population change with newer, wealthier residents, who will bring positive impacts on other residents and the neighbourhood as a whole, and reverse the negative area dynamics" (Lupton and Tunstall 2010, p.15). A mix of income levels, it was envisaged, will "improve neighbourhoods' reputations", lead to "fewer demands on services, particularly schools", and bring more "money to support facilities" thereby revitalising the local economy. The presence of higher-income households not only will mean "fewer people with motivation for crime and anti-social behaviour", but also their interactions with existing residents will expose the latter to "aspirational peer groups" and "more advantaged and aspirational social networks" (ibid). A distinctive feature of MCI interventions was that they do not rely on central government funding, rather local authorities had to attract investment from the private sector to cross-subsidise housing and infrastructure improvements. This provided a model for estate regeneration projects until the present day.

Tenure-mixing has remained the prevalent form of estate regeneration and new housing developments until today, particularly in London[6]. The delivery of a mix of tenures was one of the eligibility criteria for the coalition government's (2010-2015) estate regeneration kick-start fund in London (Department for Communities and Local Government 2014). In 2016, David Cameron launched a £140 million fund to replace 100 of what he called Britain's "sink estates" with

---

[6] Because higher land values in London provide higher incentive for the private sector to develop properties for market-sale and provide enough revenue to cross-subsidise affordable housing.

"attractive and safe homes" (Prime Minister's office 2016b). The development of private housing was an important part of regenerating these estates, particularly "in areas where land values are high, because new private homes, built attractively and at a higher density, will fund the regeneration of the rest of the estate," he wrote in the Sunday Times (Prime Minister's Office 2016a). Since then, creating "balanced and inclusive communities" with a mix of tenure has been the aim of the estate regeneration national strategy (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government 2016). Moreover, the London Mayor's most recent guidance on planning policy and estate regeneration encourages a "more balanced mix of tenures and household incomes across London […] particularly in some neighbourhoods where social renting predominates and there are concentrations of deprivation" (Greater London Authority 2018 p.26).

Tenure mixing policy has evolved in a number of different ways since its initial impetus in the early 2000s. As mentioned above, during the New Labour Government (1997-2010) it was part of an overarching area-based approach to tackle socio-economic deprivation and inequality. Tenure diversification of areas with a concentration of social housing was accompanied by a range of locally-targeted initiatives and public service provision that aimed to reduce worklessness, crime, youth offending, school under-achievement, ill-health, among objectives. Governments that succeeded New Labour, however, abandoned neighbourhood-based social policy in general, but retained the tenure mixing element of urban regeneration.

Moreover, the first wave of the new urban renewal programmes coincided with and was influenced by growing academic evidence (initially from the US) of the harmful effects of residing in areas with concentrations of poverty. Several UK government-published reports, strategies and plans explicitly referred to the neighbourhood effects literature as a justification for pursuing the mixed communities approach. For example, a report on 'improving the prospects of people living in areas of multiple deprivation' stated that "the existence of 'area effects' provides a continuing rationale for area-based interventions […] Area effects occur when people living in deprived areas have a lower quality of life than otherwise similar people living in less deprived areas" (Cabinet office 2005, p.35). Another example is former Prime Minister Tony Blair's five year plan for creating sustainable communities, which mentioned that "mixed communities can help tackle deprivation by reducing the additional disadvantages that affect poorer people when they are concentrated in poor neighbourhoods" (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister 2005). Additionally, it was believed, based on empirical research cited, that children and young people are among the most affected by

and contributors to those negative 'area-effects' (The Social Exclusion Unit 2001; Cabinet Office 2005).

More recently, the policy literature does not make explicit reference to academic evidence, even though it continues to encourage tenure mix as the preferred type of social housing regeneration. In addition, tenure mix has become one of the main funding mechanisms for affordable and social-rented housebuilding. In light of the austerity programme (2010-2019) and lack of central government funding, local authorities and housing associations use cross-subsidies from the sale of private housing to build and refurbish social housing (Savills 2016).

Tenure/income diversification of social housing has been subject to sharp criticism from academics who described it as a neo-liberal policy approach to dealing with problems of the poor. Framing the problem as one of spatial concentration of poverty the dispersal of which is the solution, it was argued, favours behavioural and individual explanations of social disadvantage at the expense of structural social, economic and political processes (Lupton and Fuller 2009; Lees 2008). It also implies, according to critics, that the middle classes are morally superior and more responsible, thus luring them to poor areas will 'save' the areas and their residents from decline (Bridge et al. 2011; Davidson 2008). Moreover, some researchers contended that the mixed communities approach follows a common neoliberal practice whereby the state intervenes to provide favourable conditions for developers and private investors while assuming the risks involved. As local authorities sell valuable public land for the construction of mixed income developments, developers can still adjust their social housing provision in accordance with market dynamics to avoid risk and maximise their profits (ibid).

In addition, mixed communities interventions were criticised for the lack of evidence base to support their assumptions. Below, I review this academic literature.

2.2. Pathways through which neighbourhood (dis)advantage affects young people's life chances

Pathways explaining the link between young people's wellbeing outcomes and their neighbourhoods' socio-economic status have been proposed in the theoretical and qualitative empirical literature. Researchers have also tested for these pathways quantitatively on bigger and

representative samples. Galster (2012) synthesised the potential area effects mechanisms into four broad categories: social-interactive, institutional, environmental and geographical.

2.2.1. Social-interactive pathways

Social-interactive pathways received the biggest share of interest from neighbourhood effects researchers compared to other types of mechanisms. They are concerned with how the relationships between people living in a neighbourhood can affect their attitudes and behaviours.

Social contagion and collective socialisation

One of the most cited pathways is 'social contagion' which addresses how young people are affected by the behaviours, attitudes and aspirations of their neighbours (peers and adult role-models). Evidence for neighbourhood effects operating through this mechanism is primarily US based. William J Wilson's ethnographic analysis of America's inner-city ghetto neighbourhoods and later work have been particularly prominent in this debate. In his seminal book *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987) he argued that the social isolation of young African Americans in inner-city neighbourhoods with concentrations of poverty and joblessness reinforces their detachment from the labour market and increases the chances that they will pursue illegal activities for income, thereby further weakening their attachment to the legitimate labour market. Wilson explained that when the majority of residents are disadvantaged and jobless, people have limited access to informal job networks and are "influenced by the behavior, beliefs, orientations, and social perceptions of other disadvantaged families disproportionately concentrated in the neighborhood." (Wilson 1991 p.601).

Another notable example is Case and Katz's (1991) study in Boston which showed that a young person (17-24 years) residing in a neighbourhood in which a higher proportion of other youths are involved in crime, use illegal drugs, and are out of work and school increases the odds of them exhibiting similar outcomes, after controlling for family and individual characteristics.

Young people can also be influenced by the social norms and values of adult role models in their neighbourhood, what is called in the literature processes of 'collective socialisation' (Jencks and Mayer 1990). Lupton and Kneale (2012) found evidence of this mechanism in their study of teenage parenthood in England. Growing up in wards where a high proportion of other young women are married and not progressing to further education was positively linked to being a teenage mother. They also traced evidence of opportunity cost mechanism at sub-regional level;

teenage parenthood was linked to higher proportion of men working in manufacturing and lower proportion of women in full-time employment. These results agree with one of Wilson's (1991-2) main arguments that problems in poor areas are a product of a complex relationship between "social-structural, social-psychological, and cultural variables" (p. 641).

Social capital

A related concept is that of social capital which refers to the resources young people derive from the social networks of which they and their families are members (Morrow 1999). Social capital is a multi-faceted concept, however I will focus on aspects relevant to this review (Kearns 2004). A distinction is made in the literature between *bonding* and *bridging* social capital (Putnam 2000). The former is the support people receive from relationships of trust and reciprocity with socially similar individuals, that help them to 'get by'. This can be in the form of emotional support or the exchange of information, favours, gifts, etc. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, consists of outward-looking weaker social ties between heterogenous individuals, which enable people to 'get on' [7].

It has been suggested that poor neighbourhoods have 'bonding' rather than 'bridging' social capital. Membership in gangs, it is argued, is one type of bonding capital which can provide teenagers with self-respect and material resources, but at the same time act to hold them down (Portes and Landolt 1996). Studying six British deprived neighbourhoods, Kintrea and colleagues (2010) showed that 'territoriality' acts as a source of disadvantage for young residents by restricting their mobility, excluding them from opportunities outside their area, and in some cases leading to their involvement in criminal gang activities.

More nuanced results were revealed by another study that explored the role of bonding and bridging social capital in children and young people's transitions through different life stages across different neighbourhoods (Holland et al. 2007). They argued against the binary debates that essentially favour bridging over bonding networks, by showing that "the situation is much more complex, and bonding and bridging social capital are interwoven and interdependent" (Holland et al. 2007, p. 113). For example, they found that bonding social capital with old friends helped primary school students through the challenges of their transition to secondary school by sharing

---

[7] The bonding vs. bridging dichotomy has been criticised on the grounds that social groups are never completely homogeneous or heterogenous and that in reality social networks will include a mix of both bridging and bonding relationships.

information and giving them confidence in an unfamiliar environment. Equally, close bonds within the community of Black/Caribbean young people were crucial in building their sense of identity and belonging, and in heling them to bridge out to new opportunities in their transition to further education and employment. In contrast, some young adults living in a sectarian Northern Ireland community and a disadvantaged housing estate in England thought that their bonding networks have a constraining effect on their social mobility due to pressures of conformity (Holland et al. 2007).

Social disorganisation and collective efficacy

The two influential theories of 'social organisation' and 'collective efficacy' attribute the higher levels of disorder in disadvantaged neighbourhoods to adults' inability to apply social control on teenagers' activities, which then develop into high levels of delinquency and gang crime. A number of factors are thought to contribute to lower levels of social control. Communities with high levels of poverty suffer from a weaker organisational base, than better-off counterparts, which is essential for maintaining formal and informal control, according to social disorganisation theory. It is also held that residents in areas with high levels of transience and ethnic heterogeneity do not have the community cohesion and trust necessary for them to cooperate and realise their shared values (Shaw and McKay 1942; Sampson and Groves 1989). Without social cohesion and social control communities will have low 'collective efficacy', defined as the collective trust and willingness of a community's members to intervene on behalf of the common or shared beliefs whenever they encounter unacceptable behaviour by youths in the neighbourhood (Sampson et al. 1997). Not all poor neighbourhoods have low collective efficacy, however. For example, Odgers et al.'s (2009) study of British neighbourhoods demonstrated that collective efficacy can act as a protective factor for children in deprived areas. Drawing on a longitudinal sample of 2,232 5-year-old twins they found a significant negative association between collective efficacy and anti-social behaviour among children at school entry after controlling for family-level factors and neighbourhood problems[8]. The effect was observed only in deprived neighbourhoods and not affluent ones, though. Additionally, collective efficacy did not predict antisocial behaviour between the ages of 5 and 10 (Odgers et al. 2009).

---

[8] Vandalism, run-down buildings, burglaries, car theft, assaults on people, people drinking and taking drugs in public, women harassment, and groups of young people hanging out and causing trouble

Parental mediation

Furthermore, the effects of neighbourhood environment and type of community relations on youths were found to be mediated through family-level factors, such as parenting styles, parents' stress levels, support networks, and the home learning environment (Elder et al. 1995; Linares et al. 2001; Klebanov et al. 1997; Simons et al. 1996; Greenberg et al. 1999; Booth and Shaw 2020). For example, there is longitudinal evidence from Canada and the US that neighbourhood disadvantage can translate into worse maternal mental health and family problems due to low community cohesion and high levels of violence, which are linked to harsher parenting, and ultimately behavioural and emotional problems among children (Kohen et al. 2008; Saitadze 2020).

Relative deprivation and competition

Finally, some studies found evidence of 'relative deprivation' and 'competition' mechanisms which suggest processes opposite to the above mentioned, whereby affluent neighbours have negative impact on less well-off ones. For example, living next door to wealthier people could accentuate visible inequalities, reduce self-esteem, and impose pressure on low-income parents to buy expensive things for their children (Atkinson and Kintrea 2004). In Germany, immigrant teenagers reported higher problem behaviours in more affluent areas (Oberwittler 2007), while in Britain children living in social housing in neighbourhoods with the highest education qualifications were more likely not to gain any qualifications than those living in modestly educated areas (Gibbons 2002).

2.2.2. Institutional pathways

The second category of mechanisms addresses the level, type and quality of institutional resources located within neighbourhoods and the influence of institutional actors and markets on residents.

There is qualitative evidence from the UK that poor neighbourhoods suffer lower quality of public service provision (e.g. schools, environmental services, healthcare). This is due to higher demand straining local service capacity and resources, bad reputations of some poor areas making it hard to attract experienced civil servants (Lupton 2003b; 2004), and frontline staff stigmatising low-income households as 'undeserving' (Hastings 2009). A recently published study demonstrated how school practices stigmatise young people from disadvantaged neighbourhoods as 'doomed-to-fail', contributing to their lower educational attainment and later low-paid employment (Gulczyńska 2019). Moreover, researchers showed that deprived areas have higher densities of

liquor stores (Briggs 1997) and fast food outlets (Fraser and Edwards 2010; Block et al. 2004), which facilitate negative teenage health behaviours and outcomes.

2.2.3. Environmental pathways

This ties in with environmental mechanisms, the most relevant of which are physical decay, litter, and abandoned buildings that characterise neighbourhoods with high levels of poverty compared to more affluent ones. According to the 'broken windows' thesis, even minor signs of disorder, such as broken windows, graffiti and vandalism signify that residents are not concerned about the damage in their community or are unwilling to protect it, which encourages more crime and disorder (Wilson and Kelling 1982). Physical disorder was also linked to feelings of 'loss of control' and lower efficacy among residents in deprived neighbourhoods (Ross et al. 2001).

Relatedly, growing up in violent neighbourhoods acts as a major stressor, which was linked to more aggressive behaviours and poor educational outcomes (Mcintyre 2000). A recent longitudinal nationally representative study of English young people found a significant relationship between neighbourhood crime and a higher probability of being Not in Education, Employment or Training (NEET) among 16 to 19 year-olds (Karyda 2020). The results confirmed a geographic clustering of neighbourhood disadvantage and crime and its negative outcomes on young people. Additionally, perceptions of unsafety can discourage children's physical activity (Carver et al. 2008).

2.2.4. Geographical pathways

Finally, geographical mechanisms refer to factors that affect a neighbourhood's inhabitants because of its location in relation to wider political and economic contexts. For example, Power (2012) argued that the lack of adequate transport connections contributed to the social exclusion and poverty of residents in the large social housing estates built in the outskirts of UK cities as part of the government's post WWII slum clearance programme.

Longitudinal ethnographic work by Lupton (2003b) and Power (1997) presented a detailed analysis of the workings of many of these mechanisms in deprived social housing neighbourhoods in the UK. They also exposed a complex picture of interaction between areas, people and wider economic and structural forces, rather than a one way relationship of neighbourhood effects on their residents. Power (1997) argued that the poor and distinctive design of post-WWII council estates made them unpopular, which meant they more often housed vulnerable families with little

choice leading to concentrations of 'people with problems'. The difficulty of monitoring children's activities in large tower blocks, which were a common design feature of council housing estates, coupled with poor provision of children and youth facilities encouraged vandalism and anti-social behaviour. Moreover, the presence of multiple entrances and communal areas that characterised the estates posed a challenge on landlords to maintain them, attracting even more damage.

In her book, *Poverty Street: The dynamics of neighbourhood decline and renewal*, Lupton (2003b) demonstrated how job losses in British towns triggered by deindustrialisation made them unpopular places to live, leaving many properties vacant and subject to vandalism and littering. Increasing numbers of transient and low-income families with social problems broke down community cohesion. Areas acquired bad reputations and teenagers living there were bullied at school and labeled as 'troubles'. Economic restructuring left residents of post-industrial neighbourhoods with temporary low-paid jobs and higher rates of unemployment. As a result, lack of role models and hope for a better future meant that education was not a priority for some young people. Lupton wrote, "*the concentration of poverty had caused neighbourhood problems, which in turn both created obstacles to an escape from poverty, and led to further concentration. The effect of poverty and the effect of place had become intertwined*" (Lupton 2003b, p.5).

2.3. The heterogeneity and complexity of neighbourhood effects

After more than three decades of research on the subject, we now understand that neighbourhood effects are heterogeneous and complex. Small and Feldman (2011) argued that "whether and how neighbourhoods mattered depended substantially on individual-, neighbourhood-, and city-level conditions" (p.58). Neighbourhoods are also likely to be more relevant to some outcomes than others, and their effect dependent on where they are located and to their contextual characteristics beyond their poverty level (Lupton 2003a; Small and Feldman 2011). This means that the pathways reviewed above might not be always relevant or might manifest in different forms in different neighbourhoods and for different people.

Empirical evidence showed that subpopulations (age groups, ethnic background, SES, gender, etc.) have discrepant subjective perceptions and experiences of their neighbourhoods (Rabinowitz et al. 2020; Ho et al. 2020; Levy 2019; Satariano 2019). For example, evidence from the US showed that the positive relationship between neighbourhood poverty and low educational attainment and delinquent behaviour is more pronounced among young males and European Americans compared to girls and African Americans, respectively (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000; Simons

et al. 1996). In Germany, delinquency among teenagers from immigrant backgrounds was less strongly associated with neighbourhood poverty compared to native adolescents. The same study revealed that the effect of neighbourhood poverty on delinquency is negligible for young people whose circle of friends reside outside of their neighbourhood (Oberwittler 2007). The residential location of friends was partially determined by school locations and partially by young people's perception of their neighbourhood environment: those who were dissatisfied with their area were more likely to have friends who live outside, thus spending less time locally. These findings add nuance to the peer effects pathway. Additionally, using propensity score matching to establish a causal relationship on a nationally representative US sample, Levy (2019) found a significant negative relationship between concentration of poverty[9] and likelihood of graduating from college only among relatively advantaged adolescents. Some have more to lose from neighbourhood poverty than others, according to this evidence.

Moreover, the geographical scale and neighbourhood indicators used in models testing for area effects matter. For example, using a general composite indicator of area deprivation[10] and looking at large geographical scale (local authority districts) McCulloch (2001) concluded that area characteristics add little to explaining differences in teenage childbearing in Great Britain. Nevertheless, Lupton and Kneale (2012) did find a relationship when they looked at narrower geographies (electoral wards[11]) and selected area characteristics that are theoretically related to teenage parenthood (e.g. labour market opportunities, social class composition, prevalence of parenthood among young people and educational participation).

Additionally, it is argued that the duration and age at which young people are exposed to certain neighbourhood conditions can be critical. Galster and Santiago (2017) found that negative consequences of neighbourhood crime are only manifested for those who start experiencing them at teenage years as opposed to younger age (age 1). Exposure to neighbourhood disadvantage during adolescence was also found to be critical to likelihood of becoming a teenage parent (Kleinepier and van Ham 2018), but not related to mid-life subjective health and wellbeing (Jivraj et al. 2019). Neighbourhood SES proved important at early childhood when it comes to educational attainment and internalising symptoms (Anderson et al. 2014). Persistent long-term as opposed to temporary exposure to neighbourhood disadvantage while young, it was found, has a

---

[9] Defined as 40 percent neighborhood poverty or greater
[10] Area deprivation was measured by the Townsend index of four components: the proportion of the labour force unemployed, the proportion of house holds with no car access, the proportion of households with one person per room and over and the proportion of households not owning their own home.
[11] In their study, wards contained an average population of 8,140

more determinantal effect on children's academic outcomes (Sharkey and Faber 2014; Nieuwenhuis et al. 2021), teenage parenthood (Kleinepier and van Ham 2018) and economic outcomes in adulthood (Alvarado 2018).

In summary, the literature presented so far tells us that the effects of neighbourhood (dis)advantage on young people exist, that they operate through a range of social-interactive, institutional, environmental, and geographical pathways, but they are heterogeneous and work in complex ways. However, this evidence does not directly address the proposition that encouraging wealthier families to move into deprived areas would improve the life chances of the disadvantaged children and young people living there. Yet, policy makers took this evidence to mean that it would. The following section will address the empirical evidence on the mixed communities approach and the introduction of tenure/income mix in disadvantaged areas.

2.4. Evidence for tenure diversification and mixed income communities

Because tenure diversification has been the policy tool used in Britain to alleviate the spatial concentration of poverty, there is a body of literature that investigated the impact of tenure mix. This is somewhat different from research on neighbourhood poverty which used deprivation indicators rather than housing tenure. A distinction should be made between three types of studies: those that looked at mixed communities which replaced existing deprived neighbourhoods or social housing estates; research that investigated areas that were designed to be mixed from the start; and quantitative work that tested the average impact of tenure-mix on neighbourhood or individual outcomes. The first type is the most relevant for this thesis, however I include evidence from across the three research designs due to the limited number of studies that focused on young people.

2.4.1. Impact of mixed communities on children and young people

Overall, only five UK-based studies explicitly explored the relationship between mixed tenure communities and children or young people's outcomes, with only two that looked at redeveloped social housing areas and one that included them as participants.

I start with the two qualitative studies that explored mixed tenure regeneration of social housing estates. The first interviewed families with school-aged children living in socially rented and

privately owned properties in three redeveloped mixed-tenure estates in Glasgow (Bond et al. 2013). The areas had different levels of mix: two of them retained more than 70% social housing while the third contained 51%. Findings reported parents' views (including both social renters and homeowners) about the impact of neighbourhoods on their children. Some had positive perceptions about their children's friendships and available facilities for group physical activities. Others were, nevertheless, concerned about the negative impact of behaviours and low aspirations of children from different backgrounds or whose parents have different attitudes towards parenting. They also commented on undesirable activities by adults, such as substance use in public and gang culture. Most notably, it was only in the area with the balanced tenure-mix that social renters perceived positive area effects on their children due to higher expectations and better opportunities. This neighbourhood had the highest level of cross-tenure social interactions, the highest level of spatial integration between the different housing tenures, was located in a central city location and was the only one that underwent major demolition and redevelopment (as opposed to in-fill development of housing for market sale). Overall, interviewees from different tenures across the three estates were positive about tenure-mix. They thought that owner occupiers "have a good influence on social renters", improved the areas' reputations, and increased levels of informal social control. This is because they had "higher expectations, set an example of care, and were more likely to do something about antisocial behaviour" (Bond et al. 2013, p.107).

The second study was conducted with adult members of families living in four inner-city mixed-income neighbourhoods: two in previous social housing estates in Manchester and Glasgow[12], and two completely new ones in London[13] (Silverman et al. 2005). They were all less than ten years into their (re)development. The research was carried out under the premise that attracting families – as opposed to single or childless households – to the market-rate housing is key if the benefits of mixed-income communities are to materialise. This view is supported by other research which showed that where cross-tenure interactions occur, it is usually between children or adults sending their children to local schools (e.g. Atkinson and Kintrea 2000; Camina and Wood 2009). Through administering a survey and conducting interviews, Silverman and colleagues (2005) revealed that mixed income communities that replaced poor areas attracted more families to the private housing than the completely new ones. However, families still occupied a lower proportion of market-rate properties than those in social housing (about 12% difference). Echoing findings from the first study, the area with better integration of tenures (e.g. including different tenures within buildings

---

[12] Social housing made up 55% and 40% of redeveloped social housing areas
[13] Social housing made up 30% and 12% of new mixed communities

and cross-tenure sharing of internal courtyards) had lower levels of polarisation between private and social housing residents. There, the children from across tenures were more likely to play together in shared courtyards.

Nevertheless, market-rate families had mixed views about the area. About half of them were planning to move out in a few years due to lack of bigger-sized properties that could accommodate their growing families. The newcomers among them (as opposed to those who had lived in the area since before the regeneration) sought to send their children to higher achieving schools in other areas, were concerned about negative influences on their children, and did not want them to mix with others from lower-income backgrounds. Some associated the presence of social housing with "crime, vandalism, and young people hanging around" (Silverman et al. 2005 p.33). Other than having a lower proportion of families in market-rate housing, findings from the two newly developed mixed income neighbourhoods were largely similar to the redeveloped housing estates.

The researchers concluded that the existence of private housing contributed to physical and economic regeneration of the areas, allowed potential home owners with family ties to stay locally and reduced stigma for lower-income residents because of the improved area reputations. On the downside, there were concerns about the affordability of new private sector facilities, and need for more services catering for disadvantaged families. Newcomers in the private housing were less likely to use local services. When it existed, social mixing was more likely to take place between children mainly where there is a provision of high quality schools and well managed, clean and safe open spaces where people can meet.

The third study took place in three English mixed-tenure neighbourhoods (nearly 50:50 private/social housing split) that were initially designed with social mix, which falls under the second type of research designs outlined above. Allen and colleagues (2005) interviewed children and young people (7-11 years) twenty years after the areas had been built. They found that even though adult owners and renters occupied different social worlds and had distant but polite relationships, children on the other hand forged closer cross-tenure friendships. Children and teenagers were ambivalent about tenure mix and did not express tenure prejudiced attitudes. Their closer cross-tenure ties were supported by the provision of high-quality neighbourhood facilities within walking distance (e.g. schools, play areas and shops). The local schools had a mix of children from different backgrounds and cultures. However, secondary school mix was perceived to be

declining due to the introduction of school choice policies. In general, the areas were good places to live with reasonable levels of employment, health, crime and anti-social behaviour.

I now move on to the remaining two studies that fall under the third type of research on tenure-mix. They both quantitatively tested for the latter's impact on educational attainment. The first one linked national pupil databases in England and Scotland to the census and other data on schools and neighbourhoods (Bramley and Karley 2007). Its key finding was that neighbourhood percentage of "homeownership does appear to have an additional, independent and positive impact on (individual) school attainment" in England and Scotland across both primary and secondary school children (p.718). However, they cautioned that their analysis does not account for selection bias, which is likely to be highly relevant. Families with higher means and predispositions to homeownership and to supporting their children's occupation may seek out good schools.

Finally, Robison et al. (2016) investigated school level attainment and progression to higher education in Glasgow. They found that it is significantly positively linked with the proportion of owner occupation in the school catchment area. This relationship, however, was observed only among schools with higher percentages of pupils from deprived backgrounds.

It is not possible to make conclusions about the benefits of neighbourhood tenure-mix on disadvantaged children from the findings of both quantitative studies because they do not report on the impact on this group in particular.

Overall, a few points can be deduced from the five studies:
- Benefits of tenure/income mix include improved area reputations, higher informal social control, physical and economic regeneration of areas, and more opportunities for potential home owners with family ties to stay locally
- Levels of social mixing between residents of different housing tenures and its potential benefits vary from one area to another. It is more likely to happen in places where private and social tenures are proportionate and spatially integrated, and there are good quality public spaces and facilities
- Where social mixing occurs, it is usually higher among children and young people.
- However, social antagonism exists in some mixed tenure neighbourhoods where private housing residents hold prejudiced attitudes towards lower-income families, and do not let

their children mix with those whose families are social renters. This was mainly found in relatively new developments (less than ten years old), rather than mature ones.

- There is some evidence to suggest that tenure mix is significantly associated with better school performance. However, we cannot be very confident about the robustness of these results.

Given the lack of research about or with young people in the UK and the rest of Europe, evidence from poverty de-concentration interventions in the US is valuable, despite being in a different context. The US followed a different approach to poverty deconcentration: instead of attracting wealthier households to poor areas, public housing residents are moved to less-poor neighbourhoods. The most robust evidence comes from Moving to Opportunity (MTO), an experiment sponsored by the US federal government which randomly assigned more than 4,600 poor families living in public housing in five cities to three groups: (1) a treatment group that received housing counseling and vouchers that can only be used to move to neighbourhoods with less than 10% poverty rates, (2) a second group was given housing vouchers without constraints on where to relocate, and (3) a control group that did not get a voucher but continued to be eligible for public-housing (Fauth 2004). The aim of the MTO was to identify the causal effects of moving from deprived to lower-poverty neighbourhoods on low-income families' outcomes and life chances.

Ten to 15 years after the families moved, researchers found many insignificant but also some significant gender-specific effects on disadvantaged youth (10 to 20 years old) who moved from poor to better-off neighbourhoods. There were no significant differences between the experimental and control group in terms of their physical health, educational attainment, sexual activity, serious criminal and anti-social behaviours and arrest rates (Sanbonmatsu et al. 2011; Fuller et al. 2019; Gennetian et al. 2012). With the exception of those in New York City, young people in the treatment group had significantly lower employment rates and earnings than the control group. On the positive side, female youth, but not males, who moved to areas with less poverty had significantly better mental health and were less likely to drink alcohol than the control group. Young males in the treatment group, on the other hand, were significantly more likely to be smoking and arrested for property crimes. They also experienced worse mental health outcomes, but the effect was not statistically significant. The only significant positive outcome for young males was that they were less likely to be arrested for selling drugs (ibid).

Follow up qualitative research explained some of these unexpected results. Interviews with families revealed that many did not transfer their children to different schools when they moved neighbourhoods because they did not want to disrupt their education and school friendships (DeLuca and Rosenblatt 2010). Those who moved schools also did not end up in the best performing ones. This relates to the fact that more than 40% of treatment families were living in neighbourhoods with higher poverty levels than the 10% poverty rate target. When families were asked about the reason, they mentioned structural barriers to renting in more affluent neighbourhoods. For example, some landlords were reluctant to let their properties to voucher holders and many lower-poverty neighbourhoods did not have good public transportation (DeLuca et al. 2012). Moreover, interviews with parents suggested that they lacked knowledge about navigating the schooling system and many underestimated the importance of school quality on their children's education. Others prioritised proximity of school to their workplaces and public transportation (ibid).

Qualitative research also clarified some of the gender differences. Clampet-Lundquist et al. (2011) found that while girls spent their leisure time either indoors or outside the neighbourhood, boys were more likely to hang out in the neighbourhood streets where they were exposed to bullying and drug activities, unfavourable attitudes from neighbours and police harassment. Girls in the treatment group also experienced harsher parenting behaviours than their control group counterparts (Leventhal and Brooks-Gun 2005). In another study, interviews with teenage girls who moved out of public housing to areas with less violence revealed that they experienced less fear, less harassment from men and were under less pressure to engage in sexual relationships, which explained their favourable mental health outcomes (Popkin et al. 2010).

Overall, evidence from the US experiment is mixed. With the exception of mental health gains for young women, the results do not support the assumed benefits of poverty de-concentration interventions. Importantly, they demonstrate that there are other factors and structural barriers that come into play.

2.4.2. Impact of tenure mix on adults

The majority of evidence on mixed-tenure neighbourhoods in the UK is based on research with or about adults. Overall, findings from this body of literature is comparable with what has been presented so far (e.g. Kearns et al. 2013; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000; Baum et al. 2010; Kearns and

Mason 2007). A systematic review of UK studies[14] concluded that overall there is mixed evidence for the effects of tenure mix (Sautkina et al. 2012). In general, research available neither finds support for role model and peer influences nor social capital outcomes. There is generally low cross-tenure social interaction in mixed communities, but is more likely to take place in schools or where there is provision of good public space and spatial integration of housing tenures. The reviewers also found inconsistent evidence on the influence of tenure mixing on crime and antisocial behaviour reduction, as well as neighbourhood satisfaction, area reputation and perceptions of the quality of housing, local services, and physical environment. Finally, they argued that evidence "was weakest and mixed regarding the effects of tenure mix on school attainment, job opportunities, local spending and the local economy in general" (Sautkina et al. 2012, p. 765). The evidence review prepared by Tunstall and Lupton (2010) as part of the government's evaluation of the Mixed Communities Initiative (MCI) reached similar conclusions. They argued that the "evidence suggests that introducing mixed tenure and mixed income communities alone are unlikely to increase life chances of existing disadvantaged residents, at least to any measurable extent or in the short-term. Mix may not make any direct contribution, even if it is associated with an improvement in quality of life" (Tunstall and Lupton 2010, p.18).

Other studies documented the disruption, community breakdown and anxiety over rehousing and higher rent rates experienced by residents whose social housing estates are demolished and turned into mixed tenure developments (Watt 2009; Gosling 2008). Some researchers argued that mixed community regeneration schemes even worsen segregation and social exclusion through gentrification and the displacement of lower-income populations (Bridge et al. 2011; Lees and Hubbard 2020; Wallace 2017; Lees 2008; Lees et al. 2011; Holm 2006). It is plausible that parents' negative experiences would have adverse impact on their children too, but we have no direct evidence on this from these studies.

2.4.3. Summary of neighbourhood effects and mixed communities literatures

There is evidence that neighbourhood poverty is associated with various domains of young people's wellbeing and life chances independent of their individual and family characteristics. However, these effects are heterogeneous, and take place through a range of social-interactive, institutional, environmental and geographical mechanisms. Since the New Labour government

---

[14] The systematic review assessed the quality of UK based evidence from primary and secondary studies published between 1999 and 2005

(1997-2010) and until today, neighbourhood social and income mix policies have aimed to mitigate these effects by diversifying housing tenure in deprived social housing estates in Britain. More recently tenure mix is also a key funding mechanism for regenerating and building social housing through using cross-subsidies from the sale of private properties.

Mixed tenure areas are thought to be more sustainable, have a better reputation and avoid the concentration of 'vulnerable' populations by attracting homeowners and higher-income households. The latter's presence are expected to benefit the existing lower-income young people, indirectly through supporting the local economy, relieving pressure on public services and reducing crime. And directly through positive peer and role-model influences, informal social control and increasing social capital.

Nevertheless, empirical adult-focused evidence of these mechanisms is contradictory, while research with young people on how mixed income communities affect their lives and wellbeing in the UK is very limited. The handful of UK-based studies that addressed children's and young people's experiences suggest that, from parents' perspectives, there are potential positive effects on their children as a result of improved local facilities, less stigmatised neighbourhood reputation, and higher expectations and informal social control from owner-occupiers. While there is overall low cross-tenure interactions, they are more likely to occur among children. However, existing research also showed that some wealthier families held prejudiced views towards social renters and were averse to their children mixing with their lower-income neighbours. Research from the US pointed towards different effects by gender, with benefits for young women's wellbeing, but concerning worse outcomes for young men who moved to lower poverty neighbourhoods.

This thesis aims to contribute to this gap in knowledge. The thesis is primarily concerned with existing social housing estates that have undergone mixed income regeneration, given the continuing policy preference for such schemes yet limited evidence for their effects. A majority of the neighbourhood effects pathways found in the literature have been derived from research in poor areas. Hence, this study aims to develop a conceptual understanding of the processes that take place within the neighbourhoods affected by mixed tenure regeneration. Previous studies indicate that social mixing is more likely to take place among children and young people, but there is little direct evidence from this group. Accordingly, the thesis explores youths' perspectives on how they are influenced by the tenure/income diversification of their estate. This is particularly crucial in light of the heterogeneous neighbourhood effects which would suggest that adults and

young people might not have similar views and experiences. Additionally, the strong evidence of heterogeneity of effects by area characteristics, outcomes and sub-group has informed the decision to conduct an in-depth examination of a particular case, while remaining sensitive to differences by age, gender, ethnicity and other personal circumstances.

Furthermore, it is argued that to elucidate the mechanisms that underlie neighbourhood effects on different youth outcomes, it is important to re-think our conceptualisation of children and young people's wellbeing. Crucially, it is pertinent to include their voices in this conceptualisation. Knowledge from the empirical and theoretical literatures on youth wellbeing and capabilities could help advance our understanding of mixed income neighbourhood effects on this population.

The following section provides a short overview of relevant evidence from these literatures.

2.5. Children's and young people's wellbeing

2.5.1. Theorising and measuring childhood and youth

There has been a number of normative and theoretical evolutions in the past thirty years related to children's rights and the meaning of childhood and youth. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) ratified in 1989 contributed to these evolutions. It recognised children (under 18) as individuals with their own rights, not just objects who belong to and on whose behalf decisions are made by their parents (Unicef n.d.). The UNCRC entitles children to freedom of thought and participation, the right to express their views freely in all matters affecting them, and for these views "to be given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child" (Ibid, UNCRC Article 12).

The formal establishment of children's international rights coincided with the emergence of the 'new sociology of childhood', which challenged the back then dominant developmental psychology understanding of childhood. According to the new sociology of childhood scholars, traditional developmental theory did not distinguish between children's biological immaturity and their social life, therefore it viewed childhood (including their social practices) as 'universal' and 'natural' (James and Prout 1997). Classical sociology borrowed from the traditional psychological model by predominantly viewing childhood in terms of socialisation (Jenks 2005). This perspective saw childhood as a pre-social phase of human's life marked by irrationality and simplicity, that is socialised into the rational, social, competent and autonomous phase of adulthood through the

institutional contexts of the school, family and peer group (Ibid). Thus, children were seen as 'incomplete' or 'inadequate' and in the process of 'becoming' rather than 'being' full members of society, critics argued (Matthews 2007). Studies of children focused on assessing the success of this socialisation process based on a set of formal outcomes with little consideration given to children's experiences and meanings of these institutions. For a long time, children were treated as objects to be studied and their voices were absent from research (James and Prout 1997; Alderson 2013).

In contrast, researchers leading the new sociology of childhood understood it as a sociological stage in and of itself, instead of a pre-social phase of biological irrationality (Jenks 2005). They argued that children's experiences are unique, and their social relationships, activities and meanings should be studied in their own right, irrespective of adults' concerns (Alderson 2013; James et al. 1998; Qvortrup et al. 1994). It follows that children's and young people's wellbeing should be assessed not only according to their '*becoming*' well-functioning adults but also on their well-*being* in the present (McAuley et al. 2010). Moreover, the new theorisation sees children as active actors in their lives who interact with and influence - as well as are being influenced by - their environments at the micro-, meso- and macro-levels (e.g. their families, neighbourhood conditions, economic structures, etc.) (Ben-Arieh 2005). These interactions are interdependent and dynamic and are factors of children's wellbeing.

More recent advances in childhood sociology have called for a more nuanced approach that goes beyond the conceptual binaries of structure vs agency, nature vs social construction, and being versus becoming that dominated twentieth century thinking (Prout 2011). Instead, Prout argued, childhood should be seen as a "complex phenomenon not readily reducible to one end or the other of a polar separation" (Prout 2011, p.8). According to him, childhood can be both natural and social, both being and becoming and that children are neither completely autonomous nor passively affected by structure (ibid). He called for interdisciplinarity in childhood studies and symmetry in studying both children and adults.

Echoing the theoretical evolutions of childhood and youth studies, the field of measuring child wellbeing, otherwise called 'the child indicators movement', witnessed large transformations over the years. Ben-Arieh (2008) summarised these changes into a number of shifts. The first is a move away from child survival indicators (e.g. basic needs and child mortality) to those of children's quality of life. The second is an emphasis on positive outcomes (e.g. life satisfaction) instead of exclusively on negative ones (e.g. risk behaviours). Third, a recognition of the importance of

children's wellbeing in the present and not only as a predictor of future development (well-*becoming*). These three shifts resulted in the fourth one, which saw an expansion in wellbeing indicators from traditional and adult-centric to multi-dimensional and more child-centric domains, eventually paving the way for recognising the role of children as active participants in the study of their own wellbeing. Child and youth-centred research goes beyond asking about their subjective evaluation of a list of wellbeing domains prepared by adults. Instead children and young people participate in selecting what domains are included in the first place (Ben-Arieh 2005). Later developments include efforts to measure child wellbeing at different geographical scales (e.g. Coulton and Korbin 2007) and formulating composite wellbeing indices (Ben-Arieh 2012).

2.5.2. Using participatory methods in youth-centred research

Participatory research techniques have been advocated for being integral to the enactment of children's rights and the shift to child and youth-centred research. Veale defined participatory methods as "those that facilitate the process of knowledge production, as opposed to knowledge 'gathering'" (Veale 2005 p.254). An emphasis on visual and activity-based methods (e.g. photography, drawing, and mapping) is now more widely adopted in research with children and young people as one way to minimise the power imbalances that characterise interviews or focus groups where they answer questions posed by an adult researcher (Mitchell 2006). They are also considered to be more enjoyable for children and inclusive of varying preferences and competencies of self-expression.

Levels of children's and young people's participation in the research process lie on a spectrum which ranges from children being merely informed about the research aims and why they are being involved all the way to maximum agency and participation where they are the initiators and implementers of the research (Hart 1992). Children can also participate at different stages of the research process from formulation of research questions and design of instruments to data collection, analysis and dissemination of findings (Darbyshire et al. 2005; Gallagher 2009). Some studies included children and young people as co-researchers where they are part of a research team along with adult researchers or carry out specific tasks such as interviewing their peers (Brownlie 2009). Schubotz (2012) argued that having young people (16 years) conduct interviews and focus groups with their peers enhanced the quality of data collected as the former were able to build better rapport with the research participants, use relatable language and interview hard-

to-reach populations, thus encouraging young participants to talk more openly about less socially acceptable views.

Applying youth-centred participatory approaches, however, is not free of limitations and challenges. Using participatory methods can simply reproduce existing structural and power relations both among young people by excluding minority and disadvantaged children (Veale 2005) or between them and adults, as the consent of adult gatekeepers and parents ultimately determines who can participate (Schubotz 2012). In contexts where children are not used to being asked their opinions, researcher-child interactions can still be characterised by unequal relationships (Fattore et al. 2019). Therefore, researchers argued for the importance of critical reflexivity and situating children's accounts and participation within the wider structural inequalities they experience, as people's preferences and views can in some instances get accustomed to their disadvantaged situations, a phenomenon referred to as 'adaptive preferences' (Ziegler 2010; Nussbaum 2003). Another challenge is that it can sometimes be problematic for adult researchers to interpret visual data produced by children who are not willing to elaborate verbally on what their drawings or photos mean to them (Mitchell 2006). Finally, while peer researchers can provide an insider's perspective into young people's views and experiences, sometimes it is difficult for the former to disentangle important issues by virtue of having very similar experiences as the participants (Jones 2004).

2.5.3. Empirical research on young people's conceptualisations of their wellbeing

A number of national and cross-national studies contributed to our knowledge of children's and young people's conceptualisations of wellbeing. The Children's Society carried out a national Good Childhood Inquiry in 2006 where about 18,000 children and young people (3 to 21 years) in the UK were asked about what constitutes a good life for them, of which the environment where they live was one theme (The Children's Society 2009). Youths talked about the physical and relational aspects of their local areas and the importance of living in clean, safe and pleasant surroundings free of aggravation. They also mentioned how negative perceptions, stereotypes and disrespect towards them by adults in their community stop them from having a good life. Two cross-cutting themes, however, emerged, namely 'freedom' and 'safety'. Within the different domains of relationships, health, learning, and environments, young people talked about the importance of feeling safe and having the freedom in what they think, say and do, making their own decisions and learning from their own mistakes (The Children's Society 2009).

Another study was conducted in Ireland where 266 children between 8 and 19 years old expressed their understandings of wellbeing (Hanafin and Brooks 2005). Findings highlighted the significance of inter-personal relationships and activities (things to do) to young people' sense of belonging, and being safe, loved, valued and cared for (Ibid)[15]. In Australia, a child standpoint study produced three overarching wellbeing themes from children's (8-15 years) point of view; (1) a positive sense of self; (2) agency and autonomy; and (3) security and safety (Fattore et al. 2016). Additionally, a multi-national participatory qualitative research project investigating children's understandings of wellbeing in 27 countries is currently underway (see http://www.cuwb.org/). The most recent findings from England identified divergences in the level of importance children (11 years) from different socio-economic, ethnic and religious backgrounds afford to different wellbeing domains: relationships with friends and grandparents were more important to the wellbeing of those from deprived areas; places outside the home and school were less significant for ethnic minority children from a poor neighbourhood; while sports activities with friends were mentioned less frequently by children from a Muslim background who were more likely to spend time at the mosque (McAuley 2019).

Many of the concepts and meanings identified by these key empirical studies (i.e. freedom, agency, autonomy, sense of belonging, being valued and cared for, etc.) are not commonly incorporated in the neighbourhood effects literature.

2.5.4. Well-being concepts and neighbourhoods

Despite the theoretical normative and methodological advancements in child and youth studies, neighbourhood effects research has largely lagged behind. It predominantly focused on topics about which adults are usually concerned when it comes to children and young people. This is partly due to data availability at prescribed geographical administrative boundaries (Coulton and Korbin 2007). There is a skewed emphasis on the impact of neighbourhoods on youth delinquency, anti-social behaviour, negative peer effects and educational attainment. These are undoubtedly important issues, but youth voices about their own understanding of and drivers behind these outcomes and behaviours are usually missing. If children and young people, as the

---

[15] Using children's insights as well as a review of international practice and available national statistics produced 42 child well-being indicators that assessed positive as well as negative outcomes, well-*being* as well as well-*becoming*, subjective as well as objective factors, and overall adopted a 'whole child perspective' incorporating children's own capacities, in addition to their relationships and the formal and informal support available to them.

previous section shows, define their wellbeing in terms of their agency, freedom, autonomy, safety, sense of belonging and being loved, etc., how do these meanings relate to their engagement in anti-social behaviour, or faring poorly at school? Similarly, a focus on the absence of problem behaviours or negative outcomes does not essentially mean positive wellbeing (Fattore et al. 2007).

Moreover, child and youth-centred participatory methods can reveal issues that adult-centered approaches cannot. For example, in his study with children (7-12 years) in a disadvantaged neighbourhood in Ireland, Rogers (2012) had initially set out to explore their informal and unstructured use of their physical space. However, he had to adapt his research plan to also include neighbourhood friends after children repeatedly included them in their photographs of the places where they spend time. Participants insisted on the importance of their neighbourhood friends to their sense wellbeing and how they spend their unstructured time. This contrasts with many neighbourhood effects studies that usually only focus on the negative influence of peers on young people's behaviours. Likewise, Alice Mcintyre (2000) found that the use of a range of participatory methods (photovoice, collages, drawing and storytelling) in her study resulted in a conceptualisation of neighbourhood violence to include, besides physical aggression, the presence of trash/garbage, which the young people repeatedly talked about as affecting their wellbeing of living in a deprived neighbourhood.

In order to fully understand how neighbourhoods affect children and young people, it is important to also explore from their own point of view the relevant aspects of neighbourhoods that matter for their wellbeing. This thesis, therefore, adopts a youth-centred participatory approach that conceptualises young people as active agents in their lives who are also impacted by their neighbourhood and structural contexts, as well as their biological development. It affords equal importance to their wellbeing at the present as well as in the future. Accordingly, it incorporates a range of different data production activities and methods in an effort to stay inclusive to diverse views and experiences of participants from different backgrounds. Challenges to this methodology and how they are addressed in this study are discussed in detail in chapter 3.

2.6. Children's wellbeing and the capability approach

2.6.1. A brief background to the capability approach

The third body of literature this research draws on and which is part of the evolving thinking about evaluating children's wellbeing is the capability approach (CA). I briefly introduced the CA in chapter 1. To reiterate, it is a conceptual framework for the assessment of individual wellbeing and evaluation of social arrangements (e.g. political, social and economic structures and policies) (Robeyns 2017, p.24). The CA shifts attention from the means that people possess (e.g. resources or income) to a focus on what people are actually able to be and do with the resources they have (Robeyns 2017). According to Sen, it "gives a central role to the evaluation of a person's achievements and freedoms in terms of his or her actual ability to do the different things a person has reason to value doing or being" (Sen 2009a, 16). Capabilities are people's freedoms and opportunities to pursue things they value (e.g. opportunities to be educated or be healthy). They are distinguished from their 'functionings' which are their actual achievements or outcomes (e.g. their educational attainment or health outcomes).

One of the merits of a capabilitarian analysis is that it accounts for individuals' varying abilities to convert the resources (material or non-material) they have access to into meaningful functionings. These discrepancies in converting resources result from the intersections between three types of factors: (1) Internal or personal conversion factors, such as one's age, skills and sex; (2) Social factors related to social norms, political context, policies, social structures and institutions; and (3) Environmental conversion factors, which refer to the physical or geographical characteristics of one's environment such as quality of the built environment, transportation links, location, climate, pollution level, natural disasters, etc. (Robeyns 2017). Conversion factors interact with one another. For example, how one's age, gender, ethnicity and social class affect one's ability to convert resources into functionings depends on the social and environmental context. The implication of this approach is that depending on their circumstances and the characteristics of their social contexts, different groups of people might need different levels and types of resources to reach the same level of achievement.

2.6.2. Children and the capability approach

It is argued that the capability approach is well suited for research on children's wellbeing because their shifts through life produce different contexts and thus differing abilities to transform

resources (Ben-Arieh and Frønes 2011). The CA is also aligned with the positioning of children and youth as social actors and adds a powerful dimension to the rights perspective by highlighting the factors involved in converting the rights they are entitled to into capabilities (Hart 2014). Additionally, looking at opportunities and freedoms allows space for evaluating outcomes and experiences in the present as well as opportunities for future development, thus bridging the gap between viewing children as 'beings' and 'becomings'.

Nonetheless, one contested feature of children's capabilities is their 'agency freedom', defined by Sen as "what the person is free to do and achieve in pursuit of *whatever* goals or values he or she regards as important" (Sen 1985 p.203). This is a general concept that is differentiated from the normative notion of 'wellbeing freedom', which is one's freedom to pursue and achieve their 'wellbeing'. Agency freedom is a person's freedom to pursue goals that could improve but which could also diminish their wellbeing. It is an individual's capacity to exercise their own free will. One example of agency freedom is the choice to put one's own safety at risk to save a loved one from an imminent danger. If the CA calls for expanding people's freedoms to make choices and pursue their valued goals, the underlying assumption is that they have the capacity to make such choices. Nevertheless, Amartya Sen wrote that agency freedom is not relevant for children because they do not have the capacity to make responsible and moral judgements about what is good for themselves (Sen 2007).

This view has been challenged by a number of academics whose research revealed that children are often able to apply reasoning in their decision making processes and to reflect, evaluate and revise their behaviours (Fattore et al. 2016; Ballet et al. 2011). Agency and autonomy are also recurring themes in studies where children participated in conceptualising their wellbeing, as mentioned in the previous section. Hart and Brando (2018) explored the often contested relationship between expanding children's freedoms and adults' concerns about protecting their wellbeing achievements. They argued that it need not be a zero-sum relationship. By adding the dimension of 'competence' to their model, Hart and Brando considered how the nature and gradual process through which a child's competencies could be developed through the expansion of their freedoms, while at the same time not jeopardising their achievements. Looking particularly at education systems and the school context, they argued for an "optimal scenario (in which well-being achievement is high, whilst allowing freedom to be exercised) that can be reached if a relatively higher freedom as compared to competence is enabled" (Hart and Brando 2018, p.301). Accordingly, they called for curricula and learning systems that fostered children's empowerment,

participation (e.g. having a voice in the curriculum) and ability to convert their aspirations into capabilities. This way, children's wellbeing is not only protected, but allowed to thrive through their (supported) exercise of their agency freedom. Hart and Brando's conceptualisation could be extended to other local services or spaces where young people spend time and interact with adult, in this case neighbourhood regeneration, facilities and public spaces.

In their edited book Children and the Capability Approach Biggeri, Ballet and Comim (2011) developed a capabilitarian conceptual framework for understanding children's wellbeing. They based their framework on a weak self-determination principle which "implies that the individual is in a position to make choices but that the framework within which they make these choices must be defined so that their capacity for evaluation may develop and that certain, particularly harmful, choices may thus be eliminated" (Ballet et al. 2011, p. 27). In other words, children have to be given a space for autonomy in order to learn how to be autonomous. This view, they argued, is compatible with the notion of evolving capabilities which considers children's capacity to exercise self-determination (i.e. take responsibility for decisions affecting their lives) as constantly developing throughout their life course based on their age and level of maturity (Lansdown 2005; Ballet et al. 2011). Therefore, it is important that children play an active role in their life and the lives of their families and communities.

Based on this view, capabilities should be viewed as dynamic rather than static, with children at the centre of the process of change and evolvement of their capabilities. Ballet, Biggeri and Comim (2011) have configured a framework that sees the process of children's capability expansion or evolvement as starting from a set of achieved functionings at a certain point in time (e.g. cognitive development). These achievements influence the resources available to children as well as the conversion factors, in turn influencing their future capability set through feedback loops. The resources or entitlements children have and the process of resource conversion are also affected by the nature of the institutions, social norms and cultures within their families, schools, communities and national contexts, which will constrain or expand their capability sets (or set of potential achievable functionings) and eventually their actual achievements. The latter will consequently affect their capabilities at a future point in time and so on and so forth.

While researchers established that children and young people are able to express and articulate their valued beings and doings, some argued that these values and goals are influenced by their living environments and social contexts. Hart (2013) found, through her interviews with school

children (13-18 years) in the UK, that young people's freedom to aspire for things to be and do is itself influenced by a range of factors including their families (e.g. parents' expectations, knowledge, etc.), school (e.g. advice and support they receive from teachers, their ability to voice their aspirations), and peer pressure. These factors limit or expand what is possible for young people to aspire for and in turn influence other future capabilities. Accordingly, she argued for expanding the conceptualisation space for evaluating wellbeing through considering the capability to aspire as a meta-capability that is essential for securing other capabilities. Understanding the capability to aspire is important to develop a full picture of individual wellbeing.

Biggeri et al. (2006) summarised five issues to be considered when it comes to children's capabilities. First, parents' capability set and achieved functionings (e.g. parents' income and education) will have a direct or indirect effect on their children's capabilities. Secondly, the actions and decisions of parents, teachers and other adults in children's lives do constrain or expand children's ability to convert resources into functionings. One illustration of this comes from a qualitative study that Walker and Mkwananzi (2015) conducted with a group of marginalised young people living in an informal settlement in South Africa. They showed how participants' disadvantaged living environment puts barriers against their ability to convert the basic resources they have (e.g. food, shelter, access to school) into their desired goal of pursuing higher education. They lacked access to information about different universities and available funding opportunities. They also had minimal support from their families and were faced with negative peer influence from others living in their area. Despite their determination to perform well at school (personal conversion factor), these social and environmental conversion factors restricted their higher education capabilities.

The third consideration relevant to children's capabilities, that Biggeri and colleagues (2006) highlighted, concerns the interconnectedness between different capabilities and functionings. Amartya Sen (1992), Martha Nussbaum (2003) and others (e.g. Terzi 2007; Alkire 2002; Hart 2013) identified a number of basic and fundamental capabilities that are essential for human flourishing because they satisfy basic needs while at the same time play an instrumental role in the expansion of other capabilities. Being sheltered, healthy, educated, clothed, and nourished, living in a safe environment and being free to aspire are among these fundamental capabilities. For example, the absence of education during childhood disadvantages individuals in a way that could be difficult to compensate later in life (Terzi 2007). Besides its intrinsic value, education promotes civic participation, future career opportunities, and the cognitive skills required to imagine and

formulate valued beings and doings in the first place (ibid). The capability to be educated is also key for social justice and the liberation of oppressed populations (Nussbaum 2003). Walker's (2007) interviews with working class young women in South Africa (15-16 yeas) demonstrated how their education opened their horizons and capability to aspire for and imagine lives better than the ones that were available for their mothers. It also fostered their capability of voice defined as "the capacity to debate, contest, inquire, and participate critically", which in turn expands agency i.e. ability to change things for oneself (Walker 2007, p.184).

Despite the universally acknowledged importance of education, researchers contested a homogeneous view of its value without considering the ways schools and education systems could reproduce social inequalities. Unterhalter (2003) argued that schooling in South Africa perpetuates gender injustice and diminishes girls' capabilities through their exposure to sexual violence at the hands of male teachers and pupils. Vaughan and Walker (2012) also showed how higher education curricula instil particular values in students that inform their valued future choices. In addition, education systems and teaching methods could produce what Walker (2007) called 'deficit identities' among children who are not performing as well as their peers. This work resulted in the conceptualisation of 'education capabilities' that are essential for promoting children's and young people's freedoms and wellbeing. They include education that not only advances children's knowledge capabilities, but also their autonomy, social relations, aspiration, voice, and bodily and emotional integrity (Walker 2007).

The fourth important issue to consider when it comes to children relates to the changes in relevant capabilities through the life cycle. Biggeri's (2007) three field studies in Italy, Uganda and India where children (9-17 years) participated in defining a list of capabilities revealed that the relevance of some varied by age. For example, the importance they attached to the capabilities of participation in public life, enjoying social relations, exercising autonomy over one's time, and mobility increased with age.

The fifth and final issue underscored by Biggeri and colleagues is that children have the agency to change their internal and external conversion factors by influencing the society around them. A relevant study that explored children's capacity for agency was conducted by Padrón and Ballet (2011) with children (8-17 years) who performed activities in the streets of Lima, Peru. Despite their families' extreme material poverty the children did not see themselves as mere victims, rather they took an active role in expanding their capabilities and developing more positive identities.

Performing in the street improved their physical and mental capabilities and played an important role in their socialisation as they interacted with their peers, shop keepers and passersby. The money they made also allowed them to purchase school supplies, clothes, and other items that were otherwise not affordable for their parents. Moreover, receiving encouragement from people who watched them perform boosted their self-esteem. Nevertheless, the authors highlighted that children's street activities were also accompanied with negative experiences that undermined their capability gains. These experiences included rejection from some onlookers, persecution by the police and exposure to gangs. While children did not simply submit to these negative aspects, Padrón and Ballet argued that, "the future identity of these children hinges on such tensions" (2011, p.171). They wrote "identity develops within the framework of both a multiple and restricted possibility trajectory. Put differently, if identity is a matter of choice, it never is a totally open choice." (Padrón and Ballet 2011, p. 162).

2.6.3. Place and the capability approach

There are a number of previous studies that used the capability approach to evaluate urban planning and design processes and the impact of the built environment on wellbeing. One of the most relevant to this thesis is Frediani's (2007) evaluation of an informal settlement upgrading project in Brazil. As a first stage, he compiled a list of six instrumental valued capabilities based on informal interviews with local residents and lists previously developed by other scholars (namely Sen 1999 and Alkire 2002). The list included the freedom to individualise, the freedom to expand, the freedom to afford living costs, the freedom to have a healthy environment, the freedom to participate, and the freedom to maintain social networks. The second stage involved engaging with residents through interviews and focus groups to assess the impact of the upgrading programme on their capability to achieve these values. One of the key findings was that the design of the housing resulted in a reduction in the residents' housing capabilities. For example, the new standardised housing sizes and layouts prevented residents from tailoring homes to their individual needs, or expanding the space to accommodate extended families like they used to do before the estate's renewal. The new shared water and sanitation systems also created community tensions whenever there were maintenance issues. While connecting the new properties to a formal sanitation and electricity network improved residents' freedom to have a healthy environment, the dwellings were smaller in size than their previous homes and thus created overcrowding living conditions. Moreover, many residents could not afford the more expensive bills. Finally, the community criticised the top-down approach to community participation adopted by government

officials who imposed new participatory forums rather than supporting the existing grassroots community organisation. In another case study, Frediani and others facilitated a two-week participatory planning workshop with a community in Ecuador about their aspirations for building a new self-help housing development. Frediani argued that the process of deliberation about values shared by different community members informing the type of city they want to live in and negotiating corresponding planning designs enhanced collective capabilities to bring about change (Frediani 2015).

Moreover, the influence of place was made apparent in Unterhalter's (2012) analysis of quantitative and qualitative data collected from more than 1,500 primary and secondary school girls in South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Nigeria. She highlighted the discrepancies in participants' views based on whether they live in a place characterised with relative poverty as opposed to absolute poverty. Girls living in the former were more likely to voice constraints on their capabilities than those from backgrounds of absolute poverty. Being aware of and exposed to alternative better conditions in their districts, Unterhalter (2012) argued, allowed girls to reflect on the obstacles they face, more than those who are surrounded by others facing similar deprived conditions.

The thesis draws on and extends this emerging literature. I argue that the capability approach is ideally positioned for studying neighbourhood effects. Analysing the interactions between personal, social and environmental conversion factors could illuminate how the relationships between individual and contextual characteristics shape wellbeing (i.e. capabilities). In this thesis, the assets or improvements brought by the mixed communities regeneration are considered the resources available for residents. To understand how the regeneration influences young people's wellbeing, the thesis aims to investigate the factors that affect their ability to transform these resources into valued capabilities.

2.6.4. Approaches to identifying valued capabilities

A number of different methods have been adopted by researchers to select and measure valued capabilities. They can be divided into three main categories; (1) using a pre-determined list of capabilities or functionings derived either from theory, existing data, or 'expert analysis' of values and preferences; (2) employing participatory methods or public consensus to draw a list of most valued beings and doings, the achievement of which can then be measured (Biggeri and Mehrotra 2011); or (3) adopting a combination of the first two approaches. Falling within the first category is Nussbaum's (2003) Aristotle-inspired list of ten "Central Human Capabilities" that, she argued,

all citizens should enjoy at a minimum threshold. The ten universal entitlements include the capability of life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, and control over one's environment (see Nussbaum 2003 for a full description of each capability). However, having a universal list of capabilities has been criticised for lacking cross-cultural validity and applicability to different local contexts and groups (e.g. elderly people and children) (Robeyns 2006).

Another exercise to operationalise the capability approach which is relevant to this thesis and falls under the first tradition is Blečić and colleagues' (2012) capabilities-informed conceptual framework for evaluating urban quality of life. The latter was defined in terms of the "actual possibilities each person has to 'use' the city in order to achieve functionings and capabilities", as opposed to the more common approach of quality of life surveys in Europe that simply count services, places, infrastructures, etc. The latter method, they argued, does not take into account whether and how different individuals are able to use urban facilities. They developed a questionnaire that measures six capabilities at an individual level: health, home, environment, work/education, play and participation, through asking about the availability, quality and accessibility of relevant services or places under each of the six categories (Blečić et al. 2012). Other studies within the first category have focused on children's functionings i.e. wellbeing achievements (e.g. actual physical health, or problem behaviours) rather than their capabilities i.e. freedoms to achieve (e.g. Phipps 2002). However this method is indistinguishable from traditional children's studies, risks excluding important wellbeing domains due to data availability and can obscure actual lived experiences (Biggeri and Mehrotra 2011).

Sen (2004) advocated for the second category of methods: using 'democratic' processes' and public deliberation to select capabilities that better reflect individual and collective experiences of wellbeing in order to avoid conceptualisations detached from social realities. This is the approach adopted in this thesis as it is aligned with the youth-centred principles adhered to in the research design. One example from existing literature is Kellock and Lawthom's (2011) study in the UK where they used a range of participatory activities (e.g. photography, mind maps and art) with children (8 to 10 years) to explore their conceptualisations of their capabilities in the school context. Four main capabilities were identified; to be literate, to be physically active, to be a friend, and to be creative. Taking the first capability as an example, children identified available resources such as books, teaching and reading time, but mentioned that learning disabilities, distractions in

the classroom and a 'shouting teacher' act as barriers to converting these resources into their valued capability of being literate.

The third procedure employed by researchers to operationalise capabilities is to combine *a priori* open list of children's capabilities based on theory or previous research that is then refined and ratified using participatory methods (e.g. see Biggeri and Libanora 2011; and Vizard and Burchardt 2007). Some of the domains these studies have produced include the capability to be alive, to have physical health and security, to be educated and knowledgeable, to participate in society, to be engaged in proactive and leisure activities, to have loving social relations and to have self and other's respect.

2.7. Conclusions of the literature review and gaps in evidence

1. There is evidence that neighbourhoods matter and that living in a deprived area can have a significant negative impact on young people's outcomes independent of their individual and family characteristics.
2. A number of social, institutional, environmental and geographical mechanisms mediate these effects.
3. Neighbourhood effects are heterogeneous and vary by individual and neighbourhood characteristics, the outcome in question, and wider geographical, economic and political conditions.
4. In response to problems of neighbourhood poverty, British urban regeneration policy has adopted tenure diversification in deprived social housing-dominated areas to attract wealthier households and instate a neighbourhood income mix.
5. But evidence on the effects of tenure mix in general is inconclusive, and research with or about the experiences of young people is limited
6. Available literature has adopted a skewed focus on developmentalist and adult-centric outcomes in studying neighbourhood effects on children and young people.
7. Child wellbeing literature adds to evidence on how children and young people experience wellbeing from their own standpoint but few studies have explicitly explored this from a neighbourhood perspective. This is particularly important in light of the heterogeneity of neighbourhood effects.
8. The capability approach can reveal wellbeing mechanisms through assessing young people's freedom to use the available resources to achieve what they value in life now and in the future. It can also reflect youth agency freedom as well as wellbeing freedom. However, the CA has not been widely utilised within the neighbourhood effects literature.

Income mixing through tenure diversification is now a common practice in council estate regeneration projects (particularly in London). Yet, we still do not have enough knowledge on how young people experience, and their wellbeing is impacted by these interventions. Inconclusive evidence from existing research in mixed communities revealed that mechanisms that operate in poor neighbourhoods are not simply reversed by introducing social or tenure mix. Additionally, a focus on adult-centred approaches, and dearth of studies that aimed to investigate mechanisms linking neighbourhood income-mixing with young people's wellbeing in the UK leave a gap in our knowledge.

I argue that bringing together the three literatures on neighbourhood effects, child wellbeing and the capability approach can advance our understandings of the mechanisms involved in how turning poor areas into mixed-tenure (income) neighbourhoods affects the wellbeing of a group particularly likely to be affected, for better or worse, by these policies. Youth-centred methods can uncover how young people subjectively experience their neighbourhood contexts, including dimensions which are easily missed by research based on concepts pre-defined by adult 'experts'. Using the capability approach as a framework allows for young people's varying degrees of agency but also recognises the constraints under which they operate. I also embraces the diversity and heterogeneity that previous research leads us to expect can inform the opportunities and barriers they face in converting the resources brought by mixed income communities. These issues are reflected in the thesis research questions presented in the following section.

2.8. Thesis research questions

Main research question

How are the capabilities of low-income young people influenced by the regeneration of their social housing estate into a mixed income neighbourhood?

Sub-research questions

1. What capabilities do low-income young people in a mixed income neighbourhood value? (i.e. what are their valued beings and doings?)
2. What are the mechanisms by which their valued capabilities are influenced by transforming their social housing estate into a mixed income neighbourhood?

3. How do personal, social, institutional and environmental factors influence young people's ability to convert the resources brought by the regeneration into valued capabilities?

3. Methodology

This chapter describes and justifies the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted by this thesis in answering the research questions. It proceeds as follows; first an explanation is provided of the ontological and epistemological approach that underpins the choice of methodology used throughout the thesis. This is followed by a description of the research design and the approach used in the selection of the fieldwork site. Afterwards, an overview of the different stages of the fieldwork is offered, before moving on to explain the sampling strategy adopted and describe the characteristics of the study participants. Next, a detailed description of the methods used in data production and analysis is provided. The chapter ends with a reflective discussion of the quality of the research methodology and the its limitations.

3.1. Ontological and epistemological approach: Critical realism

This thesis adopts a critical realist approach to ontology (the nature of reality) and epistemology (what and how we can know about reality). Critical realism is a meta-theoretic position which holds that an objective and real world exists outside of people's subjective perceptions, meanings and imagination, while simultaneously acknowledges that the latter form an important part of this world and influence the way it is experienced (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014). With its double recognition of an independent reality and subjective interpretations, critical realism (CR hereafter) offers an alternative philosophical paradigm to the dichotomy between positivist (empiricist) and social constructionist (interpretive) approaches to social science research. It argues that the world cannot be reduced to one or the other (Hu 2018).

While critical realism agrees with positivist assumptions about the existence of an objective world independent of people's biases (including those of researchers), it rejects limiting this world to law-like quantifiable facts separate from social structural context. Independent correlations between variables are useful, but they offer only a partial understanding of a more complex reality (Archer et al. 2016). For CR, reality is formed of open, as opposed to closed, systems of interacting entities that produce the events we observe (Fleetwood 2017). While these events can be governed by causal tendencies, the latter do not occur uniformly in all social contexts.

Likewise, critical realism shares with constructionism a critique of science and knowledge as not absolute truths, rather they are situated within structures of power, culture and vested interests.

Nevertheless, CR diverges from constructionism with regards to the latter's claim that it is impossible to gain true knowledge of an external reality either because it does not exist, or if it does the only way to have access to it is through people's interpretations of its meaning (Gergen 2015). According to CR, subjective perceptions are prone to hegemonic narratives of powerful groups and without separating people's beliefs from the reality they represent, we will not be able, for example to critique systems of power and oppression. Just because a group of people says racism does not exist, it does not mean it is true. Entities, like racism or gender inequality, etc., exist independent of the perception of them (Fleetwood 2005). This being said, racism becomes real through its effect on people's behaviours, attitudes, outcomes, etc. It can also be reproduced and transformed by human actions.

It follows that a central aim of critical realism is explaining the complex social structural mechanisms (e.g. rules, resources, relations, powers, practices) at work in any given social phenomenon. To do that, a researcher is ought to go beyond phenomenal appearances and delve into deeper layers and domains of reality, which represents the critical realist epistemological approach adopted by the thesis. CR envisages reality as comprising of three overlapping and interactive domains: The *empirical* domain involves people's subjective experiences and interpretations of social events. The *actual* domain is composed of the events and objects which may or may not be experienced or observed or may be interpreted differently by observers. The *real* domain comprises of the causal structures and mechanisms that produce the observable events and phenomena (Bhaskar 1978; Fletcher 2017; Alderson 2016). Examples of causal structures include social inequalities, race, gender, generation, etc. Hence, the primary goal of a critical realist researcher is to consider these three levels and analyse the interactions between them, or in Bhaskar's words to "*investigate and identify relationships and non-relationships, respectively, between what we experience, what actually happens, and the underlying mechanisms that produce the events in the world* (Bhaskar 1978, p.36). It is maintained, however, that the knowledge attained is always fallible and subject to the theories, methods and world views of the investigator. It is a social product (Danermark et al. 2001).

This relates to another critical realist position which denies a separation between structure and agency (Archer 1982). Hu (2018) argued that "social structure is produced by human agency, while also providing conditions for human agency to act upon". Therefore, from a critical realist point of view the task of understanding social reality involves an analysis of how the interactions between

social actors and entities are structured in certain ways to generate a given social event or phenomenon (Fleetwood 2005).

Critical realism's pre-occupation with unpacking complex social mechanisms makes it ideal for answering the research questions posed by this thesis. The main purpose of this study is to understand how young people's wellbeing is influenced by the mixed income regeneration of their neighbourhood. A critical realist view of understanding this phenomenon entails an exploration of the subjective perspectives of the social actors involved, investigating the social relations that bind them and analysing the social structural contexts within which they operate, all of which form the mechanisms influencing their wellbeing (Price and Martin 2018). This process of inference is called 'retroduction' by critical realists, and it very closely matches the sub-research questions outlined at the end of the preceding chapter (see p.52), particularly with regards to identifying the mechanisms and personal, social, institutional factors operating and influencing young people's capabilities.

In line with the critical realist approach, this thesis steers away from the dualisms that characterised the conceptualisations of childhood and youth within the field of sociology. For decades modernist sociology and afterwards the new sociology of childhood have contested the meanings of childhood and youth. These contestations largely revolved around a number of conceptual dichotomies of structure vs agency, nature vs social construction and being vs becoming (e.g. see Prout and James 1997; Jenks 2005). In contrast, critical realism, Alderson (2016) argued, "turns dualisms into interactive dialectics. Children are perceived in varying ways by the adults and peers who know them, and they also exist partly independently of these varying views, though influenced, and 'reconstructed' by, and interacting with, the perceptions on many levels" (p. 203). Hence, it is the view of this thesis that children and young people (just like adults) are neither absolutely agentic nor passively shaped by social structures. Their outcomes are a product of the interaction between biological and social factors (Sapolsky 2017). And, they are both beings 'in their own right' who can speak for themselves competently and should be listened to. At the same time, their competencies and capacities are continuously evolving and are shaped by their social contexts and their reactions to them (Lansdown 2005; Lee 1999).

The following section will describe how a critical realist ontology and epistemology shapes the research design of the thesis.

3.2. Research Design

Guided by critical realism, youth-centred principles and the capability approach, a qualitative single case study design is adopted which incorporates a multi-method and multi-source knowledge production techniques.

This thesis undertook an in-depth case study of a deprived social housing estate in London that has been transformed into a mixed income community through a large-scale regeneration project (a detailed description of the case study selection process in provided in the following section). While there is no one single understanding of case study research[16], at the basic level a case study can be defined as the in-depth examination and understanding of a particular phenomenon happening in real-time, which involves an iterative research process that seeks to collect data from multiple sources (Yin 2013a; Merriam 1988; Mabry 2008; Hammersley and Gomm 2009).

A case study design was believed to be the best suited to answer the thesis research questions. Yin recommended using case studies when (a) 'how' and 'why' research questions are being asked, (b) the researcher cannot control events being studied, and (c) the phenomenon under investigation takes place at the present and where it is difficult to detach it from its context (Yin 2013a). All these conditions apply to the thesis research questions and aims. The social context of the neighbourhood is central to answering the main study question of how it influences young people's capabilities. Because of its focus on the in-depth investigation of social phenomena and on explanatory research questions, a case study is considered among the most compatible designs with a critical realist approach (Easton 2010). In the quest to unravel the multiple modes of reality experienced by and affecting young people, the complex interactions between these realities and ultimately explain the mechanisms shaping the relationship between the neighbourhood and their wellbeing, a critical realist thesis calls for the use of flexible, adaptive and ideally diverse research techniques (Ackroyd and Karlsson 2014). Case studies are well suited for this type of intensive research purposes because "they provide a situation in which mechanisms may be to some extent isolated and then studied", as written by Ackroyd and Karlsson (2014, p.26).

---

[16] The reason for this diversity is that case studies are used in a great variety of disciplines, can accommodate almost any research method (qualitative or quantitative), and are employed by researchers coming from as diverse epistemological backgrounds as post-positivism, critical realism, interpretivism and constructionism (Baškarada 2014).

Correspondingly, a range of qualitative methods that put young people at the centre were followed. Based on Roger Hart's (1992) degrees of children and young people's participation, this study falls somewhere in the middle under the 'adult initiated, shared decisions with children' category. He described this model as one which involves all persons, but gives particular concern to the young and/or groups that are commonly excluded from participation (Hart 1992, p.12). In total, four main data production methods were adopted: (1) participant and non-participant observation, (2) participatory activities and group discussions (with young people), (3) semi-structured interviews (with young people and adult stakeholders), and (4) document analysis. A detailed description of each is provided below in section 3.7.

To facilitate young people's participation in the research and accommodate their different preferences for self-expression, participatory and open knowledge production methods were used (Clark 2010; Malet et al. 2010; Andersson et al. 2005). They included a variety of visual, activity- and discussion-based methods, that allowed participants the chance to have some control over the issues they want to talk about and fostered reflection and debate. While a set of activities was planned prior to the commencement of fieldwork, flexibility was maintained in terms of participants' choices about how to participate and these plans were open for change. Some participants also took on a researcher role, devising a topic guide and interviewing other young people.

This mixed-methods and mixed-data source strategy enabled a better understanding of the three domains of reality. Participant observation, activities and interviews with young people revealed their subjective interpretations and experiences (i.e. empirical domain), but also provided a window to the 'actual' domain of regeneration processes. The latter was further explored through observation of the regeneration activities, analysis of official planning documents and interviews with decision makers and other community members. Data production activities took place in an iterative and dynamic way. For example, sometimes discussions and activities with young people opened up further unanticipated avenues for investigation, such as new sources of information, new people to interview, new events to observe or relevant documents to analyse, etc. After following these investigative leads, I would go back to young people and ask further questions, or confront them with what I found which sometimes contradicted their perceptions. This often resulted in a deeper understanding, not only of their world views but also of how the social structures shape and inform these views. Together these methods and techniques illuminated the

'real' domain of mechanisms underpinning the relationship between the regeneration and their wellbeing.

The capability approach guided the nature of the questions pursued during fieldwork and provided an overarching framework for coding and analysing the data. Hence, among the key concerns is to understand the things young people value and how the regeneration processes expand or restrict their freedom to achieve these valued things (i.e. conversion factors).

The decision to follow a *single* rather than a *comparative* case study design was born out of purpose as well as expediency. Gaining a deep understanding of young people's experiences and the mechanisms involved required spending an extended amount of time in the field to allow for gathering rich data and following the emerging lines of enquiry. Thus, while a comparative case study design was initially considered[17], shortly after starting fieldwork on the first site it became clear that the loss in depth of understanding the context and mechanisms involved would surpass the benefits from moving to collecting comparative data in another neighbourhood. The narrow time scale available to the researcher was another factor that featured in this choice, the limitations of which are considered in section 3.9 later in this chapter.

It follows that the aim behind this study is not to reach universal or statistical generalisation and certainly not to claim that the findings are representative to young people in all other neighbourhoods undergoing mixed income regeneration. The purpose, rather, is to pursue what Robert Yin called analytic generalisation: "the extraction of a more abstract level of ideas from a set of case study findings – ideas that nevertheless can pertain to newer situations other than the case(s) in the original case study" (Yin 2013b, p.325). This is closely related to the realist concept of generality, which refers to generalisability at the level of the pre-conditions – the institutional and social structures, relationships, or actions – that exist for an abject to be what it is (Danermark et al. 2001). The objective, thus, is to generate findings that are both sensitive to the specific characteristics of the case under study (being conscious of the heterogeneous nature of neighbourhood effects), and analytically generalisable at the level of mechanisms.

---

[17] It was considered to choose two deprived neighbourhoods that changed to mixed income communities; one through the demolition and replacement of social housing with mixed tenure development, and another through the gradual sale of social housing properties.

3.3. Fieldwork site selection

Site selection was done purposively aiming to "identify information-rich case(s) whose study will illuminate the research questions" (Patton 2002, p.46). A number of considerations featured in the field site selection decision. These most importantly included choosing a historically deprived neighbourhood that used to be dominated by social housing and has been transformed into a mixed tenure (thus mixed income) community, which is the main subject of the research question. It was also important to choose an area the characteristics of which are not particularly extreme in any way compared to other deprived neighbourhoods or social housing estates. It was not feasible to choose a neighbourhood strictly typical of all other areas undergoing or that has undergone social mixing simply because this information is not available. Permissibility was another essential selection criterion. Thus, it was important that the area has a school and/or community spaces where the main participants (i.e. young people) can be accessed and observed and where gatekeepers and community members are willing to grant the researcher entry for the full duration of the study. Finally, convenience was considered in the choice of the location of the neighbourhood so that transportation and accommodation costs would not impose undue financial burden on the researcher due to lack of fieldwork funding. Thus, it was deemed more practical to choose a neighbourhood in London where I am based. Using desk-based search and the advice of a colleague who is a housing research expert I compiled a list of neighbourhoods that met the selection criteria. Fieldwork eventually took place in the area that was at the top of that list.

The case study area met all selection criteria, including that of permissibility. It is an inner-London council estate that has been redeveloped into a mixed tenure area. It was deemed a good fieldwork site because its mixed community regeneration scheme can be considered an 'ideal' type. From the start, local authority planners expected the regeneration to have strong chances of successfully delivering a transformation in population mix due to being a well-connected inner-urban area located in a strong regional economy. In addition, it has a local secondary school, a youth club, a community centre and a local housing office, to which I was welcomed by all gatekeepers after having preliminary meetings with them and describing my research aims. For ethical reasons, the name of the area is kept confidential to protect the anonymity of the participants. However, for the purpose of contextualising the research findings, I present below a general overview of its historical background, how it has changed since its redevelopment and its characteristics at the time of fieldwork.

3.4. Profile of the case study area

3.4.1. Before the regeneration

The case study neighbourhood contained a large council estate that was built after World War II. In the early 2000s – before the regeneration – more than 65 per cent of the estate's homes were socially rented while the rest were split between private rent and homeownership (mainly through Right to Buy). According to the 2001 Census, the population was ethnically diverse with more than 35 percent from a Black ethnic group, more than 50 per cent White, and about 10 per cent Asian or Asian British. At that time, a high proportion of residents were experiencing multiple deprivation and the area was faring relatively worse than the national average on the domains of health, crime, employment, qualifications, living environment, and access to housing and services. The estate's housing stock suffered from physical decay including structural defects, damp, asbestos, and poor security and insulation. Nevertheless, the area benefits from nearby natural resources (e.g. green space), good transport links to central London and high land values. This combination of deprivation and opportunity led to the local authority's decision to pursue a mixed communities approach to regeneration.

3.4.2. The regeneration aims

The redevelopment project set to demolish the whole estate and re-provide all social housing units while increasing the housing density to achieve a tenure mix of about 35 per cent social rent and 65 percent private housing (including both at intermediate and market prices). The sale of the latter is meant to cover the cost of building the social rented housing, while its ownership is to be transferred from the council to a housing association. The initial plan had a number of principles, including a tenure blind approach to building design, a mix of tenures at the street level and no net loss of affordable housing. All existing social housing tenants were to be guaranteed re-housing in the new development. Besides tenure mix, the regeneration aimed to improve the design and quality of the physical environment with the purpose of discouraging crime and anti-social behaviour. This is in addition to providing better quality public services, new public and private open spaces, play areas, retail and business space, and new leisure and community facilities.

A theory of change underpinned the regeneration aims and objectives[18]. It was considered by local planners that the key drivers for the area's deprivation had been poor housing and public services, and overall historically low public sector investment. The concentration of social housing perpetuated concentration of poverty because new housing was more likely allocated to low-income households, while those who could afford to buy their own home ended up moving out of the area due to its housing stock and tenure homogeneity. This, it was thought, had exacerbated the concertation of low-income, low-skilled and workless population. Low aspirations among young residents and their reluctance to travel outside of the area for work were also seen as factors driving local deprivation.

It had been accepted by the local authority that neither service improvements nor market forces on their own would have been sufficient to reverse these entrenched trends. Rather, what was considered essential is a mixed income population approach combined with sustained targeted intervention in terms of improving the quality of the environment, health, educational and leisure facilities, and providing high quality services to support 'at risk' families and reduce crime. Due to lack of central government funding, a mixed communities approach was also seen as needed for delivering better neighbourhood services through private sector cross-subsidy.

Besides the area's well-connectedness and location within London's strong economy and housing market, it was believed that upgrading the housing and neighbourhood facilities would deter crime and anti-social behaviour, reduce the stigma of living there, and thus attract wealthier households and private investment to the neighbourhood in anticipation of rising land values. These mechanisms were expected to improve outcomes and quality of life for the existing population. Additionally, higher spending and expectations from better off residents would increase demand and quality of local public and private services. Thus, it was also expected that bringing in more economically active residents with strong connections to the labour market could raise aspirations among the existing community. However, this was thought to partly depend on the level of social integration between the old and new residents e.g. through the common use of new health and educational facilities. There were uncertainties about the mechanisms through which this social contagion would take place.

---

[18] Information about the theory of change was found in archival planning documents. It was based on the views of the local planners, developers and community leaders.

3.4.3. Characteristics of the case study area during fieldwork

By the time of fieldwork between 2018 and 2019, about half of the old social housing units were demolished and a new mix of social and private housing built. The regeneration was still ongoing but people had started moving to their new homes in 2011. The total number of dwellings on the estate increased by about 40 percent with an overall tenure split as follows: 48 per cent social rent, 28 per cent private rent, 16 per cent home ownership and 8 per cent shared ownership. The private rented homes had been initially built for private sale but were bought by landlords who offered them for market rent. This is a considerable change in tenure, and likely socio-economic mix, from the majority social housing tenure before the regeneration.

Moreover, a number of new services and facilities were built as part of the regeneration project. These included a new community centre, a refurbished youth club, a new secondary school academy, a park, two play areas and a private gym. There were also new shops, a supermarket, coffee shops and restaurants.

There is no accurate information about the demographic characteristics of the whole population living on the estate during fieldwork. However, data from the latest census, a resident survey and the Index of Multiple Deprivation provide some indications. The 2011 census showed that about a quarter of the area's residents were Black, 50 per cent White, more than 10 per cent Asian, more than 6 per cent Mixed, and about 9 per cent from other ethnicities. It is important to note that these figures did not include the new residents who moved into the private housing and did not take into account moves out of the neighbourhood between 2011 and 2018/19. However, they show more than 10-percentage-point decrease in the proportion of the Black population, a doubling of the 'other ethnicity' category, and very limited change in the White, Asian and Mixed ethnicities compared to the 2001 census.

Comparing the Index of Multiple Deprivation[19] from 2007 just before demolition and in 2019 gives some clues about the changing characteristics of the area's population. Between 2007 and 2019 the case study area remained among the 10 per cent most deprived areas in England, based on the cumulative IMD ranking. Looking at the individual domains of the IMD, there was an improvement in the employment, education training and skills, crime and living environment

---

[19] The Indices of Multiple Deprivation, unlike census data, are based on administrative data where each domain of deprivation is an aggregate of a number of indicators. For example, the employment deprivation domain is made up of six indicators e.g. numbers of people claiming unemployment benefits. This makes the IMD ranks more up to date than census data.

domain. However, there was no change in the income domain, and a worsening in health deprivation and access to housing and services. It is not possible to tell from these figures the extent to which the regeneration is directly related to these changes, and if they are the result of compositional changes or improvements for existing residents. Either case, it is not necessarily the pattern of improvement one would have expected from the regeneration. It is not clear, for example, why income did not change despite improvements in employment, skills and education. Also based on these measures, residents seem to be facing more geographical and affordability barriers in accessing housing and local services, as well as worse physical and mental health. However the IMD should be interpreted with caution since it is a relative measure that ranks neighbourhoods in England on a scale in relation to each other. Thus it does not show the absolute change in the area, rather how it changed compared to other areas in the country.

Descriptive data from a door-to-door resident survey that was commissioned by the landlords in 2019 gave some indication of the income discrepancies between people living in different tenures. It showed that lower annual incomes of up to £21,000 were concentrated among those living in social rented homes, while higher incomes of between £41,000 and £150,000 were earned by private owners and renters who responded to the survey.

In summary, the regeneration of the case study area has brought in improvements in services and infrastructure. The population density increased as some of the council housing got demolished and replaced with a mix of social and private tenures. There is evidence to indicate that households living in the latter are better off than those in the former. However, the overall level of income deprivation has not improved relative to other areas in the country. And despite the redevelopment, residents face higher deprivation in terms of their health and access to housing and services, relative to other neighbourhoods in England.

3.5. Overview of fieldwork procedures

Before commencing fieldwork, I contacted the community organisation and met with a representative to explain my research aims and plans. The study was welcomed as it was seen as potentially beneficial for the community in terms of reaching out and including the voices of young people about the regeneration, something that was perceived by many of those involved in the redevelopment as desired but neglected or had not been properly achieved in the past. This person acted as a key informant throughout fieldwork as he gave me an overview of the regeneration

activities, kept me up to date with its progress, and connected me to the different stakeholders involved.

Intensive fieldwork lasted for a period of twelve months in total. In the first phase, a number of meetings or unstructured interviews were held with representatives of the different organisations involved in the governance and implementation of the estate's regeneration project, namely the local authority, housing association, the community organisation and the private developer. The aim of these interviews was to introduce myself and my research, build trust with community actors, get to know their role in the regeneration and their views about how it is impacting on teenagers living on the estate. Interviews were also held with the managers of the community centre and the youth club to arrange for fieldwork activities with young people. Accordingly, it was agreed to set up two volunteering placements: one at the youth club, which lasted for nine months, and another at the housing management and regeneration office located on the estate, which lasted for three months. The placements started shortly after paperwork and administrative approvals were secured. The first three months spent at the youth club were mainly dedicated to observation, getting familiar with the area and building relationships with young people. This was crucial for gaining their trust before asking them to directly participate in data collection activities. Both placements were important for accessing participants, and gaining a full understanding of the neighbourhood context and the roles different stakeholders have. More details about the time spent in both settings are discussed in the data collection methods section below.

During this preliminary phase of the study, a pilot session was also held with six young people (17-18 years) at the London School of Economics to test some of the instruments planned and get young people's feedback on them. Participants for this session were accessed through the Widening Participation office[20] at the LSE who advertised the call for participants amongst the secondary school students attending their programme. Consent forms were signed by the participants and their guardians before the session. While they did not live in the same neighbourhood, they all came from disadvantaged backgrounds. During the session, I explained the objectives of the study and their role in it; to include young people's opinions about data

---

[20] The Widening Participation team work with non-selective, state funded London schools and colleges, and in particular with students from backgrounds under-represented in higher education and/or at a high-tariff institution such as LSE. They provide programmes for school pupils to prepare and support them for joining higher education. They particularly target schools with higher proportion of free school meals or low GCSE attainment scores, looked-after children, care leavers, young carers, those with disabilities, and children living in deprived neighbourhoods.

collection procedures. They participated in what was called 'my life activity' (one of the activities planned for fieldwork). They were each first asked to draw, make a picture collage, write, make a mind map or any other form of textual or visual representation of 'the things they would need to be or do to live the life they want'. After they finished, each one shared their ideas and I facilitated a group discussion about their views. At the end of the session, they gave feedback about the exercise, the questions asked, the language used, and if they would change anything. They critiqued the framing of the question, recommended using a different language, breaking up the question into different parts for clarity, and specifying the age group I mean when referring to 'young people'. They also came up with some alternative ways of asking the question, for example saying 'what do you value in life?' instead and providing clearer explanation of what is meant by the question. They, however, said that they overall liked the activity and that having a small group made it more comfortable for them to express their views freely, for a larger group would be 'intimidating'. These views were incorporated into further data collection activities, which were amended accordingly.

Ethical approval was obtained from the LSE Research Ethics Committee before the start of fieldwork (see Appendix A and B). Details were provided with regards to data collection methods, informed consent, confidentiality, dissemination of results, and overall ethical considerations with regards to including potentially 'vulnerable' research participants. Before engaging with young people, I underwent a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check via the local authority where fieldwork took place.

Informed consent was sought from all research participants who formally took part in interviews and group sessions. This included providing them with an information sheet and a consent form to be signed by them, and their guardians in the case of young people (see Appendices C to G). The information sheet explained (1) the purpose of the study; (2) that findings are to be used for my PhD thesis and will potentially be published in academic papers and presented in conferences and seminars; (3) what their participation involves in terms of activities and questions to be asked; (4) that their participation is voluntary, they are free not to answers questions they do not wish to, and to withdraw any time without giving a reason and without any consequences; (5) that there is neither a risk from participating in the study, nor an immediate benefit to them, but that young people who take part in the study will be given certificates of participation; and finally (6) that what they say will remain confidential unless, in the case of young people, they mention something causing them or another young person serious harm. In these cases, the LSE's child safeguarding

policy would be followed by reporting any concerns regarding the safety and welfare of a child or young person to the school's safeguarding lead or the safeguarding officer designated by gatekeepers. The information sheet and consent form, however, mentioned that any steps taken would first be discussed with the young person. Overall, consent was seen as an ongoing process due to the engagement of participants in the study over extended periods of time. For example, participants were frequently reminded of confidentiality terms and their freedom to opt out of some activities or of the whole study if they wish to. Besides the initial consent procedures, separate information sheets and consent forms were also prepared for participation in particular activities, more specifically in the photo-diaries and peer research (see Appendices E and F) .

3.6. Sampling strategies

Purposive sampling was the main approach used in fieldwork. According to Flick, sampling with a purpose in qualitative research is a "way of managing diversity so that the variation and variety in the phenomenon under study can be captured in the empirical material as far as possible" (Flick 2007a, p. 27). It is the deliberate selection of people, cases, sites, materials, and events to be studied (Flick 2007a; Brewer 2000). This also includes the sampling of time spent in the field to make sure a full range of both routine and irregular activities, events, and behaviours are observed (Brewer 2000).

3.6.1. Sampling people

Given the research questions and youth-centred approach of this study, young people were considered the main participants of interest. The aim was to target teenagers between the ages of 13 and 18 from low-income backgrounds who live and/or spend a considerable amount of time in the area. This age range was not rigid however, and the final sample included a few participants who were below and above this age threshold.

To ensure the sample was reflective of the diversity in the community and of the different possible internal conversion factors (i.e. personal characteristics), it was important to include approximately comparable numbers of males and females, different ethnic and family backgrounds and overall variety of life experiences and daily routines. Therefore, different methods were used to reach young people. Several gatekeepers were approached including the secondary school, the youth club, the community organisation, the housing association and the local authority (mainly the youth

services team). Invitations to participate in the study were also directly posted to 500 letter boxes on the estate (see Appendix H). In addition, leaflets were distributed to young people outside of the local secondary school. The latter two methods, however were unsuccessful in reaching participants. Using different gatekeepers meant that the sample included: young people from across all the ethnic backgrounds that exist in the area; those who are more likely to spend time outside of home and to be involved in activities as well as those who do not; those included in the school system and those who are excluded or are not attending school; in addition to, young people involved in illegal activities, as well as those who are care leavers, or live in lone parent households. Approaching the aforementioned gatekeepers also fulfilled the aim of sampling young people from low-income or disadvantaged backgrounds. Both the youth club and the secondary school cater to majority of disadvantaged populations. Moreover, families living in local authority and housing association (particularly social rented) accommodation are more likely to have low incomes as shown in the neighbourhood profile above.

With regards to adult participants, they were targeted based on their direct involvement in the regeneration and neighbourhood institutions in general and those who engage with young people in particular. Adult neighbourhood actors were also sampled based on young people's social relations and issues they talked about during data collection.

3.6.2. Sampling sites and events

Sampling a variety of sites and events to observe and collect data from was also important to build a comprehensive understanding and analysis of young people's experiences in the area. This included spending time in different venues within the neighbourhood (e.g. the youth club, the school, the housing management office, the community centre, open public spaces and play areas), taking regular walks around the area and using local shops and cafes. I also attended weekly and monthly community meetings, fun days, seasonal community festivals and public consultations about the regeneration.

3.6.3. Sampling time

Spending twelve months doing fieldwork allowed me to experience the neighbourhood and observe activities and events associated with different times of the year (e.g. including during term time, and summer and winter holidays). I was there on average four days a week and made sure to vary my visits to include different times of the day. I would spend about two full days there and

the rest of the days I would go either during the day or in the evenings. My constant presence in the field helped in building very close relationships and trust with the community and facilitated the collection of data. I was also able to witness how the regeneration progressed during this year and document the decision making processes and how they influence young people.

Sampling for participants, events, activities, etc. stopped after saturation was reached i.e. when little new data or insights were being revealed.

3.7. Sample characteristics

During the course of fieldwork I came in contact with and had casual conversations with hundreds of community members and stakeholders including children and young people, housing officers, teachers, youth workers, families, community activists, social workers, police officers, shop keepers, community and public service providers, and architects and planners working on the regeneration, among others. While it is difficult to account for every single person I communicated with during fieldwork, these conversations and interactions have all contributed to the overall understanding of the community context and issues affecting young people in a context of a deprived neighbourhood that has been changed to a mixed income/tenure community. I report here, however, the sample of people who were explicitly asked to take part in an interview, group session, or an activity (in the case of young people). These include 40 young people (12-19 years) and 36 adults. Tables 4 and 5 include details about both samples' characteristics. Hereafter these participants will be called the 'overt sample' as opposed to those with whom I engaged informally or observed during fieldwork but did not take part in formal interviews or group sessions.

Table 4. Characteristics of overt sample of young participants (including those interviewed by young people who took part in the peer interview activity, see section 3.7.2)

Category		Number of participants
Age	12	2
	13	12
	14	7
	15	7
	16	6
	17	3

	18	2
	19	1
Gender	Male	18
	Female	22
Ethnicity[21]	Black African/ Caribbean & Black British	18
	White other	6
	White British	4
	Mixed	4
	Asian/ Asian British	3
Total	40	

As shown in table 4, the overt sample of young people includes slightly more females than males, but otherwise there is a general balance. Overall, participants were aged between 12 to 19 years. The bulk of participants, however, fell within the 13-17 age range with a smaller number aged 12, 18 and 19 years. While this happened organically in the field, it also proved to be useful because it was evident that those younger than 13 and older than 17 seemed to have different experiences in the neighbourhood than those within this age range, highlighting the influence of personal characteristics For example, those under 13 were less likely to spend time outside their home due to more restrictions from their families on their outdoor activities. While those older than 17 were more likely to spend time outside of the neighbourhood since they were either working or preparing to start higher education. There is also a balance of young people from different ethnic backgrounds which approximately reflects the neighborhood's demographic makeup. Moreover, ten out of the 40 participants went to school in the area but did not live there. Among those who resided in the neighbourhood, some were living in the redeveloped social housing, while others were still in the old blocks yet to be demolished.

The overt sample of adult participants covered a range of those managing the area's regeneration and others who are either involved in providing targeted services to young people or who were mentioned by the latter as influencing their life in the area. I also interviewed a number of social

---

[21] This is missing the five participants interviewed by the peer-researchers as they did not provide information on their ethnic backgrounds. Overall, information about ethnicity of participants is based on my informal conversations with the young people.

housing tenants, a majority of which were mothers, as well as home owners who moved to the newly built private homes as part of the regeneration.

Table 5. Characteristics of overt sample of adult participants

Participant role	Number of participants
Community organisation board member	5
Community centre worker	3
Senior youth worker	1
Private developer worker	2
Local authority worker including those that provide youth services and others managing the regeneration	7
Housing association worker	2
Councillor	1
Private service provider	4
Secondary school vice president	2
Police officer	1
Homeowner	1
Private renter	2
Social housing resident	5
Total	36

3.8. Data production methods

The data corpus that was included in the analysis and findings of the thesis was produced through four methods:

(1) *Participant and non-participant observation*

(2) *Participatory activities and group discussions* with young people: including neighbourhood mapping, mind mapping, storytelling, photography, drawing, and picture collage, complemented by 22 group discussions.

(3) *Semi-structured interviews*: these included 35 interviews[22] with adult community members and stakeholders and four interviews with young people

(4) *Document analysis*

3.8.1. Participant and non-participant observation

Observation was an important part of fieldwork, which ranged from merely watching and listening to the neighbourhood's daily community activities and social interactions to actively participating in some of these activities and sharing in the everyday life of participants.

By volunteering at the local youth club for nine months I was part of a team of youth workers providing support services free of charge to young people on the estate and its surrounding areas. I joined the senior session catering for those aged 13-19 years, which took place in the evenings. Overall, the youth club (part of the local authority's youth service provision) aimed to provide a safe and supportive space for young people where they can hang out with friends, engage in sports, games, arts and multimedia activities, receive advice on training, employment, and sexual relationships, and overall build life skills. I spent between two to three evenings per week at the youth centre during the nine months period. During my time there I built relationships with young people, played with them, listened to music they composed, watched dance routines they choreographed, had conversations about their dreams, aspirations for the future, their school, and home life, gave them advice on their personal problems with friends and family, and helped them with their CVs and applying to jobs and apprenticeships. At times, I – along with other youth workers – also had to deal with aggressive or bullying behaviour from young people and to try to facilitate restorative talks between the opposing parties. Every evening before the session started, we went over the programme for the evening and were assigned responsibilities in terms of running activities. And, at the end of the session, we held debriefing sessions reflecting on the events of the night, challenges faced, how to deal with them in the future, and lessons learned. Sometimes we also discussed issues related to individual young persons and agreed on steps to support those who are experiencing difficulties or were perceived as being 'at risk'.

Youth workers and young people (especially those that attended the youth club on a regular basis) were aware of my research objectives from the start and knew that volunteering there was part of my fieldwork. However, it was only after three months of spending time there, that I started

---

[22] One interview was held with two people at the same time, hence the discrepancy between the number of interviews and the number of participants.

approaching young people to participate in activities and group discussions to get their opinion about their experiences of the neighbourhood and its regeneration. Eventually, a number of group sessions and individual interviews were held at the youth club with young people. These are described in detail in the next two sub-sections. I kept a record of my experiences, interactions, conversations and general reflections and thoughts during my there. I took fieldnotes on my phone and therefore was sometimes able to do it while I was at the youth club as soon as events took place, and other times I did it on my way home or on the next day.

Participant observation at the youth club was very important not only in developing my understanding of young people's social realities, but also in using this knowledge to inform discussions and questions asked during interviews and group sessions. By the time I started conducting the sessions with them, I had developed personal relationships with each one and had considerable knowledge about their personal lives and circumstances. This all helped in using language and issues they can relate to, which enriched discussions and the quality of data collected. Another advantage was reaching a group of young people who would otherwise more likely be excluded from research as many of them experienced multiple disadvantage in terms of schooling and family circumstances.

Another participant observation activity was held at the local housing management and regeneration office where the local authority and housing association workers were based. The office provided on-site housing management services to social housing residents including supporting their tenancy needs and enforcing tenancy rules, assessing potential tenants, working with vulnerable residents (e.g. through referring them to support services an providing housing advice), and dealing with maintenance issues and anti-social behaviour. I took up a placement with the housing association team for a period of three months with the general aim of getting their side of the story, observing interactions between them and the residents, understanding the challenges they face and how they deal with them on a routine basis. Another main objective was to get an opportunity to meet potential participants (families with teenagers). I accompanied the tenancy support officer on a number of home visits and helped with collecting and analysing data for a survey they conducted with the elderly tenants. I also attended a few meetings with residents where the housing officers responded to anti-social behaviour complaints. However, my time there proved to be mainly useful in giving me the chance to interview many of the housing officers and managers working on the estate's regeneration from both the local authority and housing association. I was also able to access administrative data about the estate and to have casual

conversations with staff about their attitudes and views towards young people's concerns and how the regeneration is affecting them. Some of them acted as key informants throughout the period of fieldwork and helped in putting me in contact with other participants.

Furthermore, fieldwork involved observing community meetings, events, public spaces and social interactions, many of which revolved around the regeneration. The most significant of these were the monthly meetings organised by the community organisation board members with the parties working on the estate's redevelopment; the local authority, housing association and private developer. The meetings were open to the public and were attended by both social and private housing residents. They held the regeneration managers accountable, who had to deliver updates on their progress in light of the regeneration masterplan and respond to residents' complaints and concerns. I also attended what were called 'security meetings' and 'ward meetings' where security and safety on the estate were discussed between residents, the police and regeneration managers. Other regeneration events observed during fieldwork included public consultations about the next phase of regeneration, two of which were held with young people at the youth club.

Observing and taking fieldnotes of these meetings and events, besides the placement with the housing association, revealed the inner workings of the regeneration process. I was able to observe the interactions between the different parties involved, how they negotiated their interests and demands within set institutional and structural factors, and to understand where young people's interests and concerns fit into those. They illuminated the experience of people living through the regeneration of the neighbourhood where they lived for decades and how they are impacted by changes to their community make-up. Over the course of the year, more private residents joined the meetings and it was insightful to witness the interactions between old and new relatively wealthier residents, as well as the impact on services and overall life in the area.

3.8.2. Participatory activities and group discussions with young people

A range of participatory activities were organised with four groups of young people in the area. These included one group at the youth club, two at the local secondary school, and one at the community centre. I met with each group once a week over a period of five to seven weeks during which they participated in activities including neighbourhood mapping, mind mapping, drawing, picture collage, photo-diaries, storytelling and peer interviews. All activities were underpinned by group discussions about their views and experiences of the neighbourhood and the influence it has on their capabilities and wellbeing. Overall, sessions were attended by four to seven

participants. Two of the groups were mixed gender, one female only and another majority male participants. Members of each group knew each other beforehand. Sessions usually progressed as follows:

(1) The first session aimed to get their general perceptions of the neighbourhood and the regeneration. It usually started by an ice-breaking exercise followed by asking them to describe their local area in three words. Then they were asked to draw a map of their neighbourhood marking the places in which they like spending time and those they do not. After working on the map either individually or in pairs, they presented them to the rest of the group and were asked about the reasons for spending time in some places and not others, and about their views of the services and facilities available to them in the area in general. This was followed by asking them about their of thoughts of the regeneration, and its impact on their life in the neighbourhood.

(2) The main aim of the second session was to understand their valued capabilities. I asked them to choose between either drawing, making a picture collage, a mind map, writing or any other representation of 'what matters to them in life' or 'what they value in life'. They gave a rating as to what extent they think they have the freedom to be or do each of the things they mention by using either a green, orange or red colour to signify maximum, medium or no freedom, respectively. Each participant then shared their thoughts with the rest and were asked about the reasons for the things they mentioned and the freedom rating they gave. Afterwards, I would combine the things they mentioned in a list and ask them if these are the things they believe most young people their age in the area also value, and what levels of freedom they have to achieve and be these things. Finally, they were asked about their opinion of how the neighbourhood and its regeneration impact theirs and other young people's freedom to be and do the things they value in life. This question was however addressed in further detail in the following sessions and activities.

(3) The purpose of the third session was to explore participants' experiences of their social relations with other people and institutions in the neighbourhood and how these influence their valued beings and doings. Two activities were used: community mapping and storytelling. They collectively worked on a community map of the people that live or work in the area and those they interact with or come across in their daily life within the neighbourhood. They discussed the characteristics of these community members and the nature of their relations with them. This naturally led to them recalling stories about significant incidents and interactions they had with people in the area including new residents, local authority workers, shop keepers, teachers, the police, youth workers, etc. I, then, prompted them to make links between these social interactions

79

and their influence on the valued beings and doings they mentioned in the previous session. In another story telling activity, I asked them to describe a day in the life of a 'typical' young person who lives in the area including where they go, what they do and who they interact with in the neighbourhood. This was meant to make them more comfortable to discuss young people's social interactions without having to talk about personal experiences in front of the group. At the end of this session each participant was given a disposable camera and asked to spend a week taking photos of their activities in the neighbourhood and the things they like or do not like about it. I handed out a new participant information sheet and consent form (for them and their guardians to sign) and explained ethical guidelines they should abide by while taking photos. They were advised to avoid including faces of people in their photos (especially of other children and young people), to get people's consent before photographing them and mention that the photos are part of a research project, to not use the camera in situations or places where they feel it is not safe to do so, and to not give their camera to other people to use it. They were also reminded that this activity is voluntary.

(4) In this session we discussed their photo-diaries. After the participants spent a week (sometimes more) taking photos, I collected the cameras, developed the photos, and brought them to our scheduled session. They took about 200 photos in total. At the start of the session I gave each person time to examine their photos and asked them to select the 10 most important for them or that show something they want to share with the rest of the group. Some put captions under their photos, and they all described the content of each photo, why they took it or why it is important for them, and the things they like or do not like about it. The photos brought to life young people's daily activities in the neighbourhood and were mainly used as a way to prompt a group discussion about issues salient to them with regards to the neighbourhood's characteristics, the regeneration and the influence on their valued beings and doings. At the end, some chose to keep their photographs while others gave them to me.

(5) The fifth session was dedicated to training young people on peer-interviewing. I delivered a training workshop on what it means to do social research, the different research methods, interviewing skills, notetaking, how to design a topic guide, the different types of questions, and ethics of informed consent and confidentiality (see Appendix I for the training session plan). A few of them role played by interviewing each other while the rest critiqued them to highlight common mistakes in conducting interviews and how to improve them. Finally, they all worked together on designing a topic guide for their interviews with other young people (see Appendix J

for peer interviews topic guides). They were asked to think of questions to ask other young people their age about their views of the neighbourhood and how the regeneration affects their life. Prior to conducting interviews with their friends, they were given another information sheet and consent form reiterating the voluntary nature of the activity and ethical considerations about protecting the privacy of their interviewees. For safeguarding reasons, they were asked to only interview young people who are the same age as themselves. They had my contact information and were told to contact me, their teacher, or youth worker if they have any questions or face any difficulties while conducting interviews.

(6) In the final session, those who conducted peer-interviews shared their findings with the rest of the group by reading out their notes including the questions they asked and how their interviewees answered. As a group, they reflected together on the findings and how they relate to them. Only four young people chose to participate in doing interviews. They interviewed a total of five other young people (13-19 years) and one adult community member[23]. Therefore, the groups where no one did the peer-interviews, participated instead in an activity where each one made a drawing or a visual representation of their ideal neighbourhood. They then shared the characteristics of the neighbourhood of their dreams with each other and had a group discussion about how this relates to their current neighbourhood and their valued beings and doings.

In each session, I brought snacks, flipchart paper, colouring pens, markers, magazines, scissors and glue for them to use. They were given a choice of using whichever medium they feel most comfortable with to express their views. During the first session we agreed on a set of ground rules, which emphasised the voluntary nature of their participation, that these sessions are a safe environment for them to express their views freely, that they should not discuss what their friends say with other people outside of the group, and that everyone's opinion is equally respected and valued. All sessions were recorded after getting participants' permission, and they were told they can stop the recording anytime during the sessions. After sessions were completed, participants were given certificates of appreciation with the LSE's logo for their participation in the study.

---

[23] One young participant interviewed an adult despite guidelines to only interview people of their age. However, the interviewee was the young person's relative and their parent was aware of them conducting the interview.

3.8.3. Semi-structured interviews

Individual face-to-face semi-structured interviewing was the method used with all adult participants, but four young people were also interviewed individually where they did not or could not join the group discussions.

As mentioned in the previous section, a very diverse group of adults participated in the study and topic guides were tailored to their roles in the neighbourhood and the issues brought forth by young people during fieldwork. Overall, the objective behind interviews with adults was to get their attitudes towards neighbourhood (physical environment, services and facilities, and social relations), their role in the regeneration (if they have one), the regeneration's influence on them and young people's wellbeing, and their perceptions of their interactions with young people and other community members (see Appendix K for interview topic guides).

More specifically, public and private service providers were asked about the services they offer to the community and young people, how they are impacted by the socio-economic mix in the neighbourhood and how they deal with the change in the community's demographics. Local authority representatives and those managing the area's regeneration from other organisations were probed to talk about their aims in the regeneration, how they think the neighbourhood changed because of it, the services available for young people, how the latter are involved in the decision making processes, and overall how their wellbeing is impacted by the new mixed community. The police ward officer who was part of the safe neighbourhoods team was asked about their experiences with young people in the area, how they deal with crime and gang violence and their role in the neighbourhood's regeneration. Social tenants were asked about the impact of the regeneration on their families and quality of life, and about their relations with the new households that moved into the area. Private housing residents were asked about their motivations for moving into the area, the services they engage with, their involvement with community groups and interactions with young people.

Most interviews were recorded, except when the interviewee refused or when it was judged inappropriate (e.g. if an interview was not planned in advance and there was concern the participant will not be comfortable with recording the conversation). All interviewees signed a consent form after reading the information sheet, and the research aims and terms of confidentiality were explained to them. Interviews were held either in participants' homes, places of work, the local community centre or a coffee shop.

3.8.4. Focus group discussion

After preliminary data coding was completed, a focus group session was held with four more young people who lived in the area. It mainly involved a verbal discussion and combined most of the important questions addressed in the series of group sessions previously held with other participants. After asking them about their perceptions of the neighbourhood and regeneration, I presented them with the different things other young people mentioned as valued to their life. They were asked if they agree with these things and if they would change or add anything. Then they rated them in terms of importance to them and discussed the influence of the neighbourhood and regeneration on their freedom to achieve these things. This session acted as a data verification exercise as it produced very similar insights to those collected up to this point.

Overall, my fieldworker role can be described as oscillating between 'participant-as-observer', 'observer-as-participant' and 'complete observer', depending on the context of my observation activities. Based on Gold's (1958) typology of the fieldworker's relationship with informants, 'participant-as-observer' role is when the researcher's identity is known to those being observed, and where the former spends more time participating than observing gradually building relationship with informants. At times it involves formal observation where scheduled interviews are held, as well as informal observation of events and activities. This role was adopted mainly at the youth club with youth workers and regular young attendees, and in relationships with active community members who knew about my research and were repeatedly observed during community events and sometimes asked to formally take part in an interview. These relationships, however, developed after being in the field for some time and building trust within the community. Whereas the 'observer-as-participant' role mainly involves formal relationships with participants who are usually involved in a one-off interview. This more formal relationship applied when participants were contacted to participate in an interview where I had not known them before. As for the 'complete observer' role, it does not involve participation with informants and the fieldworker's identity is unknown to those being observed (Gold 1958). This applied where I observed public community events or meetings where not everyone knew about my identity as a researcher. It also was the case with young people who attended the youth club only occasionally.

3.8.5. Document analysis

Finally, official public and internal regeneration documents formed an important data source which were coded and included in the analysis that informed the findings of the thesis. Documents included:

- the initial, revised and newly proposed regeneration masterplans,
- the four main regeneration planning permissions submitted by the developer and approved by the local planning authority,
- the two Principal Development Agreements (PDA), signed between the local authority and property developer,
- Several other internal documents shared with me by the regeneration partner organisations, such as memoranda of agreements, position papers, annual reports, consultation reports, annual financial accounts, action plans, Section 106 allocations and construction plans,
- thirty six regeneration meeting minutes, partner organisation monthly progress reports, presentation handouts, etc.
- ten copies of the housing estate's newsletter, and
- two books documenting the history of the estate which were published by the community organisation

3.8.6. Reflections on participatory methods with young people

A majority of young people enjoyed taking part in the participatory activities and appreciated the chance to voice their opinions about their neighbourhood. For example, they described the photography activity as 'fun', 'calming', and that it made them 'happy' and gave them a chance to go outside their homes. They also appreciated the fact they could examine their photographs in paper form rather than digitally. Some participants said the sessions were a nice break from their school routine.

> *Probably the most enjoyable activity I've done in the whole school…the pictures we took came out in real life. I really liked it, I'd do it again – **Hasan, 13**.*

> *I actually found it really fun especially when we can miss our lessons. I was like 'thank God she's gonna get me out of here'…I just want it to continue for all the time. Am gonna go complain and say get that group back, we need it – **Anna, 13**.*

Nonetheless, one of the important insights from fieldwork was that young people engage with participatory methods in different ways and at varying levels depending on a number of factors, including the context where they take place, and their personal backgrounds, circumstances, and preferences. For example, while visual activities such as drawing and photography are considered some of the most common child-centred research methods, participants responded to them in varying degrees of enthusiasm. Some young people said that they do not like to draw or were unconfident about their drawing skills and instead preferred to express their views verbally or in writing. This was mostly common among the young people who participated in sessions at the youth club. Many of them were also embarrassed to carry disposable cameras around their neighbourhood and refused to participate in that activity. This is not to say that they did not want to take part in the study. In fact, they had a lot to say about their neighbourhood and arguably felt the most strongly about how it changed compared to other participants. They showed up to the sessions every week, but they mostly wanted to have a chat about it rather than be asked to do an activity. A number of reasons could have contributed to this. For many of them, the youth club is a place where they go to unwind, play, or spend time with their friends. Therefore, being asked to spend time drawing a map or taking photos was not what they usually do at the youth club and was perceived as doing work during their free time. It is also argued that in light of the negative experiences many young people among that group had with schooling, engaging with these methods were possibly associated with schoolwork and thus were not always welcome. Participants who took part in the same activities at the school were much more prepared to do them. It is important to be aware of the time-demanding nature of participatory research and respect children's and young people's free time even, and especially, when adopting a youth-centred approach. Just because they want to participate and have their voice heard in research related to their lives, it should not be assumed that they will always be available to do it at any time.

Young people have different circumstances and care should be taken not to make assumptions about the nature or structure of their living conditions. Some participants, mainly among the younger aged ones (12-13 years), were not able to participate in the photography exercise because a stabbing incident took place on the same week they were supposed to take photos in their area, which meant their parents did not let them go out fearing for their safety. In general, some of the participatory activities conducted were not very suitable for young people whose mobility is restricted or limited. For example, when I asked one group to make a map of their neighbourhood

and where they hang out with their friends, one participant, 12, said "*what if you don't hang out?...my mum doesn't let me…I have a curfew*".

I experienced anxiety and frustration whenever things did not go as planned during fieldwork. But it was important to keep in mind that the main aim of using youth-centred methods is to facilitate young people's participation and that methods are only the means to achieve that. In fact, these incidents revealed important insights about some young people's lived experiences of the neighbourhood. Thus, it was important to be flexible in accommodating their different circumstances.

Finally, despite this study's adherence to principles of youth-centred research, it was not always possible to avoid some of the institutionalised imbalances of power that exist between young people and adults. Adult gatekeepers had control over young people' participation in the research and in some cases exercised that control to obstruct them from taking part, a few times even against their will. This happened on a number of occasions during fieldwork. School officials refused to advertise the research among older year pupils because they did not want to take time away from their lessons as they prepare for their GCSEs. Similarly, it was not possible to access more young people from among Turkish and Kurdish ethnic group living in the neighbourhood due to resistance from a number of gatekeepers to grant me access to their members. Repeated attempts were made to contact a few community organisations that cater for that population, but I was turned away or told they were busy or do not have the capacity. The implication is that young people who engage with these organisations or those from the school older years never got the chance to know about the research and to make a choice about participation. Therefore, I made efforts to try to reach young people directly by handing leaflets advertising the research outside their school. A few were interested in taking part, but their parents did not consent.

Another challenge to the child-centred approach was faced in the school where they insisted on having a staff member be present in the classroom during sessions with young people. For the most part this did not pose noticeable problems as they would sit there without intervening. Many of them were not the participants' class teachers and so did not have direct relationships with them and potentially influencing their contributions. However, one of the sessions was attended by one of their class teachers, which proved to be problematic. At the beginning of the session as I was checking in with the participants about their day, the teacher scolded one young person for describing another teacher as 'boring'. For the rest of the session, unlike our previous meetings,

participants were oddly quiet and it was obvious they feared speaking their minds with their teacher present in the room. Fortunately, the teacher did not attend any further sessions but this incident contradicted our ground rules about the sessions being a safe space for them to freely voice their opinions. Later I informed the person with whom I was liaising to organise the school visits and requested their class teachers not be present at future sessions.

3.9. Data analysis

The data produced from the aforementioned fieldwork activities formed the data corpus which was included in the analysis. In total, the data corpus comprised of transcriptions of audio recordings of the 22 group sessions and 39 interviews with young and adult participants, notes from field observations or interviews with the few participants who did not wish to be recorded and the documents mentioned in section 3.7.5 above. The visual material produced by young people during the participatory activities (the photographs, picture collages and maps) were not, however, included in the analysis. They were treated mainly as conversation prompts and only the discussions that revolved around these visual products, rather than their content, formed part of the analysis.

The data was analysed thematically using a hybrid process of inductive and deductive coding. Thematic analysis is defined by Willig as a method for "identifying patterns (themes) in the data which capture meaning that is relevant to the research question, and perhaps also to making links between such themes" (Willig 2014, p. 148). Inspired by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006), a hybrid approach was applied to coding and theme development, where a deductive a priori coding framework was used along with a data-driven inductive coding process (i.e. independent of the coding framework). The framework was based on the main concepts of the capability approach. It contained four broad code categories with a description of what each one means and how to know when it occurs in the data. The code categories were as follows (please see Appendix L for the full coding frame):

1. Valued beings and doings
2. Resources
   2.1. Neighbourhood resources
   2.2. Other resources
3. Conversion factors

3.1. Barriers to achieving valued beings and doings

3.2. Opportunities for achieving valued beings and doings

4. Agency

This hybrid approach was seen as the most appropriate for answering the research questions about young people's capabilities and conversion factors, while at the same time allowing for themes to emerge directly from the data.

Data analysis proceeded in a number of steps as prescribed by Bryman (2016) and Braun and Clarke (2006). The first phase involved familiarising myself with the data. All recordings of interviews and group sessions were transcribed verbatim and uploaded to NVivo data analysis computerised software along with all fieldnotes and regeneration documents. Before starting coding, I read through the entire data corpus taking note of any preliminary ideas, thoughts, and possible patterns to be revisited in the subsequent phases. This second stage involved a two-layered coding process, where I first coded the data produced with young people. This data took centre stage and the codes produced from it formed a rough framework for coding the data from the adult participants, fieldnotes and official documents. As an example, one of the codes that emerged was called 'they don't listen or care about us', based on young people's belief that the regeneration organisations do not take their voices into consideration. Within the same code, I included data corresponding to this from my fieldnotes based on observations of regeneration consultations, interview transcripts with representatives of the regeneration organisations, etc. At the same time codes were allowed to emerge from the latter independent of the young people-produced codes.

Coding the data took place over a number of cycles. The first cycle involved applying line by line coding where inductive and deductive coding was done simultaneously. For example, a phrase could be coded within both the capability approach a priori framework as well as another inductively produced code. The inductive process followed a number of coding methods selected from Saldaña's list of first cycle coding techniques and which fit the intended research goals (Saldaña 2016). These included values coding, In Vivo coding, causation coding, versus coding, and concept coding. Values coding involved applying codes to data that reflect participants' values, attitudes and beliefs representing their worldview and experiences. In Vivo codes were based on participants' actual verbatim language and were applied whenever participants used particular phrases that saliently represented the issues discussed. Some In Vivo codes were participants' expressions of their emotions, attitudes, or descriptions of their social context, relations, experiences, etc. As for causation coding, it captured participants' beliefs and "mental models" about how and why certain outcomes come about (Saldaña 2016). The aim was not to say that

these are the actual causes of outcomes but to highlight how participants attribute outcomes to certain causes revealing their belief systems, motives and influences for their's and others' actions. Moreover, versus coding identified dichotomies between groups, values, social norms, events, places, organisations, phenomena, etc. that are in conflict with each other. Finally, concept codes went beyond the tangible to higher-level conceptual meanings and bigger picture ideas in the data. All these coding techniques, along with the capability approach coding framework, were applied simultaneously and facilitated knowing what to code for. This process generated a proliferation of codes.

Therefore, in the second cycle initial codes were reviewed by re-reading the data extracts within each, then compared, reorganised and combined into overarching categories and themes. During this stage some codes were re-labelled because more accurate phrases to describe them emerged after coding the whole data, some were merged together, while others were split into more than one code. Afterwards, relationships were established between the codes, grouping some of them under categories that sum up or communicate their shared meaning. Later, major categories were themselves consolidated into even higher-level abstract themes. The fourth stage of analysis involved another round of rereading the collated data extracts within each theme and refining the themes accordingly, which resulted in creating a few more themes and sub-themes. This stage also produced a mind (or thematic) map of the major themes and sub-themes. In the final phase of analysis, each theme and sub-theme was defined by writing a detailed description of their content and scope, again by reviewing the data extracts within them, and identifying how they relate to other themes and fit into the broader story the data is telling.

3.10. Discussion of research quality and limitations

A number of considerations and practices were applied to enhance the quality and rigour of the research undertaken, based on guidelines from the qualitative research literature (e.g. Seale 1999; Flick 2007b; Morse 2018). To gain a deeper understanding of young people's experiences, both data and method triangulation were achieved. At its foundation, triangulation according to Flick means that "an issue of research is considered from (at least) two points" (Flick 2007b, p.40). It includes taking different perspectives into consideration when answering the research questions through using multiple methods, data sources and research investigators. While using multiple investigators is not possible due to this being a PhD study, the first two strategies were applied. Denzin argued that each method used in a study leads to a course of action different from that the researcher would have followed had they used another method (Denzin 1970). Different methods

and how they are defined and used by the investigator reveal different aspects of social reality. Thus, to gain a deeper understanding of the issue under study, he proposed combining two or more methods with the aim that the strengths of one method offset the weaknesses of another, given they are all appropriate for the research objectives (Denzin 1970).

In this study the use of multiple methods in general and with the same participants in particular meant that young people's experiences were explored from different perspectives revealing different elements of their social realities and meanings. For example, young participants' photo-diaries revealed aspects of their day-to-day activities and experiences in the neighbourhood that were not made evident by the other methods, such as neighbourhood maps. Similarly, telling a story about a day in the life of a young person in the area produced insights about their social interactions within the community that were not manifest through photo-diaries, mainly because photos were taken during only one week of data collection and so did not essentially reveal all sorts of interactions they would normally have. Being given a choice of using different methods to express themselves meant that young people could select the methods they are more comfortable with, thus allowing a diversity of perspectives to be shared. Also, because of the time demanding nature of the participatory activities, those who could not commit to attend sessions every week opted for an individual interview instead. Moreover, the relatively unobtrusive nature of long-term observation and participation in activities of young people and other community members offset the potential reactivity problems with more direct methods such as interviews and group discussions.

As for data triangulation, it was achieved through using multiple data sources including different participants (young people and adult stakeholders), field observations and regeneration documentation. Denzin (1970) defined data triangulation in terms of studying the same phenomenon at different times, in different settings and with different persons or populations. Because of the nature of the single-case study design these principles were applied on a smaller scale within the same fieldwork site. As mentioned in the sampling section above, it was made sure that participants' and the general community's events and activities were observed at different times of the day, different days of the week, and different times of the year. Similarly, engaging with the same group of young people several times over a long period of time allowed frequent reflections and explorations of the same issues from different viewpoints, thus developing and expanding the understanding of the meanings they ascribe to their social realities as circumstances in the neighbourhood and their lives changed. Data triangulation was also achieved through getting

perspectives of both adult community members and young people. It was insightful to get their different sides of the story and understand how they construct interactions and events in similar or different ways. This was further achieved through including different groups of young people (e.g. different friendship groups, ethnic backgrounds, ages, and genders) with different social activities, experiences, values and perspectives on the issues discussed.

Besides triangulation, one of the recommended practices for enhancing the quality and rigor of qualitative research is transparency about the research procedures and setting. This chapter has thus far described in detail the theoretical foundations espoused, the characteristics of the neighbourhood where fieldwork took place and why it was selected, participants' characteristics and the basis on which they were approached, and the methods used for data production, coding and analysis. All these steps further enhance the analytical transferability of the findings.

Having said that, the study suffers from a number of limitations. They mainly relate to the fact that in some respects triangulation was not fully achieved. Firstly, it was not possible to achieve investigator triangulation. As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, knowledge, from a critical realist perspective, is a social product influenced by the researcher's identity, positionality, previous experiences, theories, methods, etc. (Danermark et al. 2001). In appendix M, I reflect on the subjectivities I bring to the study, the potential ways they could have biased the research process and the strategies I adopted to safeguard against these biases. I focus here on one of these potential sources of bias which is sometimes referred to in the literature as instrumentation effects. This is when a participant observer 'goes native' or becomes absorbed into the local culture he/she/they are studying (Patton 1999). Instrumentation effects are relevant to this study as a result of my immersion in the field and particularly my role as a volunteer at the youth club. As mentioned above, some of the merits of spending extended periods of time there include developing a deep understanding of young people's views and social realities and using this knowledge to instigate discussions about their area. On the other hand, being personally involved in their lives and assuming the role of someone who supports them could have biased my attitudes and behaviours in the field.

To maintain research rigor, I followed a number of procedures to counteract the subjectivities that could have arisen from instrumentation effects. The most important of these is that I kept a fieldwork journal where I systematically recorded my own reactivities, personal opinions, and emotional responses. A fieldwork journal is different from the fieldnotes where I recorded the setting and things I observed. A journal allowed me to keep track of how my perspectives changed

over the course of fieldwork and put strategies in response to these changes. For example, after six months of being in the field, my responsibilities at the youth club and involvement in some young people's personal and family problems were clearly having an emotional toll on me. For example, I became personally involved in the family conflict of one of the participants. I was also involved in mediating between two participants after one bullied the other. While these incidents were not directly relevant to my study, it was a reality I had to deal with. To restore my critical distance, I made a decision to take two weeks off from fieldwork half way through the year. The break enabled me to regain perspective and reflect on the data collected thus far. Another helpful procedure that limited instrumentation bias is the fortnightly meetings with my PhD supervisor where I briefed her about my field activities and discussed challenges I was facing and how to deal with them. As someone who is familiar with my research but distant from the field, her views and advice provided me with a different lens on some of the issues I was encountering and directed my attention to different angles for exploring some of the emerging findings. Overall, keeping a journal, taking a break from fieldwork and having check-in meetings with my supervisor were some of the strategies used to minimise researcher instrumentation effects. Appendix M provides more details on other subjectivities and ways I dealt with them.

A second limitation of the research is that data triangulation was not fully achieved because only one neighbourhood was studied. As argued before, a decision was made that the benefits gained from studying one neighbourhood in depth offset the drawbacks. However, it could be argued that given more time and resources to dedicate to studying the phenomenon in other neighbourhoods with different characteristics would have illuminated a better understanding of the mechanisms at play.

Another limitation relates to the fact that it was practically difficult to separate the groups of young people who took part in the participatory sessions based on their age and gender. Some groups had similar age but mixed gender, while others were mixed age but had similar or mixed gender. This imposed a limitation on discerning variations in perspectives based on these demographic characteristics. The researcher also faced difficulties in accessing a bigger number of young people among the Turkish and Kurdish minority ethnic communities in the area despite approaching different gatekeepers that mainly serve them. While a few of the young participants belong to this group, it was thought that the participation of more members of that community would have resulted in a better understanding of their experiences.

In summary, the thesis adopted a critical realist single case study design. Fieldwork took place in a London social housing estate that has been transformed into a mixed income neighbourhood through a large scale regeneration project. Data production and analysis followed a youth-centred capabilitarian approach. More specifically, four knowledge production methods were used: participant and non-participant observation, participatory activities and group sessions, individual interviews and document analysis. Data was analysed thematically using a hybrid inductive and deductive technique. A total of 76 participants (40 young people and 36 adult stakeholders) took part in interviews and/or group discussions. While efforts were made to ensure the quality and rigour of the methods used, the study still suffers from some limitations.

The following six chapters will present the empirical findings of the thesis. They are ogranised as follows. Chapter 4 describes young people's valued capabilities or the things they value being and doing. It is a rather descriptive chapter, but it ends with a discussion of its findings in relation to debates in the capability approach literature. Afterwards, chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 address the mechanisms and processes of the regeneration that influence young people's experiences of their neighbourhood. Chapter 9, synthesises the mechanisms from the previous four chapters with a focus on how they influence young people's valued capabilities. It also includes an analysis of conversion factors affecting participants' varying abilities to convert the neighbourhood's resources into valued freedoms.

4. Valued capabilities of low-income teenagers in a mixed income neighbourhood

This chapter presents young people's most valued capabilities, or the things they value being and doing. It acts as a foundation or a first step to a youth-centred understanding of how the regeneration of the participants' neighbourhood affects their wellbeing.

The chapter proposes a novel *cluster* framework for the conceptualisation of capabilities. It is common practice within the capability approach as well as the subjective wellbeing literatures to have a linear *list* of capabilities or *domain* satisfactions that are considered important for people's wellbeing. However, in the course of coding and analysing data for this chapter it was found that putting capabilities in connected and intersecting clusters or groups is a more accurate interpretation of the data. Figure 2 is a visual representation of all the clusters and how the capabilities within them are related to each other.

There are in total five clusters of 16 interconnected capabilities covering issues such as agency, self-worth, social relationships, respect, play, belonging, influence, care, among others. Each capability within the web of clusters is valued by young people in its own right i.e. intrinsically valued. At the same time, capabilities included within a cluster facilitate and reinforce one another (i.e. instrumentally valued). In figure 2, the arrow heads signify the direction of relationship between them. While some capabilities across clusters are linked, those within the same group are more closely connected and more commonly appear together in the data. In other words, capabilities within clusters are usually experienced by young people simultaneously.

Hence, the manner in which the different clusters are constructed, i.e. what capabilities are included in each cluster, how they relate to each other, and how clusters are connected, is based on analysing the ways participants experienced or discussed them rather than on how they thematically relate to each other in terms of content. The analytical process I followed to reach the capabilities within each cluster took place over a number of stages. Using NVivo, I first coded all instances in the data that reflect participants' values or things they care about (e.g. v-education, v-future career, v-family, etc.). The same sentence or paragraph was coded under more than one code whenever it contained meanings or descriptions of different values. This process produced a proliferation of values codes. The second step included reading the data within each code, merging those where there was significant overlap, and splitting and re-labelling others to better reflect the

meanings in the data. Linkages between different capabilities started emerging at this stage. As I read the data under each code, it became clear that many valued freedoms were closely related to a number of other freedoms: they were either enabling or being enabled by other freedoms. Sometimes links between valued capabilities were explicitly made by participants when I asked them for the reason a freedom or opportunity is important for them. The data coded within one valued capability was recurrently coded under a few other codes. Using the feature of 'coding stripes' in NVivo, I was also able to simultaneously view all codes under which a data excerpt is referenced. In the third step, I wrote a description for each code (i.e. valued capability) and how it relates to other codes or capabilities. I then drew a flowchart to visualise the complex relationships between different capabilities that emerged from the data, eventually producing the clusters in figure 2. Some capabilities appear in more than one cluster because their significance is intertwined with more than one set of capabilities. For example, material well-being cropped up in relation to many other capabilities. Confining it to a "standard of living" domain, as is common, would be a distortion. This makes for a truer reflection of how the capabilities featured in young people's thinking, and is a departure from conventional lists that reduce each capability into a standalone domain.

In the following sections I will describe each valued capability and the relationships that bind them together. The chapter ends with a discussion of findings and how they relate to existing evidence. I number the clusters mainly for organisational purposes, rather than to put them in a hierarchy or indicate a particular degree of importance.

Figure 2: Five clusters of valued capabilities
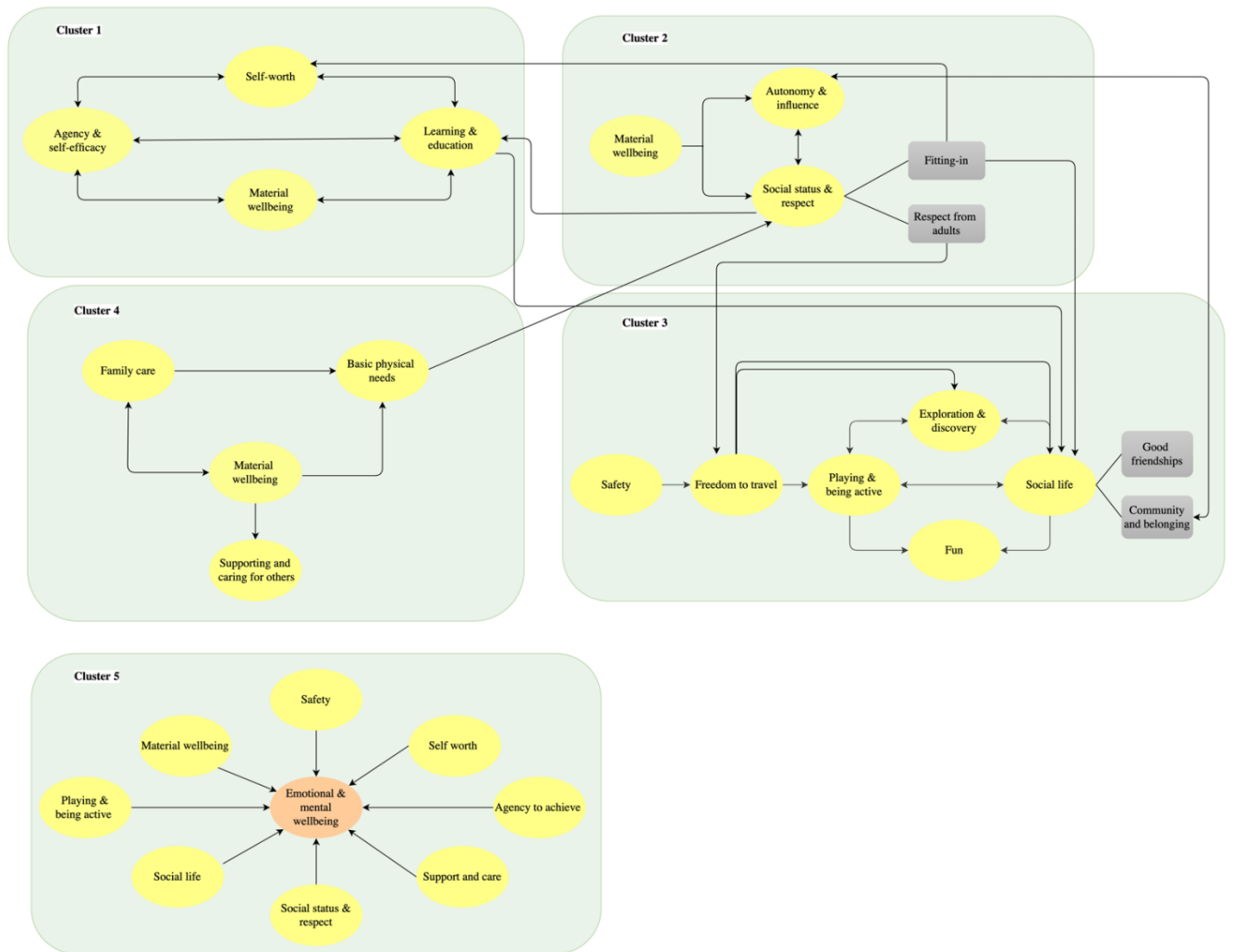
4.1. Valued capabilities: Cluster 1

The first cluster of capabilities is fundamentally about young people's ability to be and achieve what they aspire for in life. It incorporates four valued capabilities of: self-worth, agency and self-efficacy, material wellbeing, and learning and education, as figure 3 below demonstrates.

Figure 3: Valued capabilities cluster 1
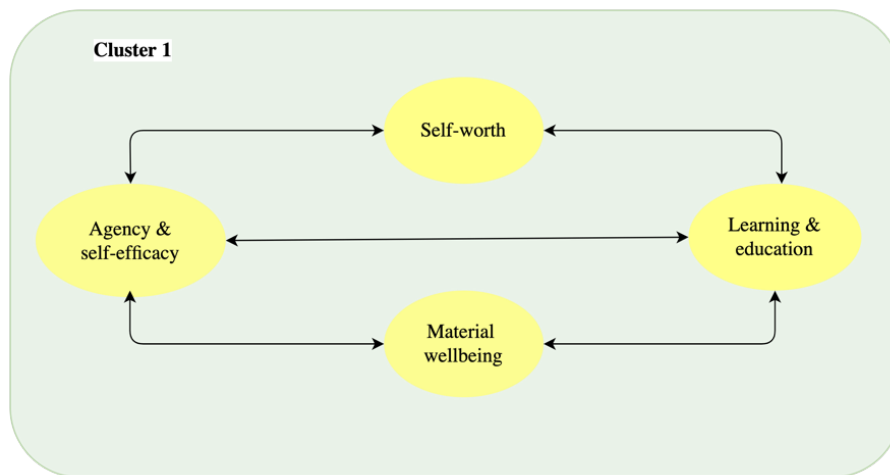
4.1.1. Self-worth

When asked about the things they value in life, many young people said 'myself' or talked about valuing their life. Self-worth is about self-acceptance and valuing themselves for who they are, rather than trying to pretend to be someone else. Valuing oneself is seen by young people as an important prerequisite for valuing others as well as being valued by others.

If you don't value yourself, no one else will – **Jess, 15**

I value myself. I think I am very important. I feel like it's most important to value yourself before you can actually value anyone else – **Emma, 14**

What I mean by 'myself'? I think that this is a hard one because I am never actually thinking about 'how I am' like within myself. I don't really know what 'self-worth' is, I think I need to know what that is in order for me to value myself or to know my position in certain situations – **Shirley 17**

One element of young people's self-worth is being able to take care of themselves both physically and mentally, which in turn expands their **emotional and mental wellbeing**. The latter is another important capability that belongs to cluster 5 (henceforth I will use bold letters whenever I make reference to a capability from another cluster). Participants value having the time and space to check-in with themselves and reflect on their feelings and where they stand on certain things, as opposed to constantly thinking about people's opinions of them.

> *I feel like now and again you have to check if you're doing well, you have to stop, you know, think about other people and just like take a minute to think about how you feel right now and like what you could improve right now in your life…just sit down and think about that and it'll make you ten times happier – Soraya, 15.*

When I asked young people about the things they value in life, Kemal, 13, said:

> *Myself in general…I have to take care of myself and feed myself…that's life.*

For participants, self-worth is also about the freedom to act for one's own wellbeing and '*to do well for yourself*'.

> *I just wanna live a good life for myself and to be able to say that when I lived I was happy and I had a good life – Grace, 15.*

This is linked to believing in themselves and their competence **(i.e. self-efficacy),** which is boosted by succeeding in achieving their goals and meeting the challenges they face in life (i.e. **agency**), as explained by Shirley, 17:

> *Success means a lot because at the end of the day you want to do well for yourself…even success will give you more happiness, and I think it can link with 'yourself' as well because if you do what you doubt let's say 'uh am saying I can't do this' but then you prove yourself wrong, it gives you more self-worth and you acknowledge how much you can do and your potential and I think that would help you not to ever doubt yourself, so success is really good.*

4.1.2. Agency and self-efficacy

Having the agency to shape one's life emerged as one of the most valued capabilities for young people. When asked about the things that matter to them in life, almost all participants mentioned 'success'. They talked about the importance of having ambitions and goals for their life and being able to purposely plan and achieve these goals, including their education, career, family, and overall having a stable, comfortable and worry-free life. Fundamentally, it is about being able to act to achieve the life they want for themselves, which would bring them '*happiness*'.

> *For me, the way I would do is that sometimes I would write it down in a piece of paper to say oh if I want to become this I need to do this, I have to set ambitions and the target that I want. So for example, if I wanted to be creating a family I would say to myself 'if I want to make a great family, I must be able to do these kinds of things –* **Anna, 13**.

> *Success for me is being successful in all areas of my life. I don't have to, I don't want to worry about anything and what I can achieve for what I want and for me personally – **Grace, 15**.*

While being aware of other people's doubts about their prospects to succeed, many participants expressed the importance of believing in their ability to exercise control over their lives and determine their destinies despite their disadvantaged circumstances. Proving to others that they can succeed is important. Many have a conviction that achievement depends '*on who you are. It doesn't depend on the way you grow*' and that if someone worked hard enough, they can achieve their goals.

> *I put down succeeding and I feel like generally people look down on people who come from our community we live in…and one day when we do succeed and we manage to achieve a high status and you are able to say what community you grew up in, it's just like proves that people who live in our areas can succeed – **Emma, 14**.*

A vital element of this capability is having the real freedom to achieve through legal means. Participants discussed how some young people get involved in illegal activities to be able to achieve the things they want in life. However, according to them, this is not real freedom because they put their life and that of their loved ones at risk. **Material wellbeing** and the ability to find good jobs are instrumental for expanding the agency to achieve legally. In the following quote Joseph, 18, tells me about how important it is for him that he did not follow illicit pathways to achieve and

own the things he aspired for. His **family's support** and ability to find a job have meant that he does not have to risk his life like many others around him. His *'life is valued'*, he said, which resembles **self-worth**.

> *For me it was all about timing. Once I was old enough to start working I looked for a job, I got a job. I know how it is, how it feels not to have the latest trainers, not to be able to wear what you wanna wear…am grateful to have some family members that would go the extra mile just to make sure that am happy…I was never not clean or anything, it's not that my clothes weren't, it's not that I had rubbish clothes or anything, but you know seeing certain people wearing designer and stuff, it makes you wanna have these things. But, I just I don't know I just never felt the need to try and obtain these things through illegal means because I already saw…I was seeing what was happening to people on that path around me that's quite a destructive path. Am I gonna risk getting thrown in prison for the rest of my life just so that I can buy some thousand pounds Christian Louboutin shoes? No, cause my life is valued, am I gonna risk seeing the look of disappointment on my mum's face so just I can get £800 Canada Goose? No, it's all about timing for me, that's what it is, even the way am dressing now, I started dressing like that recently because I work and that gives me more satisfaction, I worked for money, I bought my clothes with my own money, it's not illegal, no one is coming after me – **Joseph, 18**.*

4.1.3. Material wellbeing

Material wellbeing is central to the young people who were involved in this study. It is a multifaceted capability that is both valued in its own right, and instrumental for many other capabilities. Hence its inclusion in four out of the five clusters. It has practical, relational and emotional meanings. I will describe its relevant significance within each cluster's section.

As part of cluster 1, material wellbeing was often talked about in terms of achieving *'financial stability'* and having a *'good and stable job'*. Material wellbeing is at the heart of their perception of success and **achievement.** Not only it is important for achieving through legal means, but it is also a product of that achievement. In this sense, material wellbeing and making 'money' were sometimes viewed as interchangeable by young people and it was clear that it plays a big part in their lives.

On what a good and successful future is, young people said:

I am also thinking about the 'future' when I say 'success' because I want to be able to have a stable home, financial stability as well, and I want to be able to provide for my family as well yeah – **Sophie, 15.**

Earning more money and living a better life – **Luke, 13.**

A good business and a good job…Like a mechanic, a doctor a surgeon – **Kemal, 13.**

Some participants, however, contested essentially defining the **agency to achieve** in terms of making money and saw it as means to an end or a resource to achieving other valued freedoms.

Success in life can be anything, it doesn't really have to be money, it's what you choose success to be…Money is like a tool that you need to have, you don't really need to have it in order to succeed but some people you might have to have it to reach your goal – *Jack 15.*

I think a successful future isn't really about money but about you being happy because you can jump job to job depending on your qualifications; one day you can be a mechanic, next day a chef and next day you can be a teacher. So I guess it's really how feel you'll be comfortable in and how far you can achieve – **Mustafa, 13.**

Apart from their future aspirations, it is important for many young people who participated in this study to earn their own money in the present especially when they do not have access to it through their families. Throughout my time volunteering at the youth club, I helped many of them with writing their CVs and applying for jobs and apprenticeships. Having access to their money gives them independence, as they are conscious of the pressure they sometimes put on their low-income families when they ask them for money.

That's the age when you want to be independent so you don't wanna ask your mum for money – **Jack, 15.**

Families are also worried about their child bragging and bugging them about money…Yeah cause I always bug my father to give me a little bit of money to buy things from the shops. He's like very annoyed at that every time I do it – **Anna, 13.**

I think the reason why there is a large focus on money in this area as well especially with the young people is that it's like an escape…money gives them that freedom to be what they want, money gives them that freedom to get out of the area for a while. To enjoy a certain life but it's only temporary – **Joseph, 18**.

Additionally, material wellbeing is perceived to be one of the means and ends (through good jobs) of **learning and education**. It expands the freedom to seek higher education, which in turn opens up opportunities of well-paid jobs and having a successful career. It also allows them to seek training and participate in extra-curricular activities and courses to build their skills beyond what they learn at school.

4.1.4. Learning and education

A majority of participants mentioned education as a valued capability in their life. Formal school education is primarily seen by young people as instrumental for the **agency to achieve**. That is for the purposes of having a successful career and future, and making money. They are very aware of the direct link between performing well in their exams and being able to acquire *'good'* jobs.

Without school I feel like none of us can have a future anymore. It's like we need to find it ourselves, we need to teach ourselves – **Anna, 13**.

Basically school if you don't learn when you're old, you're not gonna get nothing and you're not gonna have a good job and career, nothing like that – **Malik, 13**.

With the education I can then go on build my business and from there make money, but without the school and without the education that I receive from the school, I won't be able to do any of those – **Hasan, 13**.

Many participants talked about the importance of having access to affordable good quality education and especially having competent teachers who treat them with respect. The quality of teaching is seen as very important for their motivation, which in turn affects their **self-efficacy and agency to achieve**. According to them, if they lose their motivation towards education due to facing barriers at school, it can affect their ability to exercise control over their lives and achieve their aspirations. A majority of the participants were having negative educational experiences and

would often complain about the quality of teaching and how they are treated **disrespectfully** at school:

> *A lot of them (teachers in our school) just don't help out…some teachers just generally can't teach, like you won't learn in the lesson or the lesson is quite disruptive, it's quite difficult…I was just thinking about it and I've thought that I lost a lot of motivation because there were a lot of obstacles in school like the way the teachers were just…I couldn't learn from some of the teachers, I was just not focused because there were a lot of things going on but am trying to improve on that right now – Sophie, 15.*

> *I feel like some teachers are setting us back in our classes and we could easily change that but you know the other higher teachers don't want to face the fact that they might not be performing as well. Cause sometimes you have to think about the teachers as well, not just the student; you have to think about how the teachers are impacting the pupils and what they're doing that's maybe messing up their grades – Soraya, 15.*

Their negative experiences at school could be the reason why formal education was mainly perceived by them as instrumental. To my surprise, one group of young people, with whom I conducted a session at the school, did not mention education or school when asked about the things they value in life. When I mentioned this to the other group, one participant said *"I think cause they hate the school more than anything"*.

Apart from the instrumental role of formal education to find good jobs, few participants also emphasised the value of learning about issues and acquiring skills relevant to their life in general. While some of these are also related to entrepreneurial and financial budgeting skills, they also included a range of other topics such as learning about their rights, gardening, cooking, independent living, camping, etc.

> *It's not only about jobs, it's about family as well. You get to learn…some schools give you an opportunity to look after things such as something like for example 'look after the plants', that's like building your skills for garden or you are even building your skills to make food – Anna, 13.*

However, some doubted the school's role in teaching them about these important life skills.

*I think school in total is quite debatable because yeah school teaches you important stuff like History, Maths and English and stuff like that. Also it doesn't teach the necessary stuff for life. It doesn't tell you, I think in year 5 or 6, you should learn about your human rights. You never get to learn about them, the only way now to learn about them is to go online or something or go to the police and ask them or something like that. I don't think they teach you most of the necessary stuff in life, they say 'oh, we're school we get you ready for the outside world to become independent,' but they don't teach us basics – **Mustafa, 13**.*

Moreover, some young people saw the value of going to school mainly related to **socialising with friends**.

*The only reason I like the school so I can meet new people – **Kemal, 13**.*

4.2. Valued capabilities: Cluster 2

Figure 4: Valued capabilities cluster 2
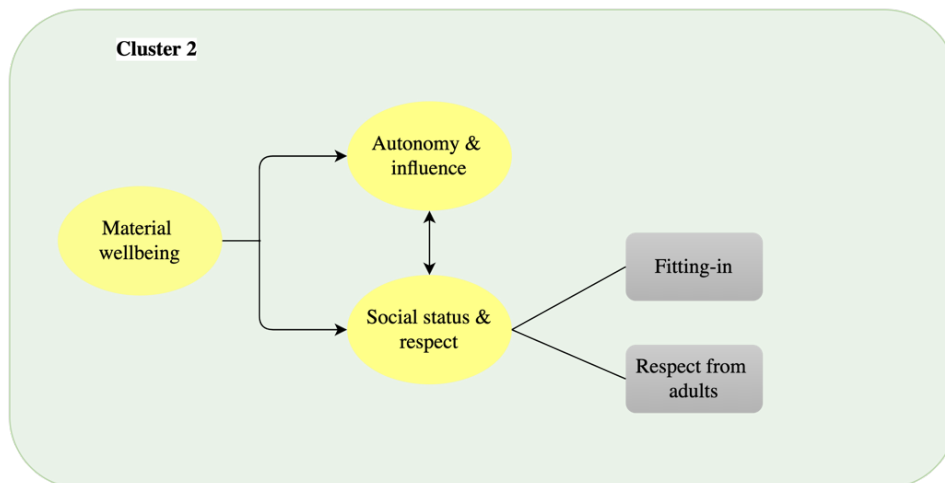
4.2.1. Social status and respect

Holding social status and being respected are very important for young people's sense of wellbeing and frequently came out during fieldwork. This was in many ways perceived in terms of their structural position in society as a group, rather than a purely individual capability. As a social group, low-income young people want to be valued and acknowledged. Social status and respect

encompasses two elements: (1) fitting in (mainly within their social circle), and (2) being respected by adults.

a) Fitting in:

For participants, fitting-in is about being respected among their friends and people their age or those within their social circles. Behaving and having things like others around them helps young people to fit in. For example, they repeatedly mentioned the importance of having the **material** things (e.g. fashionable branded clothes and electronic gadgets) they see their friends and others around them having. Wearing trendy clothes shows 'good taste', granting young people popularity or a reputation of being 'cool', which in turn prompts others to look up to them. While not stated as frequently as wearing fashionable clothes, a few young people talked about their 'body image' as another way of fitting in with friends or pleasing their parents. The TV and social media are seen as contributing to this emphasis on materialism.

> *Say you travel a lot with your friends and they are wearing branded clothing and stuff, they would probably think they want you to wear it as well to make you look quote unquote cool – **Mustafa, 13**.*

Most importantly wearing nice clothes shows they are not 'poor'. This is where **material wellbeing** becomes relevant to this cluster. It boosts their social standing and prevents against being 'judged', bullied or 'looked down on' by their colleagues. This could affect their school experiences and **education**.

> *Let's say the school has a non-uniform day and the children will come in their track suits and nice new shoes and because you don't have that, people start to judge you because you don't have the clothes that are cool or something and they will start to violate or insult each other so to do that you prevent getting insulted – **Damien, 15**.*

> *It's just like if you don't have cool clothes people are gonna judge you based on that and it's kind of disrespectful, if you can't afford it for instance. Then you're gonna be disrespected cause you don't have a lot of money – **George, 13**.*

Participants pointed out that having the latest clothes and material things is even more important to young people who are not themselves 'rich', because it is their way of trying to fit-in with those who have more money.

> *I think to the rich people it doesn't really matter but to the lower class or to the middle-class people, it matters because they want to blend in with them* – **Mustafa, 13**.

> *Some people might do it to just to make themselves look like they actually have money to make them look like they're not poor. Some stereotypes are if you buy a shirt from Primark, you are poor, cheap* – **Luke, 13**.

They explained that this bullying behaviour in itself is a rather destructive way by some to gain respect and status. According to them, the young people who act tough in the street or the 'popular kids' at school who bully others for what they wear gain and maintain their popularity and status through acting this way. Some feel they need to project a 'façade' of being 'tough' especially while living in an area perceived as **unsafe or where there is violence**, they said.

> *They [popular children] are just bragging their parents to get them that. If they weren't popular in the school, they probably would never be wearing any of those clothes anyways. I think they're trying to pretend to show off money that they don't have* – **Mustafa, 13**.

> *Joseph: Some people I don't know they want to act like they are tough in the street because the environment that they live in they feel they have to act like that in order to be respected. Some people are afraid to be different.*
> *Researcher: What sort of environment you think makes them feel like that? That they need to show that image?*
> *Joseph: By living in an environment like this. Am not saying it's bad but there is a lot of things going on, innit, there is a lot of things innit, bad things going on in this environment.*
> *Researcher: like what? Can you give me an example?*
> *Joseph: like crime and other stuff.*

Young people condemned this behaviour. Not only it negatively affects the **emotional and mental wellbeing** of the victims of bullying, but it also perpetuates a cycle where the latter are

forced to also fake an image that is not a true reflection of themselves, which diminishes their **self-worth.**

> *It's not only clothes that is literally targeting people. It's also people with a personality or with a status…it's like a constant cycle what they [popular kids] are going to do. They're going to just keep continue bullying until the victim just gives up on their life and hangs themselves. But then afterwards, the popular kid might do it all over again until they feel more power coming into them* – **Anna, 13**.

b) Respect from adults:

Being respected by adults is another feature of young people's valued capability of social status and respect. They want to be treated respectfully, fairly, equally, and to be taken seriously by adults they interact with in their communities, schools, in public spaces, etc.

Participants were particularly bothered by how they are often wrongfully stereotyped, perceived as troublemakers, treated with suspicion, and followed around in places such as shops and supermarkets, especially if they are wearing their school uniform. They mentioned how those among them who are from ethnic minority groups face a higher share of discrimination. Such behaviour restricts their **freedom to travel** or go places.

Below is an excerpt from a young participant, Nora, 13, who took part in the peer interview activity, telling me and other young people about what her interviewee (female, 13 years) said in response to her questions.

> *Nora: I asked her how do you feel young people are seen and treated in the community? Are they respected? Why and by whom? Can you give an example?*
> *She said 'people don't like us young people especially when we are in our uniform after school.' I asked her why?*
> *She said 'because they think you're gonna do something bad to them and shout and scream.'*

> *I don't think young people are respected especially in (the case study neighbourhood). They get treated as criminals even though they haven't done anything* – **Candice, 14**.

Young people want adults not to "*think that all of (them) are the same. (Adults) should think of (them) separately*" (Holly, 13). For example, they do acknowledge that while some children might steal from shops, they are the exceptions and not the rule. According to the participants, stigmatising all young people as troublemakers can be a self-fulfilling prophecy:

> *Some people usually young children that are stealing from shops. But what I think they need to understand it's not everyone. Maybe if they gave people a chance first then it would have been better because you walk into a shop and the security guard takes a look at you and then they follow you around. That gives (young people) more of a chance to be rude to them or do something bad because following them around when really and truly all they wanted to do is get some stuff and actually pay for it –* **Caroline, 13***.*

4.2.2. Material wellbeing

As mentioned above, material wellbeing expands young people's capability of social status and respect. Within this context it is has a relational significance because it is about maintaining a respectable image and being acknowledged in society. Being able to afford things others around them have helps them avoid the social stigma of being perceived as 'poor', 'broke', or 'unclean', and being bullied by other young people or judged by adults in their community. This is also important for their **emotional and mental wellbeing**.

> **Researcher***: Ok, can you tell me why money is important for young people?*
> **Holly, 13***: To fit in society…like you wouldn't want to wake up and have like tangled hair or like…*
> **Malik, 13***: so people can acknowledge us*

> *If you are making a certain amount of money at young age, you're going to be respected by a lot of people wherever you go. If you have the latest trainers, the latest you know, the most expensive jacket, people are going to look up to you –* **Joseph, 18.**

Moreover, material wellbeing and social status enhance young people's autonomy and provide them with the power to influence decisions affecting their lives.

4.2.3. Autonomy and influence

One of the things young people value most is the capability to have autonomy and influence over decisions affecting them. It greatly matters to them to genuinely participate in decision-making processes at the local, national and international levels. They want to have the space to freely voice their opinions and to have those opinions taken seriously by people (especially adults) at their local communities and schools. Participants complained about how their opinions are not perceived as important as those of adults and that 'no one cares about what they think'. They saw this as also related to their lower socioeconomic status. Some expressed their appreciation for taking part in this study because it gave them the opportunity to communicate their viewpoints about the regeneration of their neighbourhood.

> *I want everyone to be able to understand that a young person's voice needs to be heard and it's gonna be said time and time again but it's the truth, just because we are young doesn't necessarily mean that our opinion doesn't matter –* **Emma, 14**.

Some young people also value taking the lead in collectively organising and making active change in their communities. They want local services to be 'provided by young people to young people' because they believe they would be better able to reach out to and understand each other. This is particularly important for older teenagers (above 14 years). Two groups of young people among the participants were members of forums that aim to influence the local authority's policy decisions targeting youth. Both were facilitated by supportive adults in the community which is something young people value.

Below is an excerpt from a group session where participants were discussing their photo-diaries. They were part of a panel that is consulted by the local authority about programmes and interventions for young people:

> **Shirley, 17**: *This is a picture from youth panel. That's really important to me because that's real community cause we do everything together. On Wednesdays we do everything together. And I guess we come here for a good cause, we come here because we all want to make active change, to make sure that someone is doing something, that we're all trying to do something. So it's quite important that we shed some light on that.*

> **Sophie, 15**: *I'd say it's one of the most powerful ways to make change because we're part of a group and the council is aware of that, so they can listen to our opinions and*

infer from that what they're gonna do next. So we're kind of helping them to direct into a better route.

The capabilities of 'social status and respect' and 'autonomy and influence' expand young people's chances of enjoying **a social life**, one of the capabilities that make up the third cluster.

4.3. Valued capabilities: Cluster 3

Cluster 3 contains six closely related valued capabilities addressing young people's social life, freedom to play, be active, have fun, explore, be mobile, and live in a safe and peaceful environment (see figure 5 below).

Figure 5: Valued capabilities cluster 3
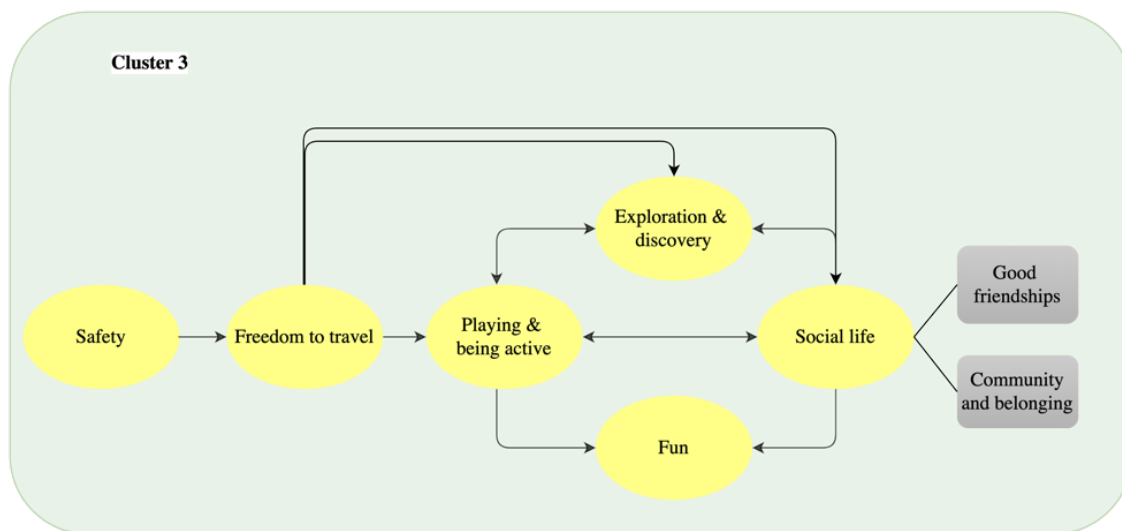
4.3.1. Social life

Having a social life is very important for young people. This capability has two components: (a) having good friendships; and (b) belonging to a stable and supportive community.

a) Good friendships

Being able to build friendships is one of the most commonly mentioned capabilities whenever young people were asked about the things they value in life. More specifically, young people cherish "real", "loyal", "trusted", supportive and non-judgmental friendships. The opportunity to have

and spend time with friends is inherently about having a social life and being connected to other people.

> *I mean friends and family is the most common thing that you will probably hear from everyone in this area – **Hasan, 13**.*

> *Friends is having people you can hang around with – **Damien, 16**.*

> *I'd say most important to me is true friends, a good social life and good relationships. I'd never say money. Even academic achievement, like Obviously, I'm very happy I am going to (university), but I wouldn't call that long term happiness, whereas, you know, tight close relationships that are fully functioning and work really well and are mutually beneficial, that makes me most happy – **Eamon, 18**.*

Participants mentioned how they take every chance to spend as much time as possible with their friends, whether after school, in the weekends, or choosing to commute to school together by bus even if some of their parents have cars and could potentially drive them. Some also mentioned the importance of their mobile phones in connecting and communicating with their friends especially at times when their mobility is restricted. Socialising with friends was one of the most common themes of the photographs young people took as part of the photo-diary activity.

> *Picture 12: that's the bus stop in front of school. It's important because as I said it's our after-school bus stop. And everyone hangs out and socialises there instead of going home straight away. Everyone goes to that bus stop, so everyone would talk there and it's a nice place to socialise – **Soraya, 15**.*

> *Picture 8: this one is in the playground in our school. This is where all the boys are playing basketball, and girls watch them cause they find it entertaining…You get to talk to new people…it's basically lunch break and it's time to socialise. Sometimes we sit on the benches and we just talk about what went on like gossiping. It's just a nice place to sit and talk – **Imani, 15**.*

> *This is basically a picture of my friend eating his chicken and chips thinking that he's 'bad'. It's my favourite picture because it actually shows the way we are after school; everybody just eating their food, we're all just…sometimes we're silent we are just eating on the bus, it just makes me content – **Shirley 17**.*

Nevertheless, friends can also be harmful for young people's wellbeing if they engage in negative peer-pressure, bullying, spreading false rumours and violence. In these cases, they have adverse effects on young people's **mental health** and lead to isolation.

b) Belonging to a supportive community

Young people talked a lot about community and the importance of having a sense of belonging. Being surrounded by old friends and familiar faces they can trust at their school and neighbourood gives young people a sense of stability and being grounded. Community, for them, is *'knowing everyone'* and *'doing things together and collectively'*. It is defined by long-term, supportive, respectful and trusted relationships.

> **Shirley, 17***: yeah this picture is 'community' obviously because these are my friends and I just thought it would be good to get a picture of them because they are always together. We were walking on the road of our school going home, so after we just left school we were all just walking together. It's our journey.*

> **Researcher***: and what is it that makes them 'community'? you said this is community.*

> **Shirley***: cause I guess we've been with each other from day one, so no matter what, we've always been in this one group it hasn't changed, so I think that really shows 'community' cause we've been together through everything.*

> **Shinique, 17***: this is another picture that's quite special to me cause on this street is my cousin's memorial plaque. He died, got stabbed, and it shows community because everybody remembers him and knew him and he was treasured in our community as well, so I really like this picture*

Having strong friendships and belonging to a cohesive community can open up opportunities for young people. Some participants mentioned how it is because of their friends that they learned about new places, facilities, and services available to them. In addition, good friendships and a supportive and friendly community expand young people's capability to **play and be active.**

4.3.2. Playing and being active

Having the opportunity to play and be active is very important for most young people who took part in the study. As one participant put it, play represents *"being in (his) youth"* (Mustafa, 13). Young people discussed the importance of "having something to do" and "going out and about" as opposed to "staying home all the time", "being on their phones" and feeling "bored", "trapped", and lonely. While playing video games on their phone or computer was mentioned by some participants as something they enjoy doing, being active and outside of home is usually seen as a more valued activity.

This is an excerpt from my interview with William, 16, who talks about how he unwillingly spends most of his time at home because of losing touch with friends after he dropped out of school.

> *Researcher: and how about your everyday life? How do you picture your ideal everyday life?*
>
> *William: I don't do a lot really, so every day in my life is staying at home mainly watching TV, helping around the house, playing with my pets, playing video games and other stuff, going to work as well. Can't forget about work.*
>
> *Researcher: are these the things you ideally would be doing if you have the absolute choice?*
>
> *William: No, but that's what I do now.*
>
> *Researcher: then what would you rather be doing in everyday life? What sort of activities, what things you want to be doing in your daily routine?*
>
> *William: I guess just going out and about with friends. Friends and family, pets, yeah.*
>
> *Researcher: And why are you not doing this now?*
>
> *William: Because I left school. I don't come in contact with a lot of my friends any more. They probably gone somewhere else to colleges I don't know but I don't have any way to contact them so. They're all gone. So I am basically trying to start a new apprenticeship trying to make friends with other apprentices and some of my co-workers as well.*

4.3.3. Fun

Being active and playing, for teenagers, is about having a 'fun' and joyful time with their friends. It allows them to create cherished memories and helps them overcome feelings of loneliness and isolation, contributing to their **emotional and mental wellbeing.**

Explaining why she took one of the pictures as part of the photo-diary activity, Sarah, 13, said:

> *I took two pictures of the water fountains by the reservoirs. They are fun to be around. One of my memories in year 7 I had a water fight with my friends and I got pushed in. I got all wet and whenever I got to the park I'd climb all the way to the top with my sister as well.*

In this quote, Shirley also demonstrates the link between play, having 'happy' time with friends and avoiding loneliness.

> *For example after school when we all finish we're all at the bus stop and there is groups and crowds. It's not like 'oh you're by yourself and you feel lonely', but there is loads of people and you get a vibe of that, everybody is laughing, everybody is happy. But if you're by yourself, you're like 'oh man'…you're not down necessarily but you're just solemn…it's quite togetherness. To me, it kind of symoblises the playground as well because your play time is basically not over and you're able to be jokey and happy and laughing with your friends – **Shirely, 17**.*

4.3.4. Freedom to travel

The freedom to travel is integral to young people's ability to have a social life, play, be active, have fun, and explore new places and experiences. This is what Malik, 13, said when asked about the things he values or that matter to him in life:

> *Malik: my oyster card. I travel a lot and I need my oyster card, very important because I go to a lot of places*
> *Researcher: and why is it important for you to go to places?*
> *Malik: cause I have fun, a lot of fun.*
> *Researcher: ok, so having fun is important?*
> *Malik: yeah, enjoy yourself, enjoy my life.*

For young people, freedom to travel has two components: (a) being allowed by their parents to go out, and (b) being free to spend time in public spaces. The first one is more relevant to younger participants as parents are more likely to be protective of younger children and restrict their mobility outside of home. The second component relates to how young people are perceived and treated by adults when they are outside of home. Outside of spaces designated for young people (e.g. play grounds, school, and youth club), their presence is usually not welcomed by adults, which can restrict their freedom to travel and go to places. This also relates to the capability of **being respected by adults** discussed above. On how this impacts her Caroline, 13, said:

> *It makes me feel a bit trapped in a way. When I say trapped I mean it doesn't allow me to go to places I really wanna go because…as soon as you step foot in a shop it's like 'woah woah woah it's a school child, everyone follow her.' It's really bad.*

All the above capabilities: the freedom to travel, being active, playing outdoors, and having fun times with friends are made possible by **living in a safe and peaceful environment.**

4.3.5. Living in a safe and peaceful environment

Young people want to live in an environment free of crime and violence. Feeling safe is essential for their **mental wellbeing**. They talked about the mental burden of constantly watching over their shoulders while walking in the street or living in fear of being attacked or someone breaking into their house at any time. For girls, sexual harassment and being followed by strangers on the street causes them anxiety. Living in a disorderly environment leads to sleep loss and being disturbed by noise from traffic or people quarrelling in the street.

Young people value having access to facilities and spaces that are safe and clean (e.g. parks, play grounds, youth clubs, football pitches). For younger participants (12 and 13 years), this is especially the case in order for their parents to let them go out and **play** with friends. Well-lit and busy streets make them feel safer.

> *My parents don't really want me going out that much cause there is a rise in knife crime and stuff, it's quite dangerous. Few people got stabbed around this area –* **George, 13.**

*Maybe last year I used to go out a lot with my friends. But this year because crime has increased my mum doesn't want me outside anymore without her. So yeah I don't go without family or anyone older than me – **Sarah, 13**.*

On why parks are important Andrew said:

*Because it's somewhere they (young people) can go out local have fun, somewhere where you can actually just enjoy yourself as a young person whereas if there're no parks…where can you go and play? Like I have said before that most parents wouldn't want their kids out doing nothing because it's not safe, but whereas as a park, yeah, they they're aware of what the children are doing – **Andrew, 15**.*

4.3.6. The capability to explore and discover

The final capability in this cluster is the freedom to explore and discover new experiences, places, and cultures. When talking about the value of having the freedom to travel and 'go to places' with friends or family, participants often referred to '*discovering and seeing new things and places*', and '*meeting different people'*. This included travelling locally as well as internationally. Being exposed to other cultures, ways of doings things and challenges other people face is important for them not only to learn about others, but also to better understand themselves and their social contexts.

***Anna, 13**: Like the world is actually…it might look scary but to me it's a place where you can discover new things…Like if I was going to another country, I would sometimes look at another culture or look at the different types of behaviour.*
***Researcher**: yeah, why is this important for you?*
***Anna**: because it's not like this country is the only one with the highest crime, it can be like several other countries that I might be interested in that could have the same point or might have the same problem.*

*I value my passport. I have 3 passports. Because you get to see other places in the world and see how different it is – **Caroline, 13**.*

Similarly, on the importance of going on residentials[24], Beth said:

---

[24] Residentials are overnight trips organised for young people where they engage in group activities, training, tours and visits that develop their skills.

*They are important, you meet people, connect and you meet different people and see how they are. It's a new experience – **Beth 15**.*

To sum up, the capabilities within this cluster are closely interlinked. Young people value playing and being active because it gives them the opportunity to have fun, make friends, and explore new experiences. This is enabled by having a supportive community and freedom to travel, which in turn is made possible by living in safe and peaceful environment.

4.4. Valued capabilities: Cluster 4

The fourth cluster of young people's valued freedoms is about the value of receiving and giving care and support between them and their families, friends, and local communities.

Figure 6: Valued capabilities cluster 4
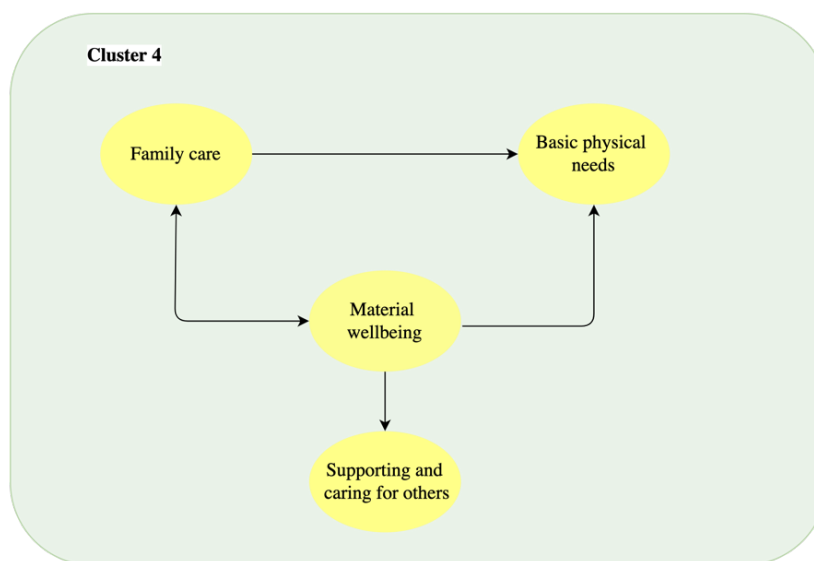
4.4.1. Family care

The first thing that usually came to mind when young people were asked about the things they value and care about in life was 'family'. They treasure having good, conflict-free, and close relationships with their family members as well as having the freedom to spend time with them. The love and care they receive from their families is crucial for their **emotional and mental wellbeing**.

My family are the people that I grew up with, they're like my first loves, my first best friends, and that having my siblings like. And hopefully in the future I have a family like the one that I have now. And I don't always get to spend time with my family as much because am always like out and about but I love them and I am thankful for what they've done for me – Grace, 15.

One day they [my family] might be gone and you're just gonna be left thinking about what you could've done with them. So I'd rather have a good time with them rather than have a bad time with them. And I'd rather spend time with them, rather than not spend time with them at all – Shirley, 17.

Nia, 14, emphasised the importance of having the freedom to get to know and live with their "biological family".

Because some people haven't grown up with their biological family. And they know it's not their biological family, but sometimes it will be hard to find them. Because everyone wants to know who their real parents are or meet their real family. So that's why family care is important. If you're like, living with somebody else, or like you've been taken away from your parents, and you're not really getting along with your other family is going to be hard for you – Nia, 14.

Families provide essential care for young people. This includes access to life's **basic needs** (e.g. food and shelter), as one participant put it: "*without family care we won't have food*" *(Nia, 14).* Family members also 'carry them through life's challenges', 'look after them', and assist with their schoolwork. Importantly, families support young people in ways that friends cannot always do.

Sometimes - am not saying that friends won't be there but sometimes there are things you'd rather talk to your family about and they'll get it more than your friends – Caroline, 13.

Moreover, through seeing their family members' hard work to support them, the former act as role models and a source of inspiration for young people.

I am more inspired by the people who done great things not with money but more with hard work. Cause my father failed one exam and he was quite upset about it and he had to go to the army for 2 years until he came back and he said 'no am doing it'. So he did the exam, he got into the university, which is the highest university for pilots. That

*made me think 'so hold on a second, you failed an exam but all of a sudden when you came back you were like let's get this over and done with' he hadn't even done any bad (inaudible) at all. If I fail something, cause he's teaching me if I fail something, don't lose it after all, just go back to it and learn from your mistakes – **Anna, 13**.*

*Maybe my grandparents. They work hard for everything they do, they would go and work long hours and come back maybe midnight or 3am something like that. And because they're getting older and it's kind of hard for them, I just find it amazing how they can do that – **Sarah, 13**.*

4.4.2. Physical needs: Food, shelter and health

Having the freedom to enjoy basic or primary life needs to sustain their bodies and physical health is one of young people's important capabilities. These include food, water, sleep, shelter, health, and clean clothes.

*Food matters to me in life. Without food, you can't live – **Damien, 15**.*

*I value my bed so I can restore energy for the next day – **Kemal, 13**.*

Having a clean and spacious (as opposed to over-crowded) place to live is important for young people's wellbeing. Homes also hold their childhood memories and are their safe spaces.

*My house is my safe zone. I can run to it if something happens to me – **Leo, 12**.*

There is a social/relational side to life's basic needs. They are important for maintaining young people's dignity and **respect in society** and among their friends, which in turn impacts their **emotional and mental wellbeing**.

This is an excerpt from my field notes at the youth club, where a young person (Owen, 14) was humiliated by another because of lack of food.

Field notes - 4 Feb 2019, youth club

We (youth workers) have been wondering why Owen hasn't been to the youth club for weeks and tonight we found out why. One youth worker said that she called his mum to check. It turned out that he was bullied by Adrian for 'being fat'. Not that he was overweight but because every time he comes to the youth club he is always hungry and would take food from the fridge

without permission. His mum said he was distressed about what happened and that he will go back to the youth club when he feels better. In fact, some youth workers had been concerned that he is not eating well at home before this incident happened and planned to check with his mum that everything is ok.

After this, I never saw Owen again even though he had been a regular member at the youth club.

4.4.3. Supporting and caring for others

Young people value not just getting but also providing support and care for others, such as their families, friends, and colleagues. They expressed feelings of gratitude for their families' efforts to care for and support them and talked about the importance of reciprocating this by 'making them proud' or avoiding 'disappointing' them by **achieving** and being successful in life. This includes not pursuing illegal pathways to **achieving** or being 'demanding and wanting everything their way'. Some participants mentioned caring for their pets and how they consider them as family members.

> *For the amount of stuff that my mum and my dad have done for me I don't want to make them disappointed, so I want to make sure that I have a good future – **Caroline, 13**.*

> *My mum has been very instrumental but I don't know, from a young age I've never really complained you know like…cause I saw how hard my mum was working and she still is to look after me and do the best that she could and I wasn't one of those guys that complain and say 'I can't have this, I can't have that' you know – **Joseph, 18**.*

Furthermore, some participants said it is important for them to support and help other people in their school and local community expand their capabilities. For example, a group of them were volunteering at school to help younger year pupils with their schoolwork and subjects they are struggling with:

> ***Imani, 15***: *We'll get the classroom to ourselves, we don't really need a teacher and we'll just help them. It just gives them an opportunity to be themselves cause there is no teacher there.*
> ***Researcher***: *and why is this important for you?*

Jess, 15: Because it's like we are helping out. It helps their self-confidence.

4.4.4. Material wellbeing

In this context material wellbeing is valued for a number of reasons. Young people understand that their parents' wellbeing has a big impact on them. Without it, their families will be limited in their ability to care for them, which may affect their physical needs and their own material wellbeing.

Material wellbeing is about them and their families not being in need and the mental burden associated with it. Young people talked about how having 'enough' money means they do not have to constantly make tradeoffs between having things they need. Material wellbeing is essential for their parents' **mental health** which also reflects on theirs. They talked about how lack of money stresses their parents and that this worries them and makes them want to take responsibility for relieving this stress on their families. On things they value in life, Caroline and Beth said:

> *Being financially stable and be able to carry yourself not as in out in the streets and stuff like that. So if you wanted to go to a shop to buy something you don't have to think 'if I buy this, will I have enough money for whatever I wanna buy'* – **Caroline, 13.**

> *Being able to buy whatever I want in the future* – **Beth, 16.**

Young people's material wellbeing expands ability to care for their own families. For example, among the reasons they value working and making their own money is to be able to support their parents financially through taking care of their own expenses, and buying them things they need. A few participants told me how they are very happy to be working and making money because they can buy their families Christmas and birthday gifts. One of them said she was planning to save and buy her mother a car and a house. Many also talked about their aspirations to provide for their future families.

4.5. Valued capabilities: Cluster 5

Figure 7: Valued capabilities cluster 5

Cluster 5

Safe & peaceful environment

Material wellbeing

Self worth

Playing & being active

Emotional & mental wellbeing

Agency to achieve

Social life

Support and care

Social status & respect
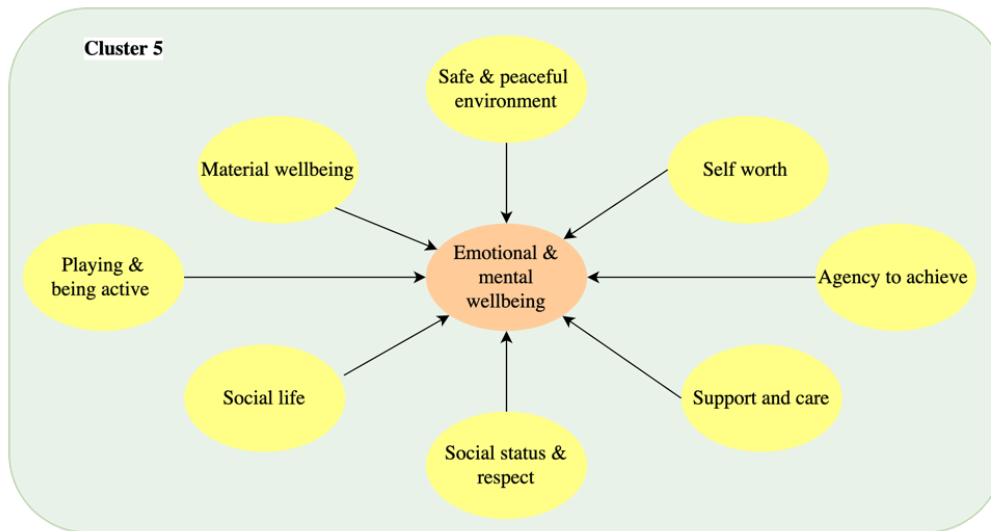
4.5.1. Emotional and mental wellbeing

The main capability in the final cluster is emotional and mental wellbeing. It was a recurrent theme in the fieldwork with young people who regard it as a very important capability for leading a healthy and balanced life. On the value of mental health young people said:

> *Without mental health I am not quite sure how I can properly function. It's like you need to balance physical and mental together you can't just leave one out cause it's not gonna work. And we all have a disability unfortunately, every once in a while –* ***Anna, 13****.*

> *I put down my 'mental health' because nowadays people are going through so much and I have to be thankful for what I have and I have to think about what I am going through and how I am doing in general if I am ok or not –* ***Sophie 15****.*

It is a cluster because it is related to many other freedoms already talked about above. Young people made connections between emotional and mental wellbeing and a majority of the other valued capabilities, including **self-worth, agency to achieve, social life, good friendships, belonging to a supportive community, playing and being active**, **living in a safe environment, social status, being respected, support and care, and material wellbeing.**

I think it (mental health) has a lot to do with friends as well or like who you hang around as well. They can have an impact because there can be stuff like peer pressure affecting you, even like…it also depends where you live because some schools you may go to they may not be the best like you might go to a really bad school where you're not fitting in or it could have to do with something with your mental health like getting bullied or something like that, you may not have like any motivation or any of that – **Sophie, 15.**

On living in a 'chaotic and violent' environment Joseph, 18, said:

Being here in this environment for so long is a bit depressing at times, it's like there is a weight on your shoulders, there's like a dark cloud over you.

Similarly, Sophie, 15, said:

I think I would say mental health because like there's a lot of areas where like now there are a lot of gangs and all of that and I would say that people would be affected by that because of all the gang crime happening, they could even be dragged into that.

Also, being surrounded by their loved ones (especially their families and friends) who themselves are 'happy' reflects positively on young people's mental state. Young people are impacted by their families' circumstances and seeing their parents struggle can be mentally burdensome on them, as Candice, 14 said, *"no one wants to see their parents struggling".*

Some young people indicated gender differences in the things that affect their mental health. According to them, girls are more likely to get 'stressed' out or have mental pressure from relationships with family and friends and domestic abuse, while boys are more concerned with school work and street violence.

We as women can be subjected more to suicide than men as well because as women we always get problems such as relationship problems, domestic abuse or anything like that that's going on in their family and we might feel there is no hope, we can't go anywhere else or we don't have much friends, we don't know where to socialise so that's why so many girls are seen as being more suicidal, than at risk of stabbing – **Anna, 13.**

Participants often talked about the value of mental health services and opportunities where they can talk to someone about their feelings, as well as, having access to 'calming' activities and spaces

(e.g. nature and green spaces) that allow them to release stress. For example, some young people thought the photo-diary activity in which they participated as part of this study allowed them to destress:

> *It made me happy…it's very peaceful and calming and you don't even have to take anyone to come with you and do this. You can go around and do it yourself and just relax. So yeah it helps a lot –* **Caroline, 13.**

> *I actually found that really calm for once. I just had to walk around and take photos it was really calm –* **Anna, 13.**

A few participants (especially boys) mentioned that while they are aware of the addictive nature of playing video games, it does help them to switch off from daily stresses such as school work, or problems/conflict with family and friends. In response to the reason for why video games are important for them, some participants said:

> **Leo, 12**: *it just like makes your mind go somewhere else. This is your outlet, you forget everything. You're just trying to win and that's all you are trying to do so your mind is on winning not anything else .*
> **Researcher**: *Ok. And what are the things you want to forget about or don't want to think about?*
> **Jack, 12**: *like school, homework.*
> **Holly, 13**: *stress…like with friends or with family.*

4.6. Discussion

This chapter presented the things young people value being and doing. In total, there are five clusters of 16 capabilities that are valued by the participants i.e. those aged 12 to 19 years from low-income backgrounds and living and/or going to school in a social housing estate that has been redeveloped into a mixed income neighbourhood. Findings demonstrate the interconnected nature of capabilities. The end result can be likened to a complex web or network which contains certain groups (clusters) of capabilities that are connected by thicker and tighter nodes than the nodes linking them to other capabilities in the web.

More specifically, findings show that learning and being well educated are important for young people's self-efficacy and agency to achieve (legally), as well as to their material wellbeing (e.g. through good jobs), which in turn influence their self-worth. But self-worth also promotes their agency to achieve for their wellbeing. At the same time, material wellbeing can influence their freedom to learn, be well educated, and their agency to achieve their goals in life. It is also essential for their status, respect, autonomy, and influence in society. It helps them fit in with others and avoid the stigma of poverty, consequently allowing them to be have friends and a social life. Participating in decisions affecting their lives increases young people's sense of belonging to their community and vice versa.

Moreover, having good friendships expands their freedom to play, be active, explore and have fun, which are all enabled by the freedom to travel, be respected, be supported by adults, and living in a safe environment. The freedoms of having a social life, playing, and living in a safe environment positively influence their emotional and mental wellbeing through preventing feelings of isolation and loneliness.

Additionally, young people value being supported and cared for by their families who provide them with life's basic needs and help them with challenges they face, which can depend on their families' material wellbeing. In return, they value giving back by making their families' proud and being successful in achieving a good life. It is also important for them to support people in their communities. Finally, participants care about their emotional and mental wellbeing. They value having access to mental health services and spaces and activities that give them the chance to destress. Their emotional and mental wellbeing is impacted by many of the other capabilities.

The central contribution of this chapter to the capability approach literature is the conceptualisation of capabilities not as a list but as clusters with complex interrelationships. It is argued that clusters more accurately represent the way young people experience their valued capabilities. Findings show that young people encounter these capabilities as bundles in their everyday life so that in many cases one freedom may not be complete without another kind of freedom. Thus, for example, having the real freedom to have a social life will not be fully possible without also being able to move freely and safely. Each capability is intrinsically important in and of itself despite having an instrumental role to other freedoms. Having good friendships is important for its own sake but it is also instrumental for playing, exploring and having fun.

Similarly, learning or being well-educated is intrinsically important but a big part of it is instrumental for material wellbeing, agency and social status.

The cluster framework builds on and extends the existing capability approach theoretical and empirical literature. Both Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, the original theorists of the capability approach, discussed the interdependent relationships between capabilities. In *Development as Freedom*, Amartya Sen wrote that the differentiation between the 'constitutive' and 'instrumental' roles of freedom arises because "different kinds of freedoms, besides directly enhancing people's capabilities, are also interrelated, and so the freedom of one type may supplement and reinforce the freedom of other types" (Sen 1999, p.37). He gave the examples of political freedoms, economics facilities, social opportunities (e.g. education and healthcare), transparency and social security. Sen argued that these instrumental freedoms "directly enhance the capabilities of people, but they also supplement one another, and can furthermore reinforce one another" (Sen 1999, p.40). For instance, an illiterate person will not be able to effectively participate in political and economic activities. Martha Nussbaum – who put together a list of universal values – mentioned that some of the capabilities on her list are linked in complex ways, despite each one being independently important (Nussbaum 2000). She also argued that two of the capabilities on her list, namely 'practical reason[25]' and 'affiliation' are central because they both "organise and suffuse all others", meaning that "all the items on the list should be available in a form that involves reason and affiliation" (Nussbaum 2000, p.3).

Moreover, some empirical studies discussed how some capabilities are fundamental for others. For example, Hart's (2013) analysis of young people's aspirations showed that the freedom to aspire is a critical precursor to the development of many other capabilities, thereby affecting their wellbeing freedom and agency freedom. Other researchers highlighted the instrumental role of education, shelter and a clean environment as enabling many other capabilities among children and young people (e.g. Terzi 2007, Walker 2007, and Anich et al. 2011). Clark also discussed the motives that residents of a rural village in South Africa have for valuing the most popular items on their list of valued capabilities. For example, education was considered important because it improves job prospects, while jobs are essential for acquiring housing, food, and clothing.

---

[25] Capability of 'practical reason' is defined as: "being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life. (This entails protection for the liberty of conscience.)" (Nussbaum 2000: 80).

Findings presented in this chapter go a step further by showing the complex interdependent relationships between all of participants' valued freedoms and opportunities. It is not only the case that a group of capabilities are central to others, rather all capabilities have an inherent value and are instrumental for many other freedoms. Moreover, the data reveals that these instrumental links are stronger between some capabilities than others, hence the clustering effect. In their thought experiment to identify the least advantaged groups in society, Wolff and De-Shalit (2007) introduced two concepts underpinned by a similar rationale, but focused on functionings, rather than capabilities. The concepts are 'corrosive disadvantages' and 'fertile functionings'. The former refers to disadvantages in functionings that lead to disadvantages in others, while fertile functionings are those which if improved will promote other functionings too. The underlying hypothesis is that some disadvantages are likely to cluster or correlate. If we could identify those specific corrosive and fertile functionings, they argued, governments, can then target them, thereby de-clustering disadvantage and improving conditions for the most disadvantaged groups. This thesis provides an empirical evidence of specific capabilities or real freedoms that are bound together in the lived experiences of young people who participated in this study. The cluster framework highlights the interdependencies between the different capabilities and advances our thinking about the more complex ways freedoms are experienced beyond the *list*.

This study's complex representation of young people's wellbeing is comparable to findings outside of the capabilities literature. One prominent example comes from Australia where Fattore and his colleagues explored children's meanings of their wellbeing (Fattore et al. 2016). The study, referenced before in the evidence review chapter, produced a framework of three overlapping concepts at the centre of children's (8-15 years) conceptualisations of their wellbeing, namely a 'positive sense of self', 'agency' and 'security and safety'. The three concepts are mediated by children's significant relationships and emotional life (Fattore et al. 2016). Researchers discussed, for example, how both a sense of physical and relational security and safety is essential for children's feelings of control over their life (i.e. agency), which further influences their ability to be who they want to be (i.e. positive sense of self). They found that children did not understand wellbeing in terms of isolated domains but in terms of how these interconnected themes further interact with other important dimensions in their lives (e.g. health, activities, material resources, and physical environment), and manifest in certain types of relationships or emotions. This can also be observed in this thesis's findings where almost all the capabilities mentioned by the participants are either inherently relational or mediated by relationships with others (whether

interpersonal, social or institutional). Similarly, emotional and mental wellbeing in this study is linked to many capabilities.

Another relevant study is the Good Childhood Inquiry in the UK, which produced a child-wellbeing framework comprised of three 'interconnected' domains: self, relationships and environments with two cross-cutting themes of freedom and safety (The Children's Society 2008). Based on this framework, the Children's Society developed the Good Childhood Index by which they annually measure children's overall life satisfaction and their happiness with different dimensions of their life (Rees et al. 2010).

Taking interlinkages between different capabilities into consideration is essential for the assessment of social (dis)advantage and accordingly the design and evaluation of policies, as Wolff and de-Shalit (2007) and Sen (1999) argued. Thus, for example based on the findings, being educated should be designed and evaluated not just as an end to young people's wellbeing but also based on the extent it enhances their self-worth, agency to achieve their goals in life, and getting a job that is paid at a level which prevents poverty. Similarly, public services should be evaluated not just by their outcomes, but also by the extent to which young people are respected by the adults delivering them and have influence in shaping these services. Moreover, such linkages could assist in designing joined-up policies. For example, if we know that young people's physical activity levels and mental health are connected to their ability to go out and socialise with friends in safe spaces, then urban planners, public health, public safety, and transport practitioners can work together to improve these capabilities.

In general, many of the valued beings and doings mentioned by young people in this study do not deviate hugely from what was found by previous research about children and young people's conceptualisation of their wellbeing and valued capabilities. However, there are a few exceptions and some differences in emphasis owing to the particular context and characteristics of this study's participants. For example, one of the most commonly cited topics in the literature is having positive relationships with family, friends and adults in their community (e.g. neighbours and teachers) characterised by love, care, respect, support, fairness and belonging (Dex and Hollingworth 2012; the Children's Society 2009; Biggeri et al. 2006; Chaplin 2009; Burchardt and Vizard 2009; Andresen and Fegter 2011; Parry et al. 2010; Clark 2003; Fattore et al. 2016). Likewise, notions of agency, positive sense of self, autonomy, safety, play (or leisure), food, education, participation, achievement, physical and mental health, and material resources were also recurrent themes of young people's wellbeing in previous studies (ibid).

Moreover, many of the valued capabilities that emerged from this study's findings are comparable to Nussbaum's list of ten central human capabilities (2003). The latter contained life, bodily health, play, affiliation (similar to the capabilities of social life, status and respect in this study), bodily integrity (similar to living in a safe and non-violent environment), control over one's environment (similar to autonomy and influence and material wellbeing), emotions (similar to the capability of supporting and caring for others), other species (similar to caring for pets or animals and connecting with nature), and senses, imagination and thought (which contains themes related to the value of education and learning).

Nevertheless, some of the findings presented in this chapter are specific to this study's participants and can be likened to previous research with young people of similar characteristics. This is mainly apparent in the big emphasis afforded to the capability of material wellbeing, hence its inclusion in four out of the five clusters of capabilities. Participants often talked about the importance of 'money', but in most cases this was in reference to what 'money' can achieve and the extent to which its amount is comparable to what other people around them have. For example, their discussions around social status, respect and fitting-in were dominated by issues related to avoiding the stigma and shame of being perceived as 'poor'. Having enough money or 'appearing' to have money boosts their social standing and protects them against bullying. It also increases their autonomy and influence, and vice versa. Additionally, their understanding of the purpose of school education and the meaning of achievement and success commonly referred to financial stability, having a good job, and being able to afford theirs and their families' needs. These findings are aligned with existing literature on children's and youths' experiences of living in poverty and its impact on their wellbeing. Previous studies showed how lack of material resources (measured objectively and as subjectively perceived by children) negatively impacts on children's social relationships, participation in leisure activities, thriving at school, self-esteem, safety, mobility and mental and emotional wellbeing (e.g. Ridge 2002; Ridge 2011; Main and Pople 2011; Redmond and Skattebol 2019; Bharara et al. 2019; Main 2019).

Despite the emerging academic evidence, progress has been slow in formulating indicators that reflect the breadth of children's and young people's ideas about their wellbeing. For example, the Office for National Statistics measurement framework of children's (0-15 years) and young people's (16-24 years) wellbeing includes 31 and 28 subjective and objective wellbeing indicators, respectively. The measures cover seven domains: personal wellbeing, our relationships, health,

what we do, where we live, personal finance, and education and skills (Office for National Statistics 2017, 2018). While the framework includes important wellbeing dimensions, the indicators do not reflect the range of issues that emerged from this and previous studies. The relationships domain addresses relationships with family and friends and bullying experiences, but does not assess their interactions with adults they encounter in different spaces. There are indicators on safety and crime victimisation, but not on the freedom to travel in general, which as findings show is not only related to crime but also the extent to which they are welcome in public spaces. Issues related to agency, self-worth, social status, learning (beyond formal educational attainment), autonomy and influence, community, belonging and exploring are absent too.

The same wellbeing dimensions are also largely missing from the Understanding Society[26] representative longitudinal youth survey (Understanding Society, n.d.). It is a similar case with the Good Childhood Index, developed by the Children's Society[27], with the exception of an indicator measuring young people's (10-15 years) perception of the choice they have in life (The Children's Society 2020).

The ONS carried focus groups with 48 children (10-15 years) across the UK's four countries in 2020 to update its wellbeing framework (Office of National Statistics 2020a). They have proposed a number of changes based on the consultation, which address some of these gaps. The proposal suggests adding an eighth domain called 'future and voice' to incorporate children's desire to participate in decision-making that affects their lives, their prospects for a good future and gaining relevant skills. They are also proposing adding indicators related to children's ability to be themselves; experiences of their school environment, including their relationships with teachers, school pressures and safety; and online harms. It is not clear, however, how and whether the government uses these indicators to influence policy and service provision.

One framework that does this better is the Scottish government's Getting It Right For Every Child (GIRFEC), a coordinated approach guiding all services and agencies working with children and young people and their families. GIRFEC adopts a wellbeing framework that ensures children and young people are safe, healthy, achieving, nurtured, active, respected, responsible, and included at home, in school or the wider community (Scottish Government n.d.). This framework includes or relates to many of the capabilities mentioned by participants in this study and other previous

---

[26] The Understanding Society is the largest longitudinal household panel study in the UK. It contains a self-completion survey for young people aged between 10-15 years.
[27] The Children's Society annual household survey is conducted with parents and children from age 8 to 17 years

research with children and young people. As a national policy that is also incorporated in the Children and Young People's Act, the implementation of GIRFEC is regularly monitored and developed by the government to ensure its effectiveness.

In summary, the findings presented in this chapter demonstrate that young people are able to articulate which capabilities are valued to them. They conceive them as a web of inter-related capabilities. Thus, connected and overlapping clusters are a better representation of the complex links between young people's valued freedoms, rather than a mutually exclusive and linear list of domains. This marks an important departure from the dominant approaches in capability theory and applications. The five clusters can be described as centering on agency, material wellbeing, learning, self-worth, status, respect, influence, belonging, playing, exploring, feeling safe, being cared for and caring for others in return. The content of the capabilities have much in common with existing multidimensional wellbeing frameworks produced from studies that asked children and young people about their wellbeing. However one of the key differences was the salience of material well-being and associated (lack of) status, which were not commonly foregrounded in exercises with whole population of children rather than low income populations. Finally, national wellbeing indicators do not fully encompass the range of issues that featured in participants' views about their wellbeing freedoms.

The following five chapters will explore the ways in which the mixed income regeneration of their neighbourhood facilitates or constrains young people's valued capabilities

5. Dispossession

They want to turn it into an area for rich people (Issa, 14)

This is the first of four chapters examining the mechanisms and processes underpinning the relationship between young people's wellbeing and the mixed income regeneration of their housing estate.

The first mechanism embodies young people's experiences of being dispossessed of their neighbourhood, the place they have called home for a long time. It is found that three main processes drive dispossession: (1) the money-oriented nature of the regeneration and the ensuing gentrifying effects; (2) the drastic physical and demographic change of the area; and (3) the shift in service provision in favour of the rich and at the expense of young people's needs.

5.1. Money-oriented gentrification

Young people regard the regeneration of their area as part of the wider processes of gentrification that have become widespread across the borough in the past years. For them, gentrification is first and foremost a commercial endeavor where a few people and entities (e.g. investors and property developers) aim to make money through pushing out lower-income families from the neighbourhoods they live in, while building and selling expensive housing to wealthier individuals. Comparing their neighbourhood's regeneration to similar projects in other areas makes them believe it is a systematic attempt to replace them and their families with rich people. Participants evoked structural narratives around working class struggles in the face of conservative policies adopted by the governing regime. Some described it as *"social cleansing"*, a *"public wipeout"*, and a *"war"* between social classes.

> *They want to make more money. So those new blocks are probably making a lot more money than the current blocks and I doubt the new blocks are council blocks. They are private trying to buy the area for richer people. It's gentrification* – **Damien, 15**.

> *It's money orientated. Because they don't want like… like in (name of a neighbouring area), the theatre. They demolished some houses just so they can put that (theatre) in. I feel like it's just becoming 'appearance, appearance, appearance', it doesn't really matter*

*what other people think. They're tryna kick us all out. They don't want us working class people anymore, they just want 'oh yeah' the higher-class people – **Emma, 14**.*

*In terms of housing and the development, I would always be sceptical of new developments, particularly as this is a quite left-wing area like it's I think it's the second safest Labour seat in the country, and because a lot you know investors, the goal is to make as much money as possible. I think the priority needs to be housing local people and not I don't know like Chinese millionaires or something like you know, who would pay more than local people obviously. So that's one of the problems – **Eamon, 18**.*

Many participants questioned the whole premise of building expensive private housing in an area like theirs where homelessness is widespread, and the existing community cannot afford it. For them, it is not fair, even while social housing will remain alongside private properties. Rough sleeping is widespread in the area and is common not only on the street but also on stairwells of both old and new social housing blocks. One participant (Eamon, 18) argued that the priority should always be meeting local people's social housing needs, even if living in a mixed community is a positive thing in principle. Local council representatives argue that this is exactly what their priority is, except that due to lack of funding the only way to secure affordable housing is through cross-subsidies from the sale of private properties.

This rationale is not acceptable for the young participants and the fact that the developer has marketed and sold many of the private housing units to overseas investors at a time of housing crisis in London makes the situation even worse.

***Researcher**: What (the local authority) would say is that 'we are still keeping the social housing in the area, even though they are building homes for what you call the 'posh people'. We are still gonna have both'. So, what do you think about that?*
***Emma, 14**: I mean, if they are gonna make specific housing to a specific price, which they know is not affordable for us, what's the point? What's the point of demolishing a place where we call home just so you can fit in someone else's criteria? It's just not fair.*

Viewing the area's redevelopment essentially as 'gentrification' induces distrust in its benefits and the intentions of the organisations leading it i.e. the property developer and social landlords. For some participants, particularly those who are yet to move houses or who do not live on the estate, uncertainties about where they or other social housing tenants will be moved, whether their

families and others from lower-income backgrounds will afford the new housing, or be forced to leave the neighbourhood and/or change schools, all contribute to anxieties about the regeneration. These worries are potentially the product of a number of factors, such as failure on the part of the local authority to effectively communicate with them about the regeneration plans, the fact that tenants were moved out of the area in the first phase of demolition, knowing that displacement is common in other similar regeneration projects, and the reality that the new social housing (now owned by a housing association) is more expensive than their current council housing. This is in addition to their perceived powerlessness and lack of influence on the regeneration decisions. In the below excerpt Beth, who still lives in an old council block, refused to believe that residents have the right to stay in the area, even though a few of her friends have already been re-housed into the new social housing. She and Damien distrust the intentions behind the regeneration, and thus even if some managed to stay, they believe that the aim is to 'kick out' as many people as possible.

> *Beth, 16: no, it's not for everyone. The new blocks are for people that have money. The people that used to live here are being kicked out of the area.*
> *Researcher: but do you know that most of the people were moved back. So eventually there will be, they say that every one of you will have the right to stay in the area. But your block will be new basically.*
> *Beth: they are lying. It's a lie.*
> *Researcher: Why do you think it's a lie?*
> *Beth: they are trying to make it a rich area.*
> *Damien, 15: they purposely made the new block houses to be like one or two bedroom flats, whereas they know that people in the old blocks have children*
>
> *Although some people would say 'oh it will be a new thing, it will be much better', I would still say 'no' because even if they upgraded to the best of the best town or the best borough, it still wouldn't even care because most of the time councils don't do anything, the government can't do anything. They just once they evicted the people, they wouldn't give the houses most of the time – Anna, 13.*

Fears of eviction and displacement are also strongly felt by participants from families with multiple disadvantages and limited material resources e.g. those who live with a single parent, or those who struggled to secure their council home in the first place. In other words, uncertainties are more stressful for those who feel they do not have a safety net or do not want to relive difficult times

they experienced in the past, especially considering the shortage of council housing in London. The below quotes from Anna and Candice demonstrate this. The former talked about her family's long-time fight for their council flat and their lack of alternatives if they had to move out. In contrast, Candice was personally not worried because she knew her family can afford extra expenses. At the same time, she did acknowledge how others in a worse position might feel differently.

(Regeneration) could help but the problem is me and my family were trying to fight for this block for years and we got it and what's the point of us giving up our home now if it's coming to regeneration and they're gonna say 'oh sorry we need to knock this down you have to get out', and I would feel quite upset because this is my home, I had been fighting for it and it's just worthless for me to leave it because we fought for this house for years, we don't know where else to go. We haven't got any other accommodation to go – **Anna, 13***.*

It's not really affecting my life as much, but it might affect other people's lives. Because if they live with just one parent and they're being asked to move and their parent don't own as much money, they won't have as much money to sustain themselves and pay for a new house. So it might affect their like, wellbeing because they might like they'll be stressed all the time because they won't really know that if they're gonna have a house or not and they won't know what's gonna happen next – **Candice, 15***.*

Young people's perceptions about the regeneration's commercial motivations are not completely unrelated to reality. In an interview with the development director at the property development company, he said that they want to change the general perception that their only purpose is to make money. But added that they are not a charity and need to make sure they are making enough revenue to cover the cost of building affordable housing while still making profit. In fact, the developer has an agreement with the council that secures the former a gross profit level of 20 per cent – 14 per cent higher than what would normally be appropriate in circumstances where there is a contract in place with a Registered Provider i.e. the Housing Association. According to the latest planning permission granted to the developer, the reason for the inflated profit level is to take into account the financial risks associated with carrying out a prolonged development project spanning more than one economic cycle.

The financial viability of the regeneration has been a key determinant of the overall tenure split of the new development, imposing limitations on the level of social housing provision. The Principal Development Agreement[28] (PDA) that exists between the council and property developer guarantees that 41 per cent of the properties delivered by the regeneration are 'affordable housing' (comprising of both social and shared ownership housing). This was considered by the developer the maximum reasonable amount of affordable housing that can be delivered, based on a financial viability report they prepared, and which was independently assessed by valuers appointed by the local authority. Having a contract enforcing the developer to deliver a predetermined proportion of affordable housing is one of the strengths of the project compared to other developments where it might not exist. However, the PDA does not specify the tenure split of the 'affordable housing' provision i.e. proportion of social rented vs. intermediate housing. This has meant that as revisions were made over the course of the development to increase the number of units for outright sale – to maintain financial viability – it was the intermediate housing rather than the social rented units that were increased accordingly to maintain the overall predetermined 41 per cent affordable housing.

To give background, the National Planning Policy Framework allows developers to submit a financial viability assessment (FVA) to make the case for why they cannot meet the affordable housing requirement set by local planning policies. In other words, they can argue that the scheme will fail to provide 'competitive returns' (profits) to the land owner and developer because of the high cost of building affordable or social housing. The viability assessment determines how much money the developer will pay for land (called Residual Land Value) while maintaining a specific profit margin, and whether this amount is deemed satisfactory for a landowner to incentivise them to sell (i.e. if it is above a benchmark called the Benchmark Land Value). The Residual Land Value is calculated by subtracting the cost of carrying out a development from the Gross Development Value – the revenue the developer expects to make through selling the developed properties.

A report by Shelter pointed out the loopholes in the planning system which allow developers to use viability assessments to not meet their affordable housing obligations (Grayston 2017). Among these loopholes is the "broad freedom" developers have in defining their profit margins and creating their own methods for assessing viability (ibid, p.17). The multiple unfettered methods developers use to anlayse risk and predict future sales allow them to set high profit levels and underestimate the projected sales values rendering schemes viable only if the cost of developing

---

[28] This is the contract between the local authority and the property developer

affordable housing is reduced (Grayston 2017). For example, in the case study regeneration the independent valuer assigned by the local authority challenged the developer's projected sales values on the basis of being lower than the asking prices on the estate's agents' website. The developer defended their position by claiming that their estimation is based on past 'achieved' rather than 'asking price' values. The achieved sales values are not, however, disclosed by the developer. Consequently, the threshold of affordable housing developers are supposed to build in this and other residential schemes gets reduced. Social housing is usually the first type of affordable housing to be targeted because it is the least profitable or most costly for developers, which is what has been taking place in the case study neighbourhood.

In fact, the current and proposed tenure split figures in future phases ultimately mean there will be a net loss of about 370[29] social-rented housing units compared to what existed before the regeneration. The shortfall deviates from initial plans of the regeneration that promised a net increase of social rented properties in the area. It also departs from the London planning policy guidance[30]. However, the developer justifies noncompliance with the policy on the basis that this is the only way to maintain the financial viability of the scheme making it possible to provide social housing in the first place, as stated in two of the three planning permissions granted to the developer to date (corresponding to the regeneration phases)[31]. Moreover, it is argued by the local authority that as an 'estate renewal scheme' the priority is to re-house existing social tenants in addition to providing a range of intermediate (in this case shared ownership) units to address wider housing need in the borough. Thus, given the substantial number of 'affordable housing' that will be provided in the area by the end of the regeneration project the diversion from the planning policy guidance is deemed acceptable by the council.

The local authority claims that it is committed to re-housing all existing residents in the area despite the shortfall, and that a re-assessment of housing need will be conducted before the commencement of the final phase of the regeneration, subject to a financial viability review. At the time of writing, the community organisation was pushing the developer for a review of the tenure-mix with the purpose of increasing the proportion of social rented homes beyond the replacement of existing units. This is supported by the local authority's political leadership,

---

[29] This figure is based on tenure-split projections calculated by the council's regeneration team and shared with the researcher

[30] London Plan Policy 3.11 stipulates a 60:40 social housing to intermediate tenure split. However, proposed tenure split across the next three phases is approximately 47:53 social rent to intermediate provision.

[31] Due to the large scale of the regeneration project, it is taking place over a number of phases. The developer has to submit a separate planning permission before embarking on a new phase, which sets - among other things - the tenure split of that particular phase and also undergoes its own financial viability assessment.

according to minutes of meeting between the regeneration organisations. But it remains unclear what the implication will be if it is deemed financially unviable by the developer to provide the same or even a higher level of social-rented units than before the regeneration, as has been the case in the phases to date.

Furthermore, some actions by the developer in the early phases of the regeneration have made it difficult for the community to believe their claim that profit-making is not their only aim. For example, despite not being agreed in the masterplan and planning permission, the former put railings around a walkthrough garden making it accessible only to those living in a private housing block. They also built a private gym and swimming pool in the basement of one of the buildings hiking the price of the private flats, something that did not exist in any of the prior plans shared with the community and the local authority. This caused a lot of conflict and anger from the latter, who then had to negotiate with the developer a compensation in the form of a new community space, as Sally told me below. According to her, the community has no choice but to work with a profit-making developer due to the lack of public money for social housing.

I mean I'm not surprised; we're dealing with developers. They're not benevolent and they're trying to make money where they can and we've witnessed other things where plans are altered after they were accepted… they sold the properties with a private garden obviously at higher price than they would've been without a garden. They sold properties including a private gym where initially it wasn't supposed to include one so we had to get into another realm where we have to liaise…we have to give them the gym because that's what they've offered, there was no way around not giving them the gym, but then we had to negotiate some benefit; a few rooms for the community. But they're developers I mean… And one of the things they showed us was the amount of park space measured in terms of tennis courts just to help us they had green blocks put up on the board representing 17 tennis courts … And you can just smell a rat you know, I just said who are they kidding? you just know, you feel you can't trust them cause you know they're trying to get away with something. So to increase the density, they persuade us by showing there is sufficient green space. I think there are considerable issues around people in the private blocks who I think were sold properties on the basis of there being more green space that will be outside someone's window. So I think the feeling becomes negative. You can't really trust them. I suppose on my part I feel this is what consecutive governments have done. They've starved social housing. I feel we are now at a point where against all principles of good reason I am now on a board going along with this dreadful scheme because there is no

138

public money for social housing. I mean this government has been helping ending council housing. And the only way you're going to get any sort of social housing is to be hand in glove with a developer – **Sally, community organisation board member and social housing tenant.**

Since the incident of the private pools and gyms, the community organisation and local authority have agreed with the developer that they must be more transparent in their plans thereafter and that they would not refer to the private pools and gyms on the estate in their marketing material for private housing in future development phases. However, by agreeing not to include these luxuries in the most recent regeneration phase, the developer included this as one of the justifications for why the projected sales values of private properties are going to be lower, thereby making it financially unviable to build more social housing units. It is a tradeoff between luxuries for private residents or building more social housing.

This all indicates that young people's skepticisms about the 'money-oriented' gentrification of their area are not unreasonable. The changes their neighbourhood has undergone as well as their lived experiences and interactions since the start of the regeneration further underlie these perceptions.

5.2. Drastic change

The extent and nature of change in the physical and demographic characteristics of their neighbourhood was one of the main issues to which young participants attributed being dispossessed of their area. Starting with the physical change, young people talked about how the demolition of their housing estate and its redevelopment completely transformed the neighbourhood to the point where they no longer recognise it. "*It doesn't feel the same anymore,*" said Shirley, 17. Looking at photos and maps of the old estate, it becomes clear that the redeveloped parts of the area have undergone '*drastic change*', as Emma, 14, put it. The fact that some of the old red-brick council blocks are still standing highlights the stark contrast to the new tall glass and steel buildings. Not only were buildings demolished, but the whole design of the redeveloped area is completely transformed. Entire streets, parks, shops and playgrounds do not exist anymore. As a result, some young people are losing their sense of place and find it overwhelming to navigate the new streets. Physical change was one of the main issues participants highlighted in their photo-diaries where they showed the difference between the old and new apartment blocks, or how one street or area looks now compared to how it used to. One participant even took pictures of some of the old buildings as a documentation of how they looked

139

like before they get demolished. Beth and William, who were born and raised on the estate said that they get lost sometimes in the maze of the new streets.

> *You know, I was walking there the other day yeah and I felt so lost, I thought I was in a completely different area…I didn't know where I was –* **Beth, 16.**

> *Because now there are more apartments, more buildings and more places to walk around really. And there are so many entrances to different buildings now. It's like a maze around here. So I think that's one of the downsides. It's very compact and very hard to navigate yourself around –* **William, 16.**

For some participants the demolition of their housing estate feels like their history and memories are being erased. Those who grew up in the area and spent significant time of their childhood in its streets and playgrounds consider it as an extension of their home. These spaces held their memories and were physical markers of their history and even their struggles of growing up in a deprived area.

> *It's so important because memories and your childhood is essential, it's so crucial in life. And to have all these things disappearing slowly slowly is not a nice feeling. It really aggravates you deep down […] I feel like it is the people who have lived in this area who have experienced their whole life, maybe even just a matter of five years may be less, they understand that this is home and no one wants home to be smashed down. For example, if I came home and God forbid there was something like a tornado, a tornado comes hits my house and my whole house is wrecked, this is my home, that's exactly how it feels. It's like our whole place our whole neighbourhood is being hit by a tornado and then being completely refurbished –* **Emma, 14.**

> *I want my kids to remember, feel how hard it was to grow up in a place like (name of case study area), the old (name of case study area) not this new one with all these tall flats that you can't afford –* **Nia, 15.**

This is not to say that young people were uncritical of the area before the regeneration. Many participants, including those who are strongly against the change, describe the old council housing buildings and physical environment as *'run-down'*, *'dull'* and *'dirty'*. They also think that the renovations opened the area to the outside world, made it look *'more appealing'*, *'pretty'*, *'clean'*, and

'*modern*'. Simultaneously, many participants thought that the changes are alienating to them. Despite their criticisms of the neighbourhood pre-regeneration, they still considered it home, took pride in it and cherished their memories there. And the type of the changes brought by the regeneration signals a complete break with what they are familiar with. Some criticised the regeneration organisations for changing the area without sufficient knowledge and consideration of its history.

> *Do you know what I think is bad as well? the people that are in charge of the regeneration are not from (name of the borough) and they changed my area. They know nothing about the area, they just do what they feel like doing* – **Beth, 16**.

> *Going back to the history, you are taking out a piece of history [….] the Queen inaugurated these places, it was voted the best garden in the area, that is a piece of history but you are demolishing it as if it never existed. If I didn't live there I wouldn't know, they wouldn't know. That's the sad part of it, we are not keeping our history and heritage* – **Becky, mother and social housing resident**.

Fundamentally, young people believe their neighbourhood is being turned into a '*rich*' and '*fancy*' area in which they no longer fit. These perceptions are reinforced by the demographic transformation of the area that accompanied the physical changes. The influx of more affluent households into the newly built private housing properties is perceived by participants as threatening to their life and existence there.

> *(The regeneration is) just making more of an area to kick us out. Personally, I feel like everything around us is so nice and new it doesn't suit for us all to be there. It seems like a posh area where some private school would be or something* – **Grace, 15**.

> **Anna, 13**: *why this is happening around (name of neighbourhood) as well because people don't like the idea of redevelopment because either it frightens them to think they're gonna get into another place*
> **Mustafa, 13**: *evicted*
> **Anna**: *yeah, they might be frightened with that or they think that's a threat to them and they need to somehow make them change their mind.*

From young people's perspectives, the regeneration has created a rivalry over ownership of the area. There is a sense that the area is under attack by outsiders who are *"invading their personal space"* (Emma, 14) and trying to take over the neighbourhood. Malik, 13, described the incomers as rich people who *"think they can own everything. They think it's their own private area"*. During a group discussion with participants, I asked them to tell stories that depict a day in a life of a young person who lives in the area. In response Beth, 16, said:

> *There is no story. There is this new people coming into the area and they think they can just take over*

Young participants questioned the rationale behind the presence of higher-income people in their area, while at the same time think that the latter have the same question in mind and expect the young people and their families to leave the area, now that they have settled in. Commenting on a photo she took of the new buildings from her bedroom window, Anna, 13, said:

> *I live in a council house and this is the new area and I feel like someone over there is looking at me thinking 'why they're there? they should be off or they should be gone from that place to get a new building' and I might be thinking 'how come? We've lived there for so long'*

Among the changes that have accompanied the demographic transformation of the area is a shift in facilities and service provision in the interest of the more affluent residents.

5.3. It's for the rich, not young people

Almost all young people who participated in this study have a firm belief that the regeneration is mainly designed to benefit the needs of the wealthier adults moving into the area, rather than to improve their lives. Participants talked about how most of the new facilities and services that replaced the old ones are catered for the 'rich people' in terms of both tastes and prices, such as the new shops, cafés, restaurants, pubs, recreational and sports facilities, etc. This further confirms their perception that they are being stripped of their area.

> *Researcher: Do you think the regeneration is improving the area for young people?*
> *Shirley, 17: No, it's just improving it for the newer people to come and buy. They're just not doing it for the young people. It's just for the area to get more people here to*

like…cause this area has got so much poverty in the area, they're kind of making it richer that's what they're doing, they're not doing it for the children.

Researcher: Do you think where you live has an impact at all on the quality of life you want to have?

Beth, 16: I just think that the way they made the new flats is not aimed for young people, it's aimed for adults who are rich because you see like the new flats yeah, they have like these fancy restaurants and all that, that's for adults. If they want to make it for young people, they'd put a shop there that young people go to.

My interviews with owners of the new private facilities demonstrate how the competition to attract the wealthier customers is a zero-sum process, the losers of which are the lower-income youths. Speaking to the owner of a coffee shop and a restaurant on the estate, he told me that when he had first visited the area eight years ago many of the private properties were still not occupied and most people were on low-income, but he knew this is going to change and saw a good opportunity in opening a café there. When the regeneration project is finalised, social housing tenants will make up only about 20% of the neighbourhood's population. The rest will either be homeowners or private renters. This is a big shift from the 67% social renters before the regeneration. He added that at the beginning he kept prices affordable but was not making sufficient revenues. As more people moved into the private housing he decided to change his menu and increase the prices to attract the more upmarket customers. After some time, he realised he cannot cater for customers with different income levels and he eventually had to prioritise those with higher means. Six months before I met him, he had opened another restaurant on the estate in order to eliminate competition from other businesses that could potentially offer cheaper food.

*The difficulty is we didn't make that much money first, still we're not making that much money. But also the difficulty is we want everyone to come we don't mind who, we don't want to choose the customer. For us it is more important to, we want a mixture like even poor people, middle people, rich people, everyone can come. And then we realised we need to choose the customer, what kind of customer we are going to sell the food. And then we changed a few thing,s like we changed a little bit the prices, we changed a little bit the food and then we choose the customer exactly what we want and it's getting better each year and it's changing a lot – **Café and restaurant owner.***

Being inclusive and catering for the different needs in the community are not always at the top of the private sector's priorities. For example, one of the most special resources in the neighbourhood – often used by the developer as a main selling point in marketing the private properties – is a water reservoir that is also a nature reserve. Overlooking the reservoir, there is a leisure centre that offers sailing and other water sports activities, as well as a youth club. A few of the young participants said they were able to use the sailing centre on a school visit. Some said they enjoy the access to nature in general and thought it helps them '*relax*' and '*unwind*'.

> *Sometimes I finish school and then I go home I'll change out of my school clothes and I'll take a walk around the area and then there's this little waterfall place in the park. I'll just sit there and I'll think and I just let all the anger out and it helps me – **Caroline, 13**.*

However, other participants mentioned that it is expensive to go there with their families. And if they cannot access the centre, they find the area by the reservoirs '*boring*' (Zakaria, 14), or a place for "*rich people to go on some nice walks with their dogs*" (Beth, 16). Even the participants who live in the private housing commented on the social segregation they see there, as Kelly's quote demonstrates:

> *We use the wetlands a lot. We go we may have a coffee, we might have lunch at the weekend. There's a nature trail that our daughter loves running around and building forts and whatnots. Well, and you sit there and you think this is so lovely, and you look around and you think, okay, 90% of the people here are White. They look, I mean you can't tell by what people look like, but they look fairly middle class […] I'm thinking the people from the older blocks. So the people I know from (community organisation) some of them use the reservoir but lots of the kids there I don't think ever use it […] Well, I think you look at the pricing. It's not the cheapest, you know, it's not the cheapest – **Kelly, homeowner**.*

It was not always unaffordable to use the facilities though. The sailing centre was first established using funding from the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB)[32] offering a community youth club and water sports activities for young people on the estate for free. There used to be a member of staff

---

[32] From 1994 to 2002, the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) was the UK government's main regeneration fund intended to enhance the quality of life of local people in deprived areas. Specifically, projects funded by the SRB had to meet at least one of seven strategic objectives: enhancing employment prospects and skills; encouraging sustainable economic growth; improving housing; benefiting ethnic minorities; tackling crime and safety; protecting and improving the environment; and enhancing the quality of life (Rhodes et al. 2007).

responsible for community outreach to spread awareness about the centre and attract the youth, according to Ethan, long-time worker and now manager of the centre. After the SRB funding was terminated in 2002 and due to the local authority's limited financial capacity, they outsourced it to a social enterprise that delivers fitness and leisure services. The latter now charge an annual membership fee for access to the youth club and sailing facilities, including a discounted one for families on welfare benefits. Despite their social enterprise status, Ethan said that the current management are not in touch with the community as things used to be before 2002.

> *"We were taken over by a commercial organisation management company. All they care about is income and usage, not really looking at what we are doing for the community. Since then, we lost all connection to the regeneration when we were outsourced to a private management"* – **Ethan, leisure centre manager**.

In the meantime, as young people see these new upmarket facilities and services emerging, many of the places (e.g. parks and football pitches) where they used to meet and play were either demolished or left neglected and in dilapidated conditions. The new redeveloped spaces do not meet their needs. For example, the two new playgrounds that have been built in the regenerated area are more suited for young children rather than teenagers. And while increasing green space is frequently emphasised by the developer as one of the main regeneration achievements, some participants – both teenagers and adults – described it as being mainly decorative or aesthetically pleasant rather than as a functional space for outdoor activities.

> *Issa, 14: I can't have fun, I don't have somewhere to go.*
> *Researcher: why do you feel you can't have fun?*
> *Issa: cause I feel like am trapped. Can't do nothing.*
> *Researcher: And what would you like to be doing in the area?*
> *Issa: have somewhere to go, somewhere just to chill*
> *Beth, 16: yeah there is no (place to have fun) because they knocked down what was fun to build new flats, then they knocked down other flats to make a new park that no one enjoys, and if they didn't do anything everyone will be fine […] it's not a park, it's a little circle thing with stuff in it and they call it a park*

In fact, residents had highlighted the need for youth facilities during community consultations six years before and despite promises by the developer to include a 12+ years 'youth play space' in the new park, it did not materialise. The initial plans of building a multi-use games area for

145

teenagers got watered down by the developer in the official planning proposals to a children's playground instead. The community organisation's independent advisor told me that they believe the developer did not want teenagers gathering next to the private housing, although this was never made explicit by the latter. More on this will be discussed in chapter 7.

The community was faced with another disappointment when the local secondary school[33] reneged on a promise they had made to open up their sports hall to young people in the area after school hours. *"They became an Academy outside the remit of the local authority, and suddenly everything is more expensive, suddenly 'we will need to employ security guards, etc. etc.' The community organisation tried to put pressure on the Council to tell the school to open their courts but nothing happened. Eventually we thought, we won't again depend on another agency to decide what will be provided for the community,"* said the independent advisor. The school now hire their courts for an hourly fee instead.

Eventually, the community organisation succeeded in convincing a local football club to financially support the refurbishment of one of the old football pitches on the estate and provide weekly training to the local youth there. However, it was not an easy success according to Fred, community organisation board member who led the initiative. It took more than a year of back-and-forth negotiations between the community and the council on one side and the developer on the other until the latter eventually agreed to support it, as a peace offering after the fallout from the 'private swimming pools and gyms' incident. The new sports and games area was inaugurated at the time of fieldwork, which the young participants were very pleased about and told me they use it now on a weekly basis. However, its future is still uncertain as it is located in an area yet to be redeveloped in a future phase of the regeneration.

It can be argued that having new and more spacious social housing is one of the main benefits that the regeneration offered to the community. Indeed, from the local authority's perspective, this was the main impetus behind the project in the first place; to renew poor quality housing that suffered from damp and other structural problems. Undoubtedly, this benefits the health and wellbeing of children and young people who live there. The community organisation also lobbied the regeneration organisations to provide adult children of current social housing tenants - if they meet lettings policy - separate re-housing on the estate at the time their parents are due to move to their new homes.

---

[33] The school opened in 2010 as part of the regeneration drive to meet the anticipated increase in demand from the rise in the local population's density.

However, from the young people's perspective much more has been sacrificed in return for renewing their estate, particularly when it comes to services and facilities for people their age. Also, the higher costs of the new social housing can offset its benefits for some families, an issue I expand on in the next chapter. A few participants even argued that improvements in public services, such as enhanced policing or opening up the water reservoir for public use, took place only to make the area attractive for property buyers and to charge more money for private housing.

> *Researcher: And how about the fact that you live in one of the improved buildings. Does that, are you at least happy with the fact that you live in a new house?*
> *Andrew, 16: I won't call it a new block, but yeah it looks nice. The area looks nice yes but the things that they got rid of in this area to build that is just worse […] They made the area more for adults and not for children. They removed parks to build houses. I'm not saying that's a bad thing, but you know where I live, you see the pitch was gone and there was another pitch down there and that pitch is locked and that pitch is broken. And they said they're gonna fix the parks and the pitches.*

> *Emma's mother: It (the estate) was not a nice place. It was not. So if you reflect back it needed tidying up. It needed I would say more police. Because it was kind of forgotten you know, there was no police patrol, kind of security. That's what it needed, it needed security. They could have redone the buildings…pardon?*
> *Emma, 14: That's the problem; our area is so neglected…*
> *Mother: it was neglected at that time*
> *Emma: our area is still neglected, no one actually cares. Like yeah we have policemen coming in but..*
> *Mother: It's less neglected than it used to be*
> *Emma: yes, why is that though?*
> *Mother: well that's it, because they have money* (both laughing)

Another reason why young people think that their neighbourhood renewal is primarily meant to attract rich people rather than improve their lives is that it has not provided them with job opportunities or improved their material wellbeing, one of the things they most value. Young participants described the available jobs as low-paid (e.g. in corner shops and chip shops) and that it is very hard to start a business in London's competitive market. They argued that if the regeneration is to have a genuine influence on their wellbeing and root out crime in their

communities, it has to provide them with good job opportunities, build their skills, and "*help them earn money legally*" (Joseph, 18). On the regeneration's impact on young people's wellbeing, Shinique, 17 said:

> *It depends if the facilities include things like jobs and like money because at the end of the day people aren't gangsters because they wanna kill people it's because of what they go through in their area, so it's all nice that you're regenerating but are you providing things like jobs? Let's say the buildings, are you allowing these people to have a go at building as well, like giving them money? because at the end of the day if you want the place to change, you're gonna have to change the people a bit by allowing them to have more opportunities.*

The apprenticeships offered by the developer have not been very effective. Property developers are often required through Section 106 agreements to offer employment opportunities to residents of the local area where they are operating. Throughout fieldwork, the developer gave monthly updates on the number of apprentices they have on site, but it was not clear if they are local residents or if there is sufficient knowledge about these opportunities among the community. One of the young participants (16 years) I interviewed was in fact doing the apprenticeship at the developer's office on the estate. His mother, who is a community activist, told me that many people do not know about the apprenticeship scheme and it was only because of her extraordinary efforts that she found out about it. Her son is the only one on the estate that has joined, according to her.

> *Jane: My son is lucky enough to get an apprenticeship with (the developer). But it wasn't well known. I mean, loads of kids could have done it but when I speak to their mums they're like 'I don't know nothing about it'*
> *Researcher: How did they advertise it then?*
> *Jane: I think it's cause they only go into the school but it's whether some… because they do apprentice evenings to discuss about it. That's how I got to know about it. And I'm interested in all sorts of things because my son has special needs so I have to think what would have been the best route for him leaving school. Because school don't let you do retakes and if it ain't at a certain level, you can't stay on sixth form. And because of his needs he wasn't going to get to the level that they require. So I had to look at other avenues. So yeah, a lot of it parents have to do a lot of resources themselves. The parents also need to get really involved and sorting this out. So when the apprentice night came*

*up at the school I thought I'd go so I went and took my son with me. And that's how I
applied for the place and he got in. But he's the only person on the estate that's done it.*

Speaking to her son more than a month after he started the two-year long apprenticeship, he was
hopeful that it will boost his CV and possibly end in a job offer. At that point though, it was not
yet clear how helpful it is in terms of developing his skills since he did not have much work to do
most of the time.

> *I am enjoying it. A lot of the times I just sit in the office really. I am still pretty new and
> they said themselves that they are struggling to find work to keep me busy every day and
> a lot of the times I just sit around and play on my phone…and I know that that's not
> very professional but I just need, am that person that needs to be constantly doing
> something, can't just sit there –* **William, 16**.

In addition, young people experience a range of barriers to accessing available employment services
and job opportunities among which are perceptions about their lack of aspirations and skills. The
local council has placed members of its employment and skills team at the neighbourhood's
community centre since 2015, where they provide a free employment support service (e.g. job
applications, CV development, and interview skills). The project manager told me that a majority
of people they help are adults and that there is still a *'long way to go'* for young people to engage
with the service. Barriers for their engagement, according to her, include young people's
unwillingness to persist if they fail at getting the first job they apply for, and/or fear of gangs in
the area if they come from a rival postcode. This perception was also shared by a worker at a
charity providing free digital and language skills' courses, which used to hold drop-in sessions at
the local youth club. She told me that young people are 'disruptive', difficult to engage with, and
do not have an incentive to put effort into taking courses when they can get money through illegal
means.

> *Yeah, you know, living across the road it could be a postcode across the road, so people
> are not going to be willing to come across the road to see us here. Because they feel well,
> I might see somebody. Sometimes people are discouraged because they've applied for
> something they didn't get it. Now, young people don't always understand that you don't
> always get the first job that you apply for. All of us (inaudible) in our life, we're not
> always going to get the first job that we apply for. And they sometimes feel 'well what
> was the point of applying, I'm never going to have an opportunity.' So there's a number*

Nevertheless, young people's lack of initiative is not the main reason why they cannot find jobs. One of the responsibilities I was often assigned when volunteering at the youth club was to help young people write their CVs, and apply for jobs and apprenticeships. Some did struggle with the process of applying for jobs and the pressure of interviews and tests. Nevertheless, most of them were very keen to work and have their own source of income, not only to cover their personal costs but also to help out with expenses at home. Others were already working alongside their schools and/or during summer holidays, for example at nurseries, hairdressers, or as sales representatives.

Speaking with Nicole, the local authority employee responsible for promoting available apprenticeships and work opportunities at schools and youth clubs, she said that some of the barriers that young people face include difficulty to connect with job networks outside of their own social circles, and not having the skills and confidence to forge relationships with the 'right' people. In other words, '*they don't know how to get their foot in the door,*' said Nicole.

She added that the council could not get enough businesses to sign up for its work placement scheme, which is mainly aimed at breaking those barriers and connecting young people (16-19 years) with the many businesses that have sprung up in the borough in the past years because of its widespread regeneration. The programme includes 70 hours of a paid work placement with a business in one of the 'growth industries' (e.g. tech, creative and hospitality industries), which young people can do while at school. Before they start their placements, Nicole and her team at the council provide workshops and training to the applicants to prepare them for the work environment. The target was to get 100 young people into these opportunities in its first year, but out of more than 300 applicants only 80 were able to join due to a shortage of placements offered. According to Nicole, many businesses have high expectations and, because of their small size, do not have the capacity to train young people. They prefer to hire someone older with prior work experience and qualifications.

*   **Researcher**: *Around (the borough), you said there're lots of regeneration? in areas where there is regeneration, does that bring any extra opportunities for young people?*

Nicole, Youth Engagement Officer: Um, I think that's actually interesting because I was having a conversation with my colleague yesterday. And he was kind of saying that you would expect because there is so much regeneration, you would expect that there's so many opportunities for young people to be able to get involved in this. However, a lot of the businesses that are coming in are like startup businesses, so there's only about six or seven people in the company anyway, but they don't have the capacity to now bring on another young person, train them up, give them the skills, give them the tips, they just don't have that capacity because they're already run off their feet anyway […] Firstly, they don't really like young people who are 18 and below. They, they'll often push back on young people who are below 18. And on top of that, they want them to have, which is fair enough, like some sort of interest in media in photography interest in just that kind of, yeah, whole media sector, which is fair enough, and we will try and find young people who do have that. But […] they just want them to come in and just hit the ground running. And we can't find, we can, probably can. But the young people that we are trying to target are young people who don't have those skills already. We're trying to give them those skills.

5.4. Conclusion

Young people feel dispossessed of their neighbourhood, the meaning of which goes beyond it being merely a physical space but one that embodies part of their identity and 'home'. They believe that the aim behind the regeneration is to turn the neighbourhood into an area for rich people. The emergence of luxury housing, influx of wealthier households, replacement of affordable amenities with more expensive ones, competition among business owners to attract the more affluent customers, the extreme physical transformation of the area, emphasis on aesthetics and marketability rather than functionality, demolition and neglect of youth spaces and play areas, and lack of job opportunities for young people underlie their view that the regeneration is nothing but an attempt by the organisations leading it to make money and to expel them from the area. Their memories and history are erased, and rich people are taking over their neighbourhood. "It's gentrification", they told me. While all residents do have the right to stay in the area, fears about the unaffordability of the new rents and knowledge of similar projects where residents were displaced are a source of stress for participants yet to be moved. Notwithstanding, in the past ten years since the start of the regeneration the numbers of new social housing units promised have kept decreasing and the community is now facing potential net loss of social housing, pending another financial viability assessment. These mechanisms are linked to young people's valued

capabilities of belonging, emotional and mental wellbeing, social status, play and being active, having fun, agency and material wellbeing, as I will discuss further in Chapter 9. First, however, the next chapter will examine the second set of pathways through which the regeneration affects young people's lives – exemplified by the broad theme of social inequality and division.

6. Social inequality and division

It's like two different worlds (Emma, 14)

Young people think the regeneration accentuates social inequalities and division. This chapter addresses how this takes place through the two underlying processes of: (1) social comparison, and (2) the separation between the worlds inhabited by young people and their more affluent neighbours.

6.1. Social comparison

Living across the street from people with higher socio-economic status highlights young people's relative disadvantage and can be *'stressful'* and *'humiliating'* for some. Participants are very aware of the differences between themselves and the people who have moved into the area. They see the latter as rich, powerful and having status unlike themselves, as successful unlike people in their community, and as having nicer homes, clothes, etc. They thought that the 'rich' people see themselves as superior to the low-income working-class community they come from. Some felt that their wealthier neighbours are 'rude' to them, look down on them and judge them because they do not have the same level of material resources, have a different lifestyle, or do not dress as nicely, etc.

> *If a rich person lives across from me, that's not gonna do anything for me. It's just gonna let me know that am less fortunate than them if that makes sense. Not less fortunate but I have less money and seeing that every day, it can be a bit stressful for certain people, you know? – **Joseph, 18**.*

> *When the rich people come in, they start to not only (inaudible), but how they live, the lifestyle of them, they might also humiliate on the way they look despite the fact that they just look like normal human beings. They might think, 'oh they are weak or they are not as powerful as I am' cause they got all money and everything – **Anna, 13**.*

> *I see a lot of business people now in the morning, some of them are quite rude because they think they have a higher status than others – **Caroline, 13**.*

Emma, however, acknowledged that this could be a stereotype she holds about rich people and related this perception to being a young person. The below is an excerpt from her response when

153

asked to give her thoughts about the people who have recently moved into the area and how her mother – who was present at the interview – challenged her views. The exchange shows the different perspectives of the mother and daughter, as the latter thought that they are actually in a privileged position compared to other social housing tenants who have not yet moved to a new home.

> *Emma, 14: I've never come across anyone. I feel like in a way when I go into that area they look down on us as if…am not saying you're invading us personal space but in a way they kind of are cause they're just, they come in, they've settled down, yeah they've got a nice house, they've got everything they need; a nice home, everything is good…But maybe it's just the way I feel and it's stereotypical but I do feel like they look down on us, because of the way our building looks. It's stupid, it's so stupid but it happens.*
> *Mother: do you feel they look down on us?*
> *Emma: Yeah, because we're a community, we are all a community*
> *Mother: not all of them look down on us because the people who live in the old blocks, they envy us, you know because they want to be rehoused and they've been waiting for years. They've been telling them 'oh, you're next you're next you're next,' so there are two kinds of people, I don't think they look down on us.*
> *Emma: no am not saying everyone looks down on us, am just saying it happens…maybe it's different in my eyes because I am a young person. Maybe sometimes I tend to look on the youths' side more than I actually look on the other side. But like that's exactly what they are doing.*

As mentioned in chapter 3, there is no recent data on the socioeconomic makeup of people living in different housing tenures on the estate, making it difficult to have an accurate understanding of the differences between social renting families from which participants come from and those who recently moved into the private housing (see case study area profile section 3.3). Nevertheless, what can be deduced from available information is that while not everyone living in the latter is super rich, it remains the case that social renters and those living in temporary accommodation have the lowest income levels on the estate. It was estimated by the local authority that a majority (about 75%) of the 1,052 properties built for sale at market rate were occupied by private renters[34] at the time of the fieldwork in 2018/19. The sample of private renters that participated in the 2019 estate resident survey showed that 67% earn between £41K and above, compared to 57% of

---

[34] Rents of 1 bedroom flats range from about £1,300 to £1,550 per month. This is based on properties advertised by the estate agent located on the estate.

shared ownership residents and 59% of homeowners. Only 1% of social renters who responded to the survey earned between £41K and £62K. Instead, a majority – 69% and 90% of social and temporary accommodation residents respectively – had an income of £14K and below (see section 3.3).

The contrast between the young people and the better-off households moving into the area is especially palpable in a context where theirs and their families' material wellbeing has not been improving, and in many cases has been getting even worse. A decade of government austerity measures that substantially cut back spending on welfare benefits and public services hit lower-income households the hardest. Working age and children benefits declined by more than 10% in real terms[35] since 2010 (Whittaker 2017). According to the Resolution Foundation's analysis, the four-year benefits freeze that commenced in 2016 left the average family with children (including couples and single parents) in the bottom 20 per cent of the income distribution between £700 and £760 poorer in 2019-20 than if the freeze had not occurred (Corlett 2018). Support for children was particularly hit in the same period[36]. Social security spending per child (under 18) fell by 25 per cent by 2018/19 (Cooper and Hills 2021). Developer-led council housing regeneration programmes are themselves a product of the austerity measures which reduced London's local authorities' core funding by 63 per cent between 2010/11 and 2018/19 (London Councils). This resulted in cutting their housing services expenditure by about 25% (ibid). The London borough where the case study area is located has lost 45% of central government funding since 2010, limiting their capacity to finance social housing improvements.

In the meantime, families of young people who moved to the redeveloped social housing are faced with increased housing costs including higher rents, energy bills and service charges. Having had their tenancies transferred from council to housing association, they now have to pay 'target rent'[37],

---

[35] This included cuts to Child Benefit, Universal Credit, (non-disability) Tax Credits, Housing Benefit limits, Jobseeker's Allowance, Income Support (largely for lone parents and carers), and Employment and Support Allowance for the ill or disabled

[36] Due to the introduction of the two-child limit, elimination of the 'family element' from child tax credits and removal of the first child premium from Universal Credit and of the family premium from Housing Benefit.

[37] Target rent is calculated according to a formula based on 30/70 split of relative local property values and relative local earnings. A weighting for different bedroom sizes is also applied. It was introduced in 2002 with the aim to reduce 'arbitrary' differences between the rents paid by council tenants and the higher rents typically paid by housing association tenants. It was to be attained (plus or minus 5%) within 10 years, via annual rent increases. Since the target rent is partially tied to market prices, it is significantly higher than existing social rents in London. Despite the 10-year time span being extended to 2015/16, the target is not actually reached in London or other areas with high property values.

which is more expensive than the council social rent (by about £20pw) and increases at a higher rate every year. Energy bills are also higher, now that they are paid separately and based on consumption. Before, the local authority charged households a standard flat rate. These increases in costs, while may not seem significant to some can have a big impact on families already struggling financially. Sharon, the council's employment support worker based on the estate, mentioned that they have been witnessing a worsening in many people's economic wellbeing and an increase in the use of food banks and the community fridge. This was exacerbated by the rollout of Universal Credit and the increased pressure on many to increase their working hours and income.

> *We're experiencing something that's a regular thing that people are obviously experiencing a lot of financial difficulty. (The borough) has now gone live with the Universal Credit. So that went live last year. So that's having a big impact on how people manage their money […] they're making new claims for Universal Credit and have to now realise that it's not based on how many hours you work, it's the money that you're bringing in. So, there are families that are struggling under pressure to kind of find jobs […] So we try to encourage people to not just look for part-time work, people keep coming and saying they want to work part-time, we'll have the conversation with them as to why they only want to work part time. […] People are struggling there's a lot more people struggling financially and having to use food banks just to survive in this area yeah. We have obviously, the community fridge that runs from this centre and people will come in, the demand is getting more and more and more. We're seeing a lot more people coming in to use that facility. Even the customers that we've got, we're having to encourage them to come in on the Monday to get that particularly because people are struggling. And it's probably going to get worse before it gets better –* **Sharon, local authority's employment support project manager**

Emma, 14, and her family's situation provide a glimpse of the difficulties some families are experiencing. I had first met them when I accompanied the housing association's tenancy support officer on an 'assessment visit' to their home. Emma's mother had been recently separated from her husband and was facing financial difficulties. With the increasing housing costs, she was looking to move out of the area where they have been living for 20 years. Below is an excerpt from my field notes about the visit.

> **Fieldnotes - 12 November 2018**
>
> Went on an assessment visit with ***
>
> Becky (about 50 years), lone mum, recently separated from her husband. Has 2 sons (1 son doesn't live with her) (22years) and 2 daughters (11&14 years). […] She now lives in one of the new social housing blocks. She preferred her old home on the estate, '*it was a great area, we used to have our own garden*'. Used to do gardening. Now she doesn't let her daughters out in the concrete terrace because neighbours stare at them. She wants to move out of the area because housing is becoming more expensive. Bills are more expensive now. Rent increases by higher percentage every month compared to how it used to be with the council. Now utility bills are also calculated differently (which might have contributed to the higher charges). She has thousands of pounds of debt in electricity and water bills. She showed us many letters from energy providers requesting her to pay the money she owes. Receiving those letters are very stressful, she said, and she has stopped opening them.
>
> She earns £1300 a month, pays £600 rent and £200 council tax. "*we have much more spending to maintain now you know and bills extra bills. We didn't use to have charges; these charges are killers for a single parent who has kids to maintain and school uniform and food on the table and holiday. It's difficult for one person.*" She can't properly provide for her daughters. She said something around her daughter asking her for a new coat, new pair of shoes and she keeps telling her next month. She talked about how everything is 'too much' for her. She's had difficult few months. Her dad passed away recently and she had to pay for the funeral. Both her sister and brother chipped in so she had to do it as well, but she now feels the negative impact on her finances. We discussed her seeking GP referral for therapy. She said she doesn't want to go because they prescribe her antidepressants, or she doesn't feel comfortable with psychologist in a talking therapy.

Other interviewees living in the redeveloped social housing echoed these financial pressures, the impact of which seem to overshadow the benefits of being offered a new home. They talked about how only getting a new place to live does not solve all the other problems they have, such as not finding well-paying jobs, struggling to pay the rent, etc. And with the rising market values of properties in the area due to the regeneration, they now lost all hope of being able to afford buying their homes.

Yeah, you get nice house but it's still a rented house that you need to pay your rent, it's just a building […] But if you were unemployed before they moved you to your 4 bedroom house, and you're still unemployed and can't get a job when you move there, you're still unemployed. And all the differences of my gosh, it's a bigger house more room I need to pay the rent. So I'm not seeing just because you've given me a new house regeneration that has improved my life, it just means a change of location. […] and I remember when we first moved it's target rent it's target rent it's target rent. Because you have no choice you have to move. And then it's more money that you're paying because it's more expensive – **Danielle, social housing resident and mother.**

Moreover, some participants drew a link between increasing costs of housing and young people getting into crime. In general, all the young participants believe that poverty is the main reason why young people get involved in drug dealing and other illegal money-making activities. Accordingly, they think that the regeneration can indirectly reinforce this link if it adds to the financial pressures of some families. They identified a number of pathways for how this usually happens. For example, some young people resort to illegal ways to make money to support their families or provide for their personal needs and wants, especially when legal means prove ineffective (e.g. if they cannot work due to their young age or because the money they get from work is not enough). Another pathway is through the psychological strain that financial difficulties impose on their parents, leading to problems at home, which then young people can project onto others at their school (e.g. starting fights, or being disruptive), leading to low education attainment or exclusion, and as a result making them an easy target for gangs. Trouble at home and the subsequent negative impact on young people's relationships with their families and their emotional and mental wellbeing can make them vulnerable to risky situations.

Well, the regeneration made it worse because they made the housing more expensive so children are gonna think they need to do illegal things to make money to support their mum and siblings, so they may think that's more of a priority, so that may cause them to drop out of school and start to do illegal things. Or, trouble at home because their mum is stressing may cause them to have fights in schools then they go to units and they drop out of education so then they can't get the education that they need so they don't get their GCSEs so then they are not really in the education system anymore, so then they just do illegal activities – **Beth, 16.**

That's why there could be a very high crime rate because people are not only focusing on the richness of people and how the heck they spend all of that for that but they're also like, wait if we're gonna get evicted, how can we get all that money just to get accommodation? You have to put the price lower, but am pretty sure they can't do that. So that could cause not only conflict but that could cause a lot of violence – **Anna, 13**.

The socio-economic disparities between young people and the better-off residents are translated into different neighbourhood realities.

6.2. Different worlds

Findings show that despite living in the same neighbourhood, sometimes even across the street from each other, young participants and the richer residents have very different experiences – almost like living in two parallel versions of the same area.

Differences in housing:

Young people talked about disparities in housing services and living conditions between social and private housing. For example, some condemned the presence of private pools and gyms inside the private blocks. Others were upset by the higher levels of security provided to the private housing residents in the form of concierges and security guards that the social housing blocks do not get[38]. Again these are markers of privilege in the eyes of young people and signal the difference in socio-economic status between them and people who live in these houses.

The new blocks, you see they have their security gates and jacuzzis you know they are rich people. They have swimming pools underneath and jacuzzis underneath […] I heard there were jacuzzis in the new block so I wanted to look at it to see if it was true. I was not allowed through the door […]all the other old blocks anyone can walk inside, why can't I be welcome in there? I should be welcome – **Beth, 16**.

Notwithstanding the regeneration's proclaimed tenure blind policy, private housing residents are able to afford much higher service charges that buy them greater security and comfort within their

---

[38] Blocks that contained properties offered for shared ownership do not have concierges and security guards, however in general young people did not seem to differentiate between those and the ones for outright sale. This is because they probably did not know the difference. It was also the case that there were more blocks with outright sale properties (7 blocks) than those for shared ownership (4 blocks) at the time of fieldwork.

homes and apartment blocks. The equivalent is not possible in the social housing. During fieldwork, adult residents of both the old and redeveloped social housing consistently voiced concerns and complaints about maintenance issues, such as door entry systems breaking, water leaks, out of work lifts and lighting, rat infestations…etc., which take a long time to get repaired. The private housing buildings were not without their problems either. Interviewees who live in the private properties talked about obvious construction 'shortcuts'. However, according to the community organisation's independent advisor, private housing receives a more frequent and responsive repair service because of the high service charges they pay, and so when things go wrong, they are dealt with more quickly preventing problems from getting bigger and more complicated. Private housing residents are aware of these disparities in housing services. Interviewees living in the private blocks mentioned that problems do occur in their buildings too but acknowledged that their privileged position can reduce their incidence, as below quotes show.

We have one weekend, which happened to be the weekend of the year where our heating wasn't working and there was nothing we could do about it, because they signed on with the company that only works during business hours on weekdays […] The way that the heating thing works there's a box you put money into it online and it has to communicate. And the problem was it just wasn't making the connection. But, you know, we can afford to put maybe £100 on it at a time so we only have to top it up once every, you know, few weeks in the winter, but really few months in the summer. Whereas somebody who's in one of the council areas, they might only have enough money to put 10 quid on so they've got to do it more often. So it's just more opportunities for it to break – **David, private renter.**

I think I'm very protected from it [ASB from trespassers]. Probably by virtue of the block I live in […] it's got secure entry. Our door is never broken, not like some of the old buildings where you know, entries are always broke. We pay a hefty service charge not to experience it. So you know, I feel very secure that if I'm in our building, no one's gonna, you might get burgled if you're very unlucky that they choose your flat as opposed to another one. But I feel secure in my house – **Kelly, homeowner.**

On a positive note, after relentless pressure and lobbying the community organisation managed to get the council and housing association to upgrade the new social housing blocks' entry systems as well as the bin and cycle sheds' doors where drug dealing and prostitution activities were taking place.

Another manifestation of the different worlds occupied by young people and more affluent residents is related to experiences of safety and violence.

Differences in experiences of safety and violence:

Better-off households are more shielded from the emotional stress and physical risk of violence in the area by virtue of their socio-demographic characteristics, as opposed to many of the young participants of this study. *"The area is bad for people like us," said Jack, 16.* Many young people described the area as 'dangerous', 'ghetto', and known for 'gang violence and drugs', which means they 'can't just walk freely' out of fear of victimisation. Higher income residents who moved into the area, on the other hand, are not typically exposed to these risks, as Kelly – a homeowner in the newly developed private housing – tells me below.

> **Researcher**: *Do you feel safe in the area?*
> **Kelly**: *Yeah, I do. Possibly that's a completely deluded sense of safety.*
> **Researcher**: *Why is that?*
> **Kelly**: *because you hear about quite frequently stabbings and shootings. And it was not long ago that the (local park) and the (main road) were blocked off. Right. And I also, I also work in the assumption that quite a lot of it, unfortunately, or fortunately, depending how you look at it is targeted. And I'm not, I'm just not the demographic. I'm not young and I'm not Black and I'm not male. And I'm not dealing or smoking or doing whatever, so I'm likely not to, so maybe am a bit oblivious.*

Violence seemed to influence difference groups of young people in diverse ways. Young men were perceived to be the more likely target of street violence. A few female participants challenged this. However, it was a majority of young male participants who talked about living in constant fear of not only becoming a target of violence by gang members and/or the police, but also of being caught up in doing illegal activities themselves. A few felt they were not able to travel outside of their wider area due to fear of being attacked if they went to another neighbourhood that has a rival gang to the one historically present in the case study area. This, however, was mainly the case among young men who are connected to someone who was or is involved with illegal activities in the area. Females were perceived to be more likely exposed to domestic violence and abuse, and when it comes to being in the street they told stories about being sexually harassed or followed by

men. Some participants said that while they are aware of the dangers, they do not necessarily feel unsafe because they have lived in the area all their lives.

> *George, 13: Like my parents don't really want me going out that much cause there is a rise in knife crime and stuff, it's quite dangerous. Few people got stabbed around this area.*
> *Anna, 13: it's mostly men, which is quite surprising.*
> *Mustafa, 13: cause a lot of boys are in gangs. Am not saying girls can't get into gangs but mainly boys go into gangs*
> *Hasan, 13: I guess if you go look in the news, there's like 90% higher risk of men getting stabbed. If you go look in the news, it's always men men men. it's rare to see girls getting stabbed.*
> *Anna: but actually we as women can be subjected more to suicide than men as well because as women we always get problems such as relationship problems, domestic abuse or anything like that that's going on in their family and we might feel there is no hope, we can't go anywhere else or we don't have much friends, we don't know where to socialise so that's why so many girls are seen as being more suicidal, than at risk of stabbing.*

> *I don't feel like I get respected in this community because you how like in crimes, they go for the younger victims? So you know how am at that common age where like kids do crime? I feel that am gonna be targeted as well sometime, and I am scared of that. Sometimes I tell my mum 'can we just get out of this area?' – **Hasan, 13**.*

Some participants contested the popular narrative around 'gangs' by arguing that in reality things are much more ambiguous than many think. They explained that while not doing anything wrong themselves, their relatives or siblings might be, or they could be hanging out with their friends who are involved or could go to a party where gang members will also be attending. This means others could associate them with individuals involved in crime.

> *The beef is intense, it's hard to live around here. It's not safe, there is a lot of risk, -* **Jack, 17.**

> *In this area most people they can't walk around without at least looking back just in case, because nowadays a lot of people are just getting stabbed and obviously no one wants to get stabbed themselves, so for their own safety, they have to be aware of themselves. This area is known for gang crimes, […] even though am not part of a gang I can be mistaken*

for someone who is involved. That's why I wouldn't say you have freedom in this area. That can be different for females, but as men […] personally I don't think someone would just stab a girl thinking they are in a gang unless the girls are known for doing something – Andrew, 16.

Even if they are not directly or indirectly associated with crime or know someone involved, young people are impacted in other ways. For example, the freedom of the youngest of them (12 and 13 years) to play outside or go out with their friends gets restricted by their parents out of fear for their safety. The majority of young participants also talked about the negative impact on their mental health because of living in such a 'dangerous' environment and constantly hearing about other youngsters getting victimised. It is hard to tell at this stage whether children living in the private housing would have had similar experiences had they been in the same age group. At the moment, they are too young to be independently mobile.

Telling me about a stabbing incident that happened a week ago in their area, Kemal and Anna said:

Kemal, 13: I felt isolated because I couldn't see my friends for two weeks. I only stayed at home, I was barely socialised and I was just paranoid.

Anna, 13: I honestly feel like that because not only I'll be isolated around school because not many people would talk to me socialise with me sometimes, but I also feel isolated quite often at home because (name of area) is quite a dangerous area when it comes to evenings; there are a lot of drug dealers and all of that which my father forbids me to go there unless if I have to walk my dog for like 5 minutes then sure I can quickly do that just run up and down and I'll be fine, but most likely very dangerous. If I go just outside my porch I will just get either shot or killed instantly.

I used to, maybe last year I used to go out a lot with my friends. But this year because crime has increased my mum doesn't want me outside anymore without her. So yeah I don't go without family or anyone older than me – Sarah, 13.

Just across the youth club, roughly a year ago someone got stabbed apparently so it was a bit traumatising to all of us cause this is the neighbourhood we grew up in – Emma, 14.

It was a common perception among adult and young participants that crime in the borough is increasing and particularly that which involves young people. There is data to support this. In the

three years before fieldwork the rate of overall crime in the borough has been increasing and was higher than average for the Metropolitan police area (Metropolitan Police 2021a; Police.uk 2020). Similarly, in the case study neighbourhood numbers of police-recorded incidents of 'violence against the person' were on an upward trajectory between 2010 and 2020 (Metropolitan Police Service 2021). This could possibly reflect an increase in reporting of crime or change in policing practices rather than an increase in crime per se [39]. Numbers of hospital admissions due to assault with a sharp object among borough residents were stable in the five years leading to 2018/19, but were among the highest 20 local authorities in the country (NHS Digital 2019). They ranged between 45 and 50 hospital admissions per year and mainly affected those between the ages of 10 and 29. At the national level children and young people (10-15 years) have consistently suffered higher levels of violence victimisation than adults (16 years and above) in the past 10 years (Office for National Statistics 2020b). Within the adult category, those aged 16 to 24 experience the highest level of victimisation (ibid).

Based on my field observations, there was a big focus on security and policing on the estate. The regeneration organisations convene regular 'security meetings' with the police and community organisation board members, during which they set the agenda and agree on action plans for the area's security priorities. The police's safer neighbourhoods team also holds monthly public meetings with the estate's residents to listen to their safety concerns and demands. In addition, entrances of the newly developed housing blocks are all fitted with CCTVs. Drug dealing and use, anti-social behaviour and squatting in vacant properties awaiting demolition were the main issues regularly discussed at these meetings and mentioned by the police constable as the biggest problems they face. The police carried a big operation to crack down on drug dealing and gang violence in the borough during that year, which resulted in the arrest of 35 people. About five of those were residents in the case study neighbourhood. Nonetheless, according to the police constable the drug offences did not improve in the area, because gangs are big and it is difficult to completely eradicate them.

There were different views among young people about whether the regeneration has improved their feelings of safety in the area. Some thought that the neighbourhood is safer after the regeneration because there are more CCTV cameras and police presence. They also mentioned

---

[39] Police recorded crime excludes offences that are not reported to, or not recorded by, the police and does not include less serious offences dealt with by magistrates' courts (for example, motoring offences). Trends can be influenced by changes in recording practices or police activity as well as public reporting of crime, making it difficult to make long-term comparisons. There are also concerns about the quality of recording and that crime is not recorded consistently across police forces.

that the higher resident density means there are more "eyes watching you" (Leo, 12). On the other hand, the demolition of many of the safe public spaces in which young people used to spend time, discriminatory policing practices (particularly against young black men), and their exclusion from the newly developed areas (a subject that will be discussed in chapter 7) negate the security improvements.

In addition, many participants thought that the regeneration is not solving the root cause of drug-related crime, instead it is either merely displacing it to other areas or reinforcing one of its main causes through increasing inequality in the area. Some thought that crime might eventually decrease by virtue of the increasing proportion of higher-income residents in the area who do not have the motive for drug dealing.

> *It's definitely changing because there are a lot of rich people moving in. Normally rich people aren't the ones that do violence or sell drugs cause they already have a lot of money. So, if more of them move in, more of it will stop. If they do this all around (the borough), it will definitely stop. What will happen is they cannot build council flats – **Malik, 13**.*

> *I mean yeah, cause this is kind of like gentrification where you're basically pushing people out, that means they're going somewhere else […] it's not like they're gonna stop but I mean (gang violence) is going somewhere else – **Shinique, 17**.*

> *A lot of the drug dealers moved to the old blocks from the street to the stairwells. Kids are still dealing but are more secretive about it – **Andy, 23**.*

As part of a storytelling activity on 'a day in the life of a young person in the area', Andrew explained how the lack of safe spaces for young people gives them no choice but to spend time in unsupervised areas exposing them to risky situations:

> *So you could just be hanging around with your friends, but in this area they knocked down all the parks, the good ones and built some rubbish ones, so no one really goes to the park. So let's say chilling on the main road then your friends are doing something illegal, you are not involved but you are still there for (inaudible). You could go home to get something come out and then you have to be aware of your surrounding knowing that you are chilling with the wrong crowd, people are just gonna be aware, so a young person might wanna say 'let's go' and really truly no one really wants to go home early so you*

*just wanna stay with your friends as long as you can…then it builds…it gets your parents scared so that young person's parents might be worried cause they know that these areas aren't safe for their child to be outside – **Andrew, 16.***

The one time during fieldwork when private housing residents came closest to experiencing violence in the neighbourhood was when riot police showed up at a party in one of the social housing blocks. The 'block party', as it is commonly called, is organised every year and riot police are deployed to disperse it every time leading to arrests and sometimes even fatalities among young people, as well as injuries among both party goers and the police force. According to the police, violence between rival gang members erupted during the party resulting in the stabbing of a young person and the injury of others. Most people in the community read about this in the news, and it was only young people who were directly impacted. But what seemed to really alarm some of the new residents was the sight of riot police, something that they are not used to witnessing. At a community meeting after the incident, some homeowners were angry because they felt they had been tricked by the marketing of the regeneration project "selling multi-million-pound properties and promising peace and tranquility". One man said he would not have moved into the area had he known about this. But this is a reality that many young people in the community have to live with.

*What shocked me most more than anything was that kids will always have a party. It was the fact that there was uniform riot police with helmets and visors that shocked me. That's not something I am used to. So for me that was like, my God, these are children and this is riot police, what is going on here? To me, it seemed a little disproportionate because I knew nothing besides the fact that I'd seen a bunch of kids. Now I understand that someone was attacked in their car, someone was stabbed – **Kelly, homeowner**.*

Social distance:

This social division and disconnect between the teenagers and the new residents is exacerbated by the lack of meaningful interactions between the two groups. Almost all of the young people who participated in this study had either never interacted with people living in the private housing or had skirmishes with them (e.g. a few told me stories where someone shouted at them because they were loud or dropped rubbish near their property).

Researcher*: how would you describe the new people moving into the area?*

166

Nia, 15: very shady.

Researcher: shady how?

Nia: Because like, I haven't met any new people, I see them going in and out of the buildings. But no, hi, how are you? Oh, yeah, I'm in the block there. No, just in and out with their suits

I don't really give them (the wealthy people) a chance to talk to me though, or I don't do anything that might give them a chance to talk to me – Caroline, 13.

Interviewees living in the private housing also talked about the lack of social interaction with teenagers on the estate. This social distance fuels mutual stereotypes among both groups.

So my perception of the teenagers on this estate is probably the perception that I have a lot of teenagers in general, which is they're allowed to do what they want. Where are their parents? so I mean, I just, I don't know any teenagers, that's the thing, right? I just don't know any teenagers on (name of area). They're like everyone else, teenagers anywhere else I reckon but I don't know what their perceptions and their kind of experiences are. I haven't really interacted with them. The oldest child I know on this estate is eight. He's too young to count as a teenager – Kelly, homeowner.

I don't have a specific impression of teenagers in this area. I mean you see them but I'm not actually, now that I think about it, I am not sure that there are that many teenagers from the private blocks frankly because it seems they're either young professionals or people who came here to retire or sort of young families […] I don't know, I mean, you see them. I don't actually know where they spend their time – Zoe, private renter.

There are no opportunities where teenagers and the private housing residents can interact in ways that emphasise their similarities, as opposed to the many differences that separate them. The new households that moved into the area are more likely to be young professionals and families with small children. This is partly by design, since a majority (more than 80%) of the private housing properties - including shared ownership - are one or two bedroom flats[40]. They are not designed for bigger families. This means that there

---

[40] In the planning proposal submitted by the developer for the new regeneration phase, it is stated that the rationale behind diverging from the Mayor of London's housing planning guidance with regards to the minimum proportion

are low chances for families of the young participants to interact with those who moved into the area recently. It is also the case that the community events and activities, where people are more likely to mix, are more catered for adults or families with young children. Teenagers – especially those above 14 years – do not tend to engage with these events (more on community relations is discussed in chapter 8). It follows that feelings of 'us vs. them' define the attitudes of the two groups towards each other.

Perceptions of inferiority sparked by a big contrast in socio-economic status, living conditions and neighbourhood experiences between young people and their better-off neighbours, as well as their lack of social interaction can develop into feelings of jealousy, resentment and discouragement among young people.

> *It's just like, yeah…you're seeing what (young people) aspire to reach is right in front of them but they still can't touch it, if that makes sense, because it's expensive it's just getting expensive –* ***Joseph, 18.***

> *Mixed income has been a problem. You see someone going to work wearing a £6K tailored suit, people get demotivated. I can't afford a £6K suit. People are too busy looking at how other people live they get jealous –* ***Andy, 23.***

> *In this area, [young people] probably be a bit jealous because of the regeneration on that side because of how rich it is, they probably live around here, they can be a bit jealous they might not be able to afford these stuff and that jealousy can either lead to crime stuff like that –* ***Mustafa, 13.***

Accordingly, most of the participants do not view 'the rich' in their neighbourhood as a source of inspiration. They are more likely influenced by people close to them. They mentioned that some young people doubt their ability to become successful because they live in a place where many people "are not really that successful", referring to the original residents. But others were actually prompted to overcome the negative impact of their environment and achieve something better for themselves. This does not necessarily mean, however, that they are persuaded by the more successful rich people moving into

---

of family sized units in the private tenure is to ensure the financial viability of the development. They argue that 1 bed private sales flats have a higher value by floor area than the larger private sales flats.

the area. While they do aspire to be successful and make money in the future, they told me that it is the *'hard work'* of their families, friends and people with whom they have a close relationship or look up to (e.g. good teachers, and youth workers) that motivates them to do the same. They are inspired by stories of success against all odds, and if they do not know how someone made their wealth it does not influence them in a positive way. Below are some discussions with participants about this matter.

> *Mustafa, 13: I don't think people who moved into this area would inspire much people because personally, people with money don't inspire me. It's the people who put the effort in, started somewhere really low even in slums and then they came out above everyone else, they overcome challenges and stuff like that, they start at nothing and achieve greatness, that's what inspires me. if you have money and I don't know how you got it, it doesn't really inspire me cause you could've got it from crime or something, so.*

> *Researcher: Do you think that if young people in general see people moving into the area that have money and jobs, would they inspire them to do the same?*
> *Caroline, 13: I don't know really. To me in my opinion the people that live in this area now I don't know if they do much in the area. Usually I just see them…I see a lot of people with business suits on now and stuff like that*
> *Researcher: and does that inspire you to be the same?*
> *Leo, 13: it doesn't really inspire me to do the same*
> *Caroline: yeah it doesn't really matter to me to be honest. Maybe if they were doing good deeds. It's just that they're just general people working.*

> *I think you see the old (name of case study area)? I think that inspired people to become somebody in life. Because when you look around at the old area, the old houses, you feel like you see yourself like, I don't want to end up here. I wanna do something with my life, I wanna become bigger, and you work really hard for it. And this neighbour I had before I moved houses, like down there she was really, really nice. And she had her mum just her and her mum and her little brother. And yeah, her mum was struggling a lot, but she was kind, they'd always babysit us, she got a part-time job babysitting and she worked really really hard and eventually she got what she wanted. she works in medication now* − *Nia, 15*

6.3. Conclusion

Findings presented in this chapter demonstrate that despite the physical proximity between private and social housing residents, they have different lived experiences by virtue of their contrasting socio-economic status. Disparities in material possessions, housing services and experiences of violence and safety are some examples mentioned by participants differentiating between them from the better-off households. Against the backdrop of a decade of welfare spending cuts and lack of improvement in their employment conditions, the higher rents and housing costs of the new social housing add to the financial pressures of the participants' low-income families. As a result, young people thought that the regeneration reinforces social inequality and division. Having a constant reminder of their relative disadvantage in their local area can be stressful for some. Adding to this divide is the lack of social interaction between the two groups, leading to an 'us and them' mentality. Chapter 9 expands on the relevance of these mechanisms to participants' valued capabilities of social status, safety, self-efficacy and mental and emotional wellbeing. Before that, the following chapter explores the third overarching regeneration mechanism of the stigmatisation and exclusion of young people.

7. Stigmatisation and exclusion

Young people get treated as criminals, even though they haven't done anything (Candice, 15)

There is a general perception among the young participants that '*people don't like them*', they are disrespected, stereotyped, unwelcomed in public spaces and their views and experiences '*not taken seriously*'. While this is a common experience for teenagers, this chapter considers the processes through which the regeneration intensifies their stigmatisation and exclusion in their neighbourhood. Particularly, two mechanisms are discussed: (1) how their stigmatisation is translated into deliberate ways to control and exclude them from redeveloped areas, and (2) their lack of influence and participation in the regeneration decision-making.

7.1. Stigmatisation and control

The stigmatisation of young people was a recurring theme in conversations and discussions with participants throughout fieldwork. Young people are troubled by how adults in their neighbourhood persistently treat and unfairly label them as '*criminals*' based on the actions of a few. In shops and supermarkets they are usually suspected of stealing, treated '*rudely*', followed around by security guards, and are only allowed in groups of two, especially if they are in their school uniform. They also talked about how they often become the target of prejudiced policing activities, and particularly the young black men among them. The latter, according to them, tend to be 'stopped and searched' and suspected of wrongdoing just by being in groups and/or wearing clothes that are stereotypically seen as common among young people from lower-income backgrounds.

Police records confirm that between 2016/17 and 2020/21, people from Black and Asian ethnic backgrounds in the borough were 3.6 and 2.6 times more likely than those from a White background to be stopped and searched, respectively (Metropolitan Police 2021b; Shiner et al. 2018). In 2020/21, those aged 15 to 19 years experienced the highest rate of stop and search, while males were 15.6 times more likely than females to be stopped and searched by the police (Metropolitan Police 2021b).

They treat us like thieves. I didn't even do anything I wanna go into the shop, but no, one at a time, one at a time…you know the (name of shop), there is a man in there, when you go in he follows you around. And I'm just so confused 'what did I do?'. I want to pick this and turn I see him watching me. I get so annoyed and I just leave the shop and I don't buy anything. It's just annoying – Nia, 15.

Candice, 15: The police if they say if they see any boy…Okay, Black boys. There are so many stereotypes that if you see a Black boy with the hoodie up, they are wearing a tracksuit and a long jacket zipped up, they're wearing gloves, they've automatically done something
Researcher: Do you think this happens mainly to boys not girls?
Candice: Yeah, mainly to boys.
Nia, 15: Mainly the boys because the boys fit the description.

Because of these racialised, gendered and age trends, many young people that fit these intersecting categories can become victims of unlawful or mistaken-identity arrests, which sometimes escalate into dangerous situations. As Candice, 15, put it, *'people get hurt, people die'*. The local police constable recognised that this is indeed a problem which, according to him, often stems from inaccurate intelligence or reporting.

The intel is not that good. If someone reported a black young man in a hoodie then that is not specific enough and it does lead to mistaken identity arrests. If this happened and we were aggressive with the wrong person, we try to be nice about it and apologise – Police Constable.

This breeds lack of trust between the police and young people where, instead of being reassuring, the sight of police can be a source of fear and stress. The imbalance of power between themselves and the police also means that young people are often not able to challenge prejudiced practices.

We can't say anything because we don't know what will happen to us especially that we are young and also young people don't know their rights – Andrew, 16.

Similarly, groups of young people in public spaces are often viewed with suspicion and seen by members of the public as perpetrators of anti-social or criminal behaviour. Adult community participants said that older people can be irrationally *'scared'* of crowds of teenagers and jump to

172

baseless conclusions that they are gang members. While it is the case that drug dealing activities do take place in the area, these are not as prevalent as general perception, they argued.

There's almost this thing you know, if you see four or five people, young people standing, that's a gang or something. It's nonsense…I mean, but there's also codes I mean, people don't come out and sort of say these things upfront. But as I say, I don't think there's any you know… there's sort of things like coming out of the (youth club), people making noise and all of this, you know, and people dealing drugs around the corner and all this stuff but I mean, again, this is something there's a lot of these issues in the eye of the people who live here rather than what these kids are doing. As I say there's been very little real problems on this estate to do with young people – **Community Organisation Director**.

I see it all the time, so my cabinet brief at the council community safety people will be like articulating to you something as anti-social behaviour or a criminal concern where when you break it down it's very difficult to say how are you articulating anything different to me other than a group of young men (laughs) – **Local Councillor**.

Emma, 14, thought that stereotypes are the product of sensationalised media portrayals of young people living in social housing, for example around reporting of gang violence and knife crime, where they are usually depicted as perpetrators of violence.

I don't think it's about them losing touch. I just feel like they've become intimidated, they've become intimidated by us young people because of the crimes and deviance that has increased and all crimes I've noticed as I learned in Sociology, crimes aren't recorded because they lie. It's propaganda, that's exactly what it is and I've noticed that newspapers overdo it, like that didn't actually happen, did it? that didn't happen that far to affect everyone else. And that's because they've become scared of us and it's a problem. If I saw an elderly person in the street and they are doing something that not an elderly person will normally do you don't jump to conclusions and instantly decide for yourself that everyone is like that. So for example if you saw one student wearing my uniform and they got into a fight, you're gonna be like 'yeah all the students in that school are trouble, they don't know how to be disciplined'. It's just about jumping to conclusions and categorising everyone as a problem to society. Because us young people, not all of us have

*intentions of harming people, not everyone wants to leave the house carrying a knife and be like 'oh yeah we're gonna stab you'. No, it doesn't work like that – **Emma, 14.***

Incidents like the party which was organised by one of the social housing residents (see section 6.2) and how it was handled by the police can have lasting repercussions on how young people are perceived and treated in the neighbourhood. I was meeting a group of participants a few days before the party when they were debating whether to go or stay at home to revise for their GCSE exams. A few did end up attending but were able to flee before getting caught up in the clashes. The violent incident, which involved arrests, injuries and one casualty, was at the centre of community discussions for a few weeks. The police urged residents at a community meeting to henceforth report young people's gatherings by saying *'the sooner the better'*. Some people at the meeting recognised how this can be problematic and argued that young people should be able to party and have fun, otherwise they will *'rebel'*. However, the issue was not resolved, and the same episode was repeated the following year.

The regeneration takes place against this backdrop and interacts with it in ways that can worsen young people's experiences of stigmatisation and exclusion. Participants believe that the regeneration has created an environment where their presence in public spaces is even more undesirable and their activities are constantly being scrutinised by adults in the redeveloped parts of the neighbourhood. They see this as related to the area becoming *'posh'* and particularly the increasing number of higher-income residents who are more likely to stigmatise them and have lower tolerance towards seeing young people congregating in public. In Malik's (13 years) words *'the wealthy wealthy people are not used to seeing kids'.* They were concerned there is going to be an increase in people complaining and needlessly reporting them to the police, effectively deterring them from spending time in the redeveloped areas, as the below discussion among a group of participants shows.

> **Sophie, 15**: *whenever there was a bunch of kids, they will get really troubled…they would keep looking at you if there is like a whole group of young kids in one place like…they would instantly think that something bad is going on*
> **Grace, 15**: *I don't know what they expect though because our school is literally right there, where else do you want us to go?*
> **Shirley, 17**: *it's gonna be worse in that new people start living there, they're just gonna stereotype so regularly*

Soraya, 15: and now they get new houses for fancy people, they might be mean to all the school kids and stuff and they might be unwelcoming and uninvited and there might be a condition where they don't want anyone making noise and it will start a whole new vibe and it will be a changed area, not in a good way... It might affect happiness because it might segregate us a bit from each other. Maybe we can't go to the area like 'uh, the neighbours are probably gonna complain'

There is also a perception among some participants that the private housing residents are more likely to have racially prejudiced attitudes because they are less likely to be black themselves.

I've grown up in that area and you're just sort of come in and you're looking at me like am not supposed to be here...a lot of people that are coming in from the outside, their views of like young black people are quite negative sort of thing and they've come into our area with those stigmas and those attitudes, and that's not good because they've come into our area and they are tryna make us feel like we don't belong here. Am not saying like uuh we're territorial or like, none of that, I don't know. Am speaking from my point of view but am also speaking on behalf of other young people – Joseph, 18.

The police constable (PC), who is a member of the safer neighbourhoods team in the area, did confirm that people living in the private housing are more likely to call the police than those in social housing. According to him, this goes back to a culture of silence and fear among social housing tenants.

Researcher: young people tell me that people moving into the area tend to call the police on them more often. Is that true?
Police constable: yes, people in the private blocks do tend to call the police more, just like normal people who see something wrong and call the police. The old blocks suffer from a 'no snitch' culture... a lot of silence...fear of your neighbours or of being labeled a snitch. People don't like us even just to talk to them, they think neighbours will talk, people will get paranoid

Indeed, there are concerted efforts by different local institutions to control and eliminate young people's presence in the redeveloped area, confirming young people's worries about the effect of the regeneration. Organisations leading the regeneration (i.e. property developer and social landlords) work collaboratively with the police and other local institutions to implement

neighbourhood security strategies. As mentioned in chapter 6 (section 6.2), these strategies mainly target drug dealing and use and anti-social behaviour. But because young people are perceived to be among the main perpetrators of these problems, one of the primary aims of the security measures is to restrict where they go and how they behave. The mere presence of groups of young people is deemed to be disruptive, unsafe and anti-social. For example, security guards hired to watch over the private housing blocks routinely disperse teenagers hanging out in the newly built park at night, as their representative reported at one of the 'security meetings'. Security guards did not exist before the regeneration and the fact that they are present only around the private properties creates an intimidating and divisive environment.

In addition, the local secondary school management cooperates with the police by clearing the surrounding streets from pupils every day after school hours. The school vice principal, interviewed for the study, argued that as the regeneration improves the area's physical environment it would attract more young people to spend time there in large groups, a situation unwanted by adults in the community and one which could potentially expose pupils to risky situations and create anti-social behaviour. This takes place within a broader '*zero tolerance policy*' implemented by the school to crackdown on pupils' poor behaviour and improve the school's reputation. Linking lack of discipline to higher than average levels of poverty and single-mother-led households among their pupils, the school see it as their role to fill the gap left by the absence of 'male role-models' in the family. Excerpts from interview transcripts with two members of the school's senior management team demonstrate the above:

> *Senior vice principal 1:*
>
> *If there is a kind of gentrification, more kind of upper class approach to the demographic of people that live there, then one would argue that maybe that would improve the overall kind of environment around it, but that that's not guaranteed. And if it is, it is a more appealing place to sit to congregate to hang out in, you will get more people or more young people hanging around there anyway…it means that there's a greater opportunity of our pupils coming into contact with other pupils from other schools which could create tension in the local area. It means potentially that our pupils that want to hang around in those areas, even if they don't meet up with other pupils from other schools, they could want to congregate in there as a group, which, you know, can create some antisocial behavior issues and things like that. Fundamentally, we want our pupils to be safe and leave the area to go home. We don't want them hanging around just for the simple reason that if they hang around with nothing to do, the chances are there's going to be a problem. And sometimes it's not a problem as in something that's an intentional problem. But local people don't*

tend to want to walk through a group of 20 or 30 young people who are just standing around aimlessly doing nothing. And that's our commitment to the local community in the sense of ensuring that things are harmonious really outside the school gates because we at the moment we do a walk out on both sides of the road up and down to the (tube) station and clear that area, clear the back side of the school past the youth centre and back down. That's where we sweep every day to clear pupils out of that local area, and then they only should be hanging around there really if they're accessing the youth club, or they're going home, or they're waiting for a bus, that should really be it.

Senior Vice principal 2: Pupils here are multiply disadvantaged. Their background is not stable. So instead of 25% single parent families, it's 45% or so. Nearly 90% of that is females bringing boys up. And they have the whole thing about male role models. And so the discipline has to be fairly strict and clearly understood and agreed set of rules. And then there are lots of exclusions. There are lots of people being put into different bits to change their behaviour, because the only way to get up and out of here is to get good qualifications. And so we really see we have a very strong moral purpose.
Researcher: Do you think this strict strategy works?
Senior Vice principal 2: It's a major thing. Well, this is quite funny but you could view this place as part of the gentrification because with the high expectations, you're going to attract a more kind of socially upmarket clientele. And so the whole school is going to change because of the structure and, you know, schools bring areas up with them or can go down with an area.

Young people are in great need for higher levels of safety in their area as discussed in chapter 6, however the lack of trusted relationships with the police mean that the latter's increased presence is often seen as a way to control and scare them rather than protect them.

*There are so many pros and cons into this new security and everything. Although this borough needs desperate help for security it could help, but the downfall unfortunately is like saying most of the time cops would patrol might do something wrong or anything like that, because when you just try to walk through, the first thing you see is either a cop or a security guard or anything like that, it just scares me into thinking 'am I gonna get arrested or something?' So it's something that scares the public a little bit – **Anna, 13**.*

Moreover, young participants complained about how their presence in the new shops, cafés and restaurants is seen as undesirable, again connecting this to the upmarket nature of these places. In the following quote from Sophie, she tells me about hers and her friends experience.

> *It's not inviting, like the café for example that didn't feel really welcoming for young people. When you walk in people just stare at you like 'just keep waiting here'. It's not feeling that welcoming in there. Everything is changing. Certain shops don't make me feel invited the way (name of shop[41]) does because that's where everybody hangs out, it's always been there and it's not a super posh area where you don't feel welcome –* **Sophie, 15**.

As formerly mentioned, this is a common experience for young people in general. But in the regeneration context and in a bid by businessowners to appeal to the better-off customer base, charging expensive prices is sometimes done to deliberately exclude young people. For example, one of the main reasons the owner of the new coffee shop and restaurant increased his prices was to stop young people from going there (see section 5.3). He told me that after customers complained a few times about their presence and behaviour or left unhappy without finishing their food, he felt pressured to make a choice. Even though he had built a respectful and understanding relationship with the young people over time, he had to call the police on them a few times because of other customers' complaints. This is despite their actions not necessitating police enforcement, such as smoking outside of the coffee shop or being loud.

> *I came from a working class background, am still feeling like working class, you know. I don't want to get the rich people or other people or something. It makes us more happy to see them all together. But it didn't work because of some young people especially when they came at the cafe each of them they don't want to sit on the same table for example one of them sit on one table other ones sit on another but they are friends, they shout to each other, they talk to each other and then other people when they saw this kind of thing they just want to leave, you know. And then you need to make a decision what can you do because the area is not so busy and you did some investments, you're losing money, you need to do something and then we changed the menu and we put a little bit the price more up. And they found them expensive. Few times later they didn't come –* ***Café and restaurant owner.***

---

[41] Name of a takeaway shop that has been in the area for a long time, since before the regeneration, and is popular with school children and young people.

178

The same is the case with the new private gym that opened in the regenerated area. They had an offer across their branches giving free access to 16 to 18 year-olds over the summer to encourage a healthy lifestyle. Managers of the branch located in the case study area told me the offer was very popular with young people, however they do not plan to repeat it in the future because teenagers' behaviour threatens their customer base:

> *The way they (teenagers) behave is a bit difficult to manage. They pose a risk, they hang out together abusing pin numbers. They come in big groups 14s and 15s showing up pretending to be 16+(age) giving each other passes…We are running a business. We want to make sure existing members are not intimidated.*

I asked Kelly, a homeowner in the new development, about her view of why young people might feel unwelcomed in the new shops and facilities. According to her, big groups of teenagers are 'threatening', and she wondered 'why they like traveling in big groups'.

> *Researcher: They (young people) always tell you these things about how they're not welcome when they go to places the coffee shop or somewhere. Is that something you think is true?*
> *Kelly: Well, I think it possibly is true if they come in big groups. And I think that's often the*
> *Researcher: why is that you think?*
> *Kelly: It's because I think any big group it's going to be if not threatening, it's going to be, possibly somebody will find big groups like hulking lads and 16-year-old girls like an imposition maybe. But if you come even into a place like the (new pub) you're gonna like take up more space than you take up. You know what I mean? You're gonna be like a real visibility there. So I don't know, I think, why do teenagers always like traveling in big groups these days? Or maybe I did that when I was a kid.*

The answer to Kelly's question '*why do teenagers always like traveling in big groups these days?*, according to the young participants, is that it gives them a sense of '*community*', '*togetherness*' and '*happy vibes*' . This is why they are attracted to places with crowds of young people or where there is '*commotion*', as demonstrated by the below discussion about the places where a group of participants like spending time.

Researcher: What do you like about (name of a food takeaway shop)?

Grace: it's just a place you go, people buy food…there's always like commotion in there

Researcher: and you like that?

Grace: not like fighting commotion but like it's always busy. There's always people from our school. And also the school bus stop because that's where everyone is after school like if you don't see your friends in school, you see them there.

Shinique: this is literally the pit stop for everybody after school […] And the boss is quite friendly as well. Sometimes he has days when he is a bit moody but it's a really good shop, their food is banging as well.

Researcher: what do you mean by 'commotion'? I mean I understand it's not necessarily a negative word, but why it's important for you to be in a place where there is commotion or there is something happening?

Shinique: cause that's the sense of community right there. So for example after school when we all finish we're all at the bus stop and there is groups and crowds. It's not like 'oh you're by yourself and you feel lonely', but there is loads of people and you get a vibe of that, everybody is laughing, everybody is happy. But if you're by yourself, you're like 'oh man', you're not down necessarily but you're just solemn […] it's quite togetherness. To me, it kind of symboblises the playground as well because your play time is basically not over and you're able to be jokey and happy and laughing with your friends.

Institutional practices and individual attitudes discussed thus far are successful in deterring many young people from spending time in the redeveloped neighbourhood. Instead, some participants said they go to nearby parks where no one bothers them, others hang out on the main road at night, or go to the youth club when it is open. However, the latter seemed to mimic some of the area's wider patterns, as it continually suffered from low attendance rates throughout my time volunteering there. Young people and youth workers told me that few years ago the youth club used to be frequented by bigger numbers of teenagers. It is likely there is a range of factors contributing to this, such as the rise in online video gaming among young people and the increasing educational demands on secondary school students' time. For example, a number of participants told me that they used to go the youth club regularly when they were in primary school but that secondary school work leaves them no time to go anymore. However, participants also attributed the low attendance to the disruption caused by the regeneration and the general perception that the area is "*no longer a place where young people hang out*" (Grace, 15). Low turnout in itself can be a disincentive for young people to spend time at the youth club. Some would come for a short period of time and leave because there is no one for them to hang out with. Other participants

highlighted that outside of the youth club's limited opening hours (3 hours on weekdays), young people do not have alternative places to meet their friends for example on weekends.

*I feel like the regeneration is causing a lot of young people to not hang out in certain areas as much as they used to. I think it's because it looks so different – we aren't used to it [….] I feel like I can't act the same way because I don't know them (the new people who moved into the area). They might see me as someone who might cause trouble since I'm a teen – **Sandra, 15**.*

*There's not many places for kids to go other than there. (The youth club) is the only really safe place. And there's only one of it in this area and I don't think like they can fit a whole load of people in there. So I feel like there's not really many facilities – **Farah, 14**.*

*I mean (youth clubs) are good because they provide studios and all that for kids and give them opportunities. But, at the end of the day when the youth club closes there are still some kids who don't wanna go home, where do they go? They can't keep open forever – **Nia, 15**.*

The opening of the new football pitch (see section 5.3) seemed to be mitigating some of these effects. During the course of fieldwork, some young people told me that they started spending time again in the area because the pitch provides them with a safe space to socialise and play.

__Grace, 15__: We hang out there in the new pitch to watch the boys play. It's just a nice place to socialise as well. And it was a good investment making that new pitch.
__Researcher__: So you are happy they opened the new pitch? So tell me about it. In the previous sessions you talked a lot about ★★★ (a demolished area) and that lots of people used to hang out there. Tell me what do you like about it? are people starting to hang out there again?

__Soraya, 15__: Yeah and a good thing about it is that it inspired people. Like they used to like playing football, whereas in the old pitch they wouldn't really play football because it was a bit bad. But now more people are coming out and you can see on Snap[42] everyone is going there.
__Researcher__: Why was it bad before?

---

[42] In reference to Snap chat, the social media application.

> *Soraya*: Am not sure, I guess they just didn't like the feeling of the floor. But now that they've improved it, more people are coming.
>
> *Researcher*: Why is it important for you?
>
> *Soraya*: Just the fact that it's a new place to socialise, and that it's a cage as well, so it's not really open. It's open but it's not too open […] it has a gate. Instead of just hanging on the road, at least there is a place to hang out in, secure.

It remains, however, that discussions about young people during regeneration meetings mainly revolved around their 'criminal' or 'anti-social' behaviour, and the answer is usually more restrictions or policing. Where a few suggest different approaches, such as reaching out to young people, these are usually one-off initiatives that do not last long enough to have a meaningful impact. Crucially, young people were never part of these discussions.

7.2. Lack of influence on decision-making

Young people feel *'powerless'* in the face of the changes happening in their neighbourhood. They do not have influence on the decision-making processes and believe that their voices and needs are overlooked by the organisations leading the regeneration. The findings presented thus far demonstrate that young people have experiences and views about their area and its regeneration that can differ from adults and other social groups. Therefore, even though the regeneration project boasts high levels of residents' engagement and an active community organisation, lack of young people's participation has left them feeling excluded. Below is an interaction between Emma and her mum where the former is making the case why it is important that young people's opinions are taken into consideration.

> *Emma, 14*: We are the future. So at the end of the day, they (regeneration organisations) need to start listening to what we want and I am so happy am actually happy that I was asked to take part in this (research) because now I want people to hear this and to understand that it's not fair what they are doing. What they are doing; refurbishing the whole neighbourhood. One it's selfish, two it's a bit fishy it's a bit odd and three it's just upsetting, it's all upsetting and sad
>
> *Emma's mother*: But is it all negative? It's not all negative
>
> *Emma*: Am not saying…on my part I see it as…I do think the refurbishing is mostly negative. Other people would look at, other people will view it as different and say 'oh yeah let's level out the positives and negatives' and yeah that's what someone who wants

182

to bring everyone's opinions together, but you are neglecting us young people. You are asking everyone else, you are asking the elderly, you are asking middle aged people, you are asking everyone else but completely forgetting that we are here too. And we actually matter so much more than they think.

Young people were in fact invited to a few consultations over the course of the regeneration project, however these are predominantly perceived to be 'tokenistic' rather than genuine efforts to take their views into consideration. From the participants' perspective, their opinions shared at consultations do not get implemented and they usually do not hear back about how their contributions influenced the decisions taken. Evidence from the 2019 residents' survey commissioned by the housing organisations showed that 55 per cent of the 46 young people they interviewed felt they could not influence decisions affecting their local area, and 73% said their views had not been consulted. This is in stark contrast to only 15 per cent of adults saying they cannot influence decisions.

Owen, 14: you can't do anything about (the regeneration)
Researcher: why not?
Beth, 16: they are not gonna change anything, they are not gonna do what we want.
Owen: no one is gonna listen to us. These people are the worst.
Researcher: why do you think they are not going to listen?
Beth: Cause if they actually care, they would have asked. When they started the regeneration, they only asked us to make it look like they care and then at the end they do what they want.

Lack of influence on decision-making is also seen by young people as part of a wider problem beyond their local area, as expressed by Hasan, 13:

Because the government act as if they have their own mind and instead of asking the civilians et cetra et cetra, so then they just do it. They don't even question it, they just do it. So if they want to wreck something, they just plan it, they get the demolition people and they just knock it down.

Remarkably, young people's noninvolvement was the one thing that almost all participants regardless of age and role agreed on. Interviewees from the regeneration partner organisations (such as, the developer, housing association, community organisation and local authority)

acknowledged that they had not put the effort into including young people, as the below quotes demonstrate.

Of all the sociological groups which haven't been involved in the regeneration I must say young people stand out most. But it's no fault of theirs I'm not saying, it is not right. It's because, you know, I don't know, the effort hasn't been made I don't think yeah – **Community Organisation Director.**

There is very little in terms of what we've done with the youth. It is difficult, we haven't engaged young people – **Regeneration Project Manager, Local Authority.**

Consultation with young people has been more like a tick box exercise where we go ask young people at the youth club when they need them, but then never follow up - **Social and Economic Regeneration Manager, Housing Association.**

I've been in this area since 2011. I think the regeneration is happening to young people, rather than them being part of the conversation. So in a shorthand decisions are made somewhere else and then they come and find young people to rectify their decisions that have already been made. So people decide what they will bring in, what they will pay for, what they want and then young people will come to rubber stamp…It's massively tokenistic. Those young people are gonna grow up from childhood to parenthood while the regeneration is still happening around them and the likelihood is that they won't be able to live here, they will be forced out at some point and will not be part of what's happening here – **Youth Support and Development Team Leader, youth club, Local Authority.**

The initiatives that took place in the past years to get young people's views on the regeneration were sporadic and difficult to maintain. Interviewees told me there used to be a 'youth forum', but none of them seemed to recall what happened to it or why it does not exist anymore[43]. Also, some youth workers and young people from the youth club used to attend the monthly community organisation board meetings attended by the regeneration decision makers. However, after a few months young people stopped going and no one questioned the reason behind their absence. The youth club's team leader explained that they did not feel welcomed there, while the community organisation's director attributed it to staff changes.

---

[43] The regeneration partners are setting up another youth forum at the time of writing this. I presented findings from this chapter to the organisation commissioned with establishing the forum.

*Young people were not welcome in (community organisation meetings). We used to go every time but we stopped going. They would forget young people are on the agenda, sometimes young people would turn up and say 'oh you're not on the agenda this week'. It got so bad that my team were like 'why are we going?' We stopped going and no one asked, no one said anything. Young people would turn up and they would turn down the young people' […] When you are having the young people, how about put them on first and then ask them to go. They'll put you through the whole freakin annoying thing, they put them at the end, it was the most tokenistic BS – **Youth Support and Development Team Leader, youth club.**

There were clear differences in the level of preparation that went into organising consultations with young people compared to the general ones that were more geared towards adults (or not explicitly designed for young people). Based on my observations, the latter were more widely advertised and, despite having their own limitations, more effort was made to reach a bigger number of adult residents. For example, letters were sent to residents' homes and announcements made in the local newsletter prior to the consultations. Exhibitions of proposed redevelopments were organised in public spaces around the neighbourhood which lasted for a number of days, allowing people to give feedback and discuss issues with the developers and other regeneration organisations. This is in addition to feedback forms sent to all residents to give those who could not attend the consultations a chance to contribute their views. The equivalent did not take place in the case of youth consultations. Those were organised on a more ad hoc basis, for example where one or two representatives from the regeneration organisations would show up at the youth centre to talk with the young people who happen to be there that evening. This would normally be coordinated with the youth workers, but not widely promoted in advance to young people living on the estate or those who do not access the youth club. As a result, only a handful of young people get a chance to participate in these discussions. One participant, 14, suggested that regeneration partners should "come to our schools, talk to us, hold meetings, hold after school clubs, something like that". Such efforts, however, were not made to increase youth participation.

Another limitation is that consultations held with young people were usually designed around narrow and pre-defined questions that do not cover the range of issues related to how the regeneration is affecting young people's lives. For example, they aimed to get young people's feedback on what activities to include in a planned new park or a new community space. While these are important questions to ask, they do not give participants the chance to express their

concerns about other issues. Observing a consultation organised by the developer with a group of young people, I was surprised the latter did not mention many of the issues they brought up during my discussion with them a week later. When I asked about the reason, participants said that the organisers' questions had focused on issues that were not of interest to them or did not directly address how the regeneration affects their life.

> *Researcher: Can I ask you something? So when I was with you at the meeting last week, you didn't really say lots of these things, why?*
> *Grace, 15: I wanted to say it but they weren't asking us like… they were asking specific questions about the buildings and stuff. I was just like am not really interested, the buildings are not really gonna like…or like how can we make this area better but they didn't really ask us how it affected us or how we felt about it.*

Limiting the scope of consultations is sometimes intentional. In an interview with the councillor for the neighbourhood's ward, who also lives on the estate, she told me that planners are usually reluctant to raise expectations and then fail to meet them, therefore they tend to consult on "rigid things as opposed to consulting on broad matters like 'how you feel about an area'. This is one of the limitations of how they engage with young people, according to her. However, she also highlighted that the challenge with the more open approach is that it raises wider or structural problems beyond their capacity as local policy-makers to deal with.

> *That's quite a different way of doing things from how most consultations are set up where it's like 'we are introducing this measure, what do you think about this measure?', quite dry planning document. That is going to be quite difficult to get anybody but particularly young people to engage, whereas if you have a conversation with people about 'what do you value about this area, what you like about it' then you get much more back from that, people are more interested in that and want to share stuff but then it's difficult to manage expectations from that and demonstrating that you've actually done something in response to it. The worst thing is to speak to people and not do what they ask for – **Local councillor**.*

Underlying these shortcomings is an absence of institutional structures for the inclusion of children and young people in the ongoing regeneration discussions. No one is formally tasked with engaging with young people (or other excluded sub-populations for that matter like the elderly or people with disabilities), and there are no accountability measures in place to make sure it takes place

effectively. This is in contrast with for example statutory requirements on the local authority to consult with residents in general. Representatives of the regeneration bodies continually expressed their belief in the importance of including young people, and despite the failure to do so, systematic steps were not taken to rectify this failure. This issue was not a priority and usually failed to stay at the top of the agenda among the many other responsibilities and problems they are tasked to deal with. Every once in a while, an event or wider political interest (e.g. at the local authority level) would prompt a consultation with a group of young people without putting careful thinking into how to do it effectively and sustainably. There is also no local organisation (youth-led or otherwise) with the vested interest in advocating for young people's needs, as this quote from the youth club's team leader illustrates:

> *The problem is I am not in it politically, so am not wanting money from them. Say if we were a voluntary organisation and we desperately needed money, I can imagine we would be knocking down on people's doors and going 'young people need stuff'. Actually we don't need their money. Actually we are funded by a local authority that's doing ok. So I personally haven't got the desire to be political about it. So (we) are not doing anything about it because it doesn't really matter –* **Youth Support and Development Team Leader, youth club**

A few participants referred to their 'low status in society' as one of the reasons for their lack of influence on their area's regeneration. This relates their young age, as well as theirs and their families' social class or socio-economic status. Young people felt disempowered and that their parents are also constrained in what they can do to help.

> *We don't really have any say in it because no one is gonna listen to young people and say 'ah yeah, just because young people don't want it to happen we're not gonna do it,' that's not going to happen, but I suppose our society has become very divided depending on your status, depending on what class you're in … no one is gonna listen to the working class, but at the end of the day the working class is holding up the people who are in the middle and at the highest, so they are not taking into consideration what we want. That's just how divided society has become. And it just comes from a little matter like this about wanting to redevelop an area. It just sparks my nerves, it annoys me so much –* **Emma, 14.**

This does not mean, however, that young people were not engaged in other ways. Some of the participants were members of groups or youth forums aiming to influence local authority-wide

policies or specific youth services. A common feature in these forums is that they were facilitated by adults who put time and effort to build trusted relationships with the young people and whose aim is to create a supportive space for them to voice their opinions. To what extent these initiatives are effective is beyond the scope of this thesis since they were not addressing the regeneration.

7.3. Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has demonstrated how the regeneration exacerbates young people's stigmatisation and social exclusion. Preconceptions about low-income teenagers as disruptive and perpetrators of anti-social behaviour and crime translate into coordinated exclusionary practices by the regeneration organisations and local institutions and facilities. The lack of meaningful youth participation in the regeneration decisions adds to their marginalisation. Despite the decision makers' desire to include young people, institutional structures and accountability systems that would allow this to happen effectively are absent. Chapter 9 discusses the effect of these mechanisms on participants' valued capabilities of mobility, being respected, playing or being active, having fun, socialising with friends, community belonging, autonomy and influence over decisions affecting their lives.

The upcoming chapter will address the final mechanism of community breakdown.

8. Community breakdown

The community is destroyed for me – Anna, 13

The regeneration process has disrupted and broken up many young people's local network of friendships and community relations. While this has affected everyone in the community, it is most strongly felt by older teenagers who have lived in the area all their lives and/or whose social networks are embedded in its community.

Participants of all ages told me stories of the thriving close-knit community that used to exist in their housing estate. They talked of a community that was *'filled with families'*, where *'they all used to know each other'*, were *'always in and out of each other's houses'*, and celebrated birthdays and weddings together. Children attended the local schools and played together in the courtyards outside the flats. A testament to this are two books published by the community organisation documenting the history of the estate and its community since the first families moved there in 1948 up until the time of the regeneration. Through the words, photographs and memories of its members, the books tell a story of a long-standing community spirit, solidarity and resolve in the face of change.

The historical significance of the estate further enriched the sense of community among its inhabitants. It was a model for post-war Britain's social housing and a showcase of William Beveridge's welfare state, according to one of the books. The area was home to the first purpose-built mixed comprehensive school in London, and the first ever National Health Service (NHS) health centre. It was a self-sufficient community with all the services and facilities within walking distance, including a primary and a secondary school, a public library, a health centre, play areas, parks, and a parade of shops. This meant residents spent considerable amounts of time within the area building long-term social networks. However, according to interviews with key community actors, things started to change first when the Right to Buy came into effect in the 1980s and then more recently with the estate's demolition and its transformation into a mixed tenure development.

For young people, the loss of community spirit was at the top of their concerns about the impact of the regeneration on their lives. Having friendships and close relationships with their neighbours was for them one of the main benefits of living in their area. Below is an excerpt from a group

discussion with young people who grew up on the estate talking about how the redevelopment affected their local relationships.

> *Candice, 14: I want how the old (name of case study area) used to be back. But then again…no, I just want it to be how it was when, yes, the old (name of case study area) I want that back. I don't want the regeneration.*
> *Researcher: Okay, what does that mean to you? Why do you want it back?*
> *Nia, 15: I liked the old area. I mean sure the houses were old, were old old but I liked it because the community was stronger. And we knew each other like, I see her come out and I say 'Hey, how are you? you came from school? Yeah. I came from school as well' I knew everyone, everything was cool. Oh, yeah, she's going to the park down there. Let's go play football, let's do this. We knew everyone but now it feels like strangers have just invaded it and started to change what we knew what we grew up to do*
> *Sheela, 14: The old (name of area) it was more connected.*

8.1. Limited opportunities for socialising

A lack of opportunities for young people to meet and socialise in the area is among the cited reasons for diminishing their sense of community. This is a product of two previously discussed regeneration-related processes: First, the exclusionary and policing practices by local public and private institutions, which deter young people from spending time in the area. And second, the demolition and neglect of the communal spaces which used to help participants foster and maintain friendships within the neighbourhood, such as playgrounds, parks and football pitches. Known as young people's 'hang out areas', they used to go there expecting to always see familiar faces.

Some of the demolished spaces, more specifically the football pitch and playground, had special significance to young people and the community because they had been the product of a campaign by the residents who signed a petition and won government funding to build them years before the regeneration started. In fact, when young people had found out about the plans to remove the football pitch in the late 2000s, some held a sit-in there for days to stop its demolition. Afterwards, a meeting was held at the youth club where young people were promised another pitch in the new development. The next day they woke up and it was gone. Fortunately, a new football pitch was in fact put up in the redeveloped area after another community campaign (see section 5.3).

190

However, in the five to eight years between the demolition of their spaces and building a new one, young people's local social networks and community friendships were negatively impacted.

*When the regeneration first started, we were unhappy about it because they removed the football pitch that used to be here. There also used to be two parks, a big one and small one. This used to be an area where young people would come and chill out. Now after they removed these areas, young people have no place to hang out and everyone just dispersed and got caught up in bad things – **James, 21**.*

*The old blocks of (name of neighbourhood). That was a community where everyone just chills but now it just got broken down it's ruining where people hang and stuff – **Jess, 15**.*

8.2. Demolition, disruption and displacement

Another factor that contributed to the disruption of young people's friendships in the area, from their point of view, is the displacement of their friends' families either outside of the neighbourhood while their homes are being demolished or to a different part of the estate in the new development. For example, William, 16, who lives in one of the council blocks yet to be demolished, talked about how he longs for *'going out and about with his friends'* in the area, but has not been able to do so in the past few years because they moved houses, in some cases within the neighbourhood. This could possibly be an effect of the estate being spread out on a big piece of land and divided by a large and busy thoroughfare where moving on the other side of it might seem like moving to another area.

***William**: I used to (have friends in the area) but they all left.*
***Researcher**: Oh where did they go and why did they leave?*
***William**: It's because they moved to some of the new builds. They are not exactly off the estate but they've gone far I think. I lost contact and they don't really come around here in my area anymore.*
***Researcher**: so they moved out of the neighbourhood?*
***William**: I think so. Either that or they just don't come out anymore. I just don't see them anywhere any more…I don't know where they are anymore.*

Amanda and Jane, who both grew up in the area and now live with their children in social housing, explained that many of their friends and neighbours were '*decanted*' [44]. Even though they had the right to come back, some chose not to because "*it was years down the line, people were settled into a new place, into a new way of life, so a lot of them never come back. So people I grew up with are gone,*" said Amanda. Others were given more suitable housing (e.g. with gardens for their children) further away from the area and eventually stopped visiting. They also think the design of the new housing is not as conducive of neighbourly interactions as the old ones.

> *Personally I don't want to move into them (the new blocks) and I am taking steps to move from the estate. They look very nice outside and they look nice and shiny. To me they look more like holiday homes rather than a home, and the entrance and everything is too hotel. So there's a lot of people that are isolated. I find that very isolating. And people say that they may not see their neighbours for months. And they live next door, which is really sad […] People do try and keep the community spirit because there is still a big community spirit here but not as it was* – **Jane, social housing tenant and community activist.**

Having said that, unlike what is common in similar regeneration projects, efforts are made in the case study area to avoid as much as possible moving people outside of the area. Because of the phased nature of the regeneration, it was only in the first stage that tenants were moved by the local authority outside of the neighbourhood to allow for the demolition of their buildings and constructing new properties in their place. Thereafter residents are moved only once directly into their new homes. Nonetheless, in an interview with the local authority's decant manager[45], he said that about 340 households moved out of the area permanently. The majority of these (about 200) were leaseholders who had bought their homes through Right to Buy but could not afford to buy in the new development. The rest were social housing residents and constituted only about 5% of the social housing tenants whose homes have been demolished. He added that those who left were more likely to be families with children.

---

[44] Decanted is the word used by housing professionals to describe moving residents from their homes to allow for their demolition.

[45] The decant manager is responsible for moving and rehousing council tenants during the regeneration.

8.3. Fragmentation between old and new residents

Moreover, the young participants expressed a sense of community fragmentation as new people moved into the area to occupy the new private housing. As discussed previously, the social distance between private housing residents and teenagers is driven by the demographic and socio-economic mismatch between the two groups (see section 6.2). For example, there are no teenagers residing in the private housing whom participants can potentially befriend, play or go to school with. Also, living in different housing blocks with visible differences in living standards creates a social divide.

> *It (the regeneration) is good but also at the same time it's breaking the community because new people that we don't know are coming…they seem alright but I've never actually talked to any of them – **Sarah, 15**.*

> *Now no one knows anyone with the new people who moved into the area. No one talks to them. In the past we all used to know each other in the area, now no one knows each other's name – **Andy, 23***

Adult participants also pointed out that private housing residents are generally not very integrated in the community. They attributed this to their transience (75% of households in the private properties are renting their homes) and lower tendency to spend time in the area or use its facilities especially if they do not have children. They also mentioned that social and private housing residents lack commonalities that would normally bring people together. They occupy different social circles, send their children to different nurseries and schools, go out in different places, etc.

> *I mean, like, if you're renting maybe you're not necessarily invested…I think there is a lot of rented there's quite a few apartments that are owned by people who come here for two months of the year, are empty. Others, I think partly it's a lack of communication or understanding of what (the community organisation) does, you have to seek out the information. Social media is only just now started becoming something they are using, so it's been hard to find information about what they do. But also I'm not sure how to involve people. How do you get people to feel enthusiastic about their communities? It's something that happens when they've lived somewhere a while and they've had a reason to engage with special services. Like, I'm really passionate about (name of case study area) because they have wonderful playgrounds and all these kinds of things. But if I didn't have a daughter who loves running around, maybe I'm not gonna hang out in (name of*

*case study area). So maybe I won't develop that interest and passion and want to be involved in anything – **Kelly, homeowner.***

*When you asked is the area integrated, it's not that obvious. When I go out to the playground with my daughter, people naturally group around certain common characteristics they have, so either they live in the same blocks or their kids go to the same school or they go to the same church and if you don't have anything in common, if you don't share anything with any of these groups then it's really hard to get integrated, you're kind of on the sideline. Frankly we didn't, I mean I didn't share anything with, or my daughter didn't go to school here, we're new to the neighbourhood – **Zoe, private renter.***

Both Kelly and Zoe told me they made a choice to send their children to private primary schools for a number of reasons. They have concerns about the high level of deprivation among children at the local state schools, their family values, the schools' limited capacity to deal with those who do not get enough support at home and the big class sizes. Zoe and her partner also mentioned that many people in the private blocks, including themselves, send their children to private nurseries because the state-funded children's centre on the estate does not accommodate children under 2 and is only open until 3 pm leaving them with a gap of three hours until they can pick them up after work. This makes it harder for kids in different housing tenures to integrate, according to them.

*The class sizes were really a big issue for me. 30 is the standard across the UK. In her (private) school it's 16 […] I also I wasn't sure how the school would be dealing with the fact that they have quite a high level of deprivation, and quite a high level of free – well I guess everyone gets Free School Meals – but quite a low socio-economic background for a lot of their students. How do they deal with that? Given the funding they're receiving from ★★★ Council […] My concern is that there just isn't enough money to go around to meet the children's needs. And if there isn't enough money, things will be getting cut all the time. And if you don't have to put your child in that, I didn't want to – **Kelly, homeowner***

***Zoe, private renter**: I mean, I don't think it's about how rich or poor the background they are coming from, I don't think it's a matter of money. It's really the values, because it's not just about deprived. Nothing wrong obviously with the child, but you don't know how the school caters for this, how the energy and focus gets consumed by kids who need*

more attention because they simply don't have support at home. And, you know, if their values are not coming from home, how is the kid meant to grasp what are the values they should foster?

Researcher: What sort of values? what do you mean by problematic?

Zoe: Well, I don't know. I mean, I don't know. But I'm just thinking like, are there many sort of maybe not technically single parents but practically where not both parents are really involved or present. I mean I don't want to

David, Zoe's partner: and if you have people that are working two jobs to get by and they just don't have as much time to spend with their kids, if they can't get into the daycare here and a nursery and they can't afford the private nursery and they're sort of you know, with different relatives different days of the week, but they're just not used to being with kids their age.

Zoe: I mean I think for me as a woman, it's also what perceptions do they get on what are the roles of different people in their families […] in the sense, you know, if they come from a, not meaning to be disrespectful, there's nothing wrong with a traditional upbringing but I do have some reservations about very

David, Zoe's partner: your grandma doesn't get to touch the bills. She's only allowed in the kitchen.

Zoe: So some stereotypes, and what you're supposed or not supposed to do

Researcher: you mean gender?

Zoe: Well, either gender based or race based or whatever. And yes gender based is the sort of obvious one you know. I think it can be any.

The community organisation have made it one of their top priorities to build back the community and achieve social cohesion between people living in different housing tenures. They consider this to be a very crucial role in a context where the property developer lack knowledge about community building. When the developer attempted to change the name of the neighbourhood to signify its renewal at an earlier stage of the regeneration, they vehemently resisted it out of fear that the old community is being supplanted by a new one. Even though the community organisation has been led by representatives of social housing tenants, they wanted to make sure private housing residents get an equal say in the regeneration when they move into the area. Therefore, the latter now elect representatives to sit on the community organisation's board and participate in the regeneration discussions with other stakeholders. Indeed over the course of fieldwork, based on my observations of the community organisation's monthly board meetings, there was increasing involvement from the private homeowners, who were interested in having

more say in the decision-making process. There are also a number of community events and seasonal festivals that aim to revive the community spirit. According to participants from both social and private housing, these events have gradually improved the overall sense of community in the area over the past years.

> *This is something we have concentrated on, we're much more involved with trying to build the community and all the issues which are part of that. Which again, it isn't always easy, but you know, at the start I was involved, you would go to meetings, someone like (property developer) really hadn't the faintest idea of how to build a community. You know, they're very good at bricks and mortar and building homes. But the wider aspect of it, they didn't really sort of know about […] our sort of principle is we're trying to build the balance in the new created community. I mean, that's what our motive is right? And to do that we have to be balanced and sort of integrated ourselves – **Gareth, social housing tenant and director of the community organisation**.*

Children and younger teenagers (12 and 13 year-olds) seem to be in a better position to benefit from these community-building efforts. As mentioned before, community events, playgrounds, etc. are more catered for younger children. Therefore, they have more opportunities to interact and build friendships with people their age in the new playgrounds and by participating in community activities and events with their families. Some told me they have good relationships with their next-door neighbours. For example, Sarah, 13, attends the cooking club at the community centre with her mother and younger brother. Caroline, 13, said her neighbours make them sweets when they help them out, and Malik, 13, said he plays with the other children who recently moved into their new block and goes with them on trips during the holidays. Generally, there were more positive attitudes among younger participants about community relations, compared to older teenagers.

8.4. Conclusion

To sum up, a combination of factors contribute to breaking young people's community relationships, particularly those aged 14 and above. These include, the demolition and neglect of spaces where they used to meet and spend time, failure on the part of the developer to provide an alternative for years until the new play areas are built, losing touch with their friends who were displaced because of the regeneration, and finally the overall lack of social mixing between social and private housing residents. This is exacerbated by local facilities' and institutions' deliberate

actions to restrict teenagers' presence in public spaces. All these mechanisms impede on young people's valued freedom to have a social life which includes forming and maintaining friendships, and belonging to and being part of a supportive community. Younger children and teenagers, however, are more likely to benefit from the community activities and have overall more positive social relations with their neighbours.

Having examined the four central processes through which the regeneration relates to young people's neighbourhood experiences, the next chapter will focus on their combined effect on participants' valued capabilities.

9. Are young people able to convert their redeveloped area's resources into valued capabilities?

This chapter synthesises the findings and themes presented in the previous four chapters and posits them through the capability approach lens. It re-visits young people's valued capability clusters presented in chapter 4 and discusses how they are influenced by the mixed income regeneration of their neighbourhood. In other words, it addresses how the mechanisms discussed in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 affect young people's valued capabilities. A key element of this analysis is examining young people's ability to benefit from the neighbourhood resources brought by the regeneration.

The regeneration has transformed the physical, social and service infrastructure of the area. The old council buildings have been, and still are being, demolished and replaced with new housing for residents with a mix of income levels. The neighbourhood's built environment has been improved and complemented with green landscaping. There are new facilities and services including a community centre, a park, playgrounds, a gym, a nature reserve, shops, restaurants and a refurbished youth club. The regeneration has also attracted a more affluent population, and new businesses into the area. This is in addition to the increased security and policing efforts and dedicated attention from local public and private institutions (e.g. regular neighbourhood and regeneration meetings and consultations). Findings presented in this chapter address the factors that influence young people's ability to convert these resources into valued beings and doings. They also explain why there could be differences among young people in their ability to convert these resources.

To briefly recap, according to the capability approach, people's freedoms and opportunities (i.e. capabilities) to achieve their valued beings and doings depend not only on the resources available to them, but also the extent to which they are able to transform these resources into capabilities. There are personal (e.g. disabilities, sex and skills), social (e.g. norms, social hierarchies, etc.) and environmental factors (e.g. the built environment) that influence people's abilities to convert resources. Thus, the conversion factors, and in turn capabilities, vary by context and between individuals. Additionally, the effect of a specific conversion factor on capabilities can depend on the other personal and social resources a person has, as well as other conversion factors (Robeyns 2017).

When it comes to analysing specific cases, the distinctions between resources (particularly non-monetary ones), capabilities and conversion factors are not always apparent, and will depend on the research aims. This is largely because the nature of what constitutes the three concepts is not different, thus the boundaries between them can get blurred. In one analysis a factor can act as a conversion factor (e.g. reading skills), in another it can be a resource or a capability. Choices about how to categorise the different social, personal and environmental factors will depend on the aims of the social inquiry or analysis conducted. For example, I classify the new businesses in the neighbourhood as a resource produced by the regeneration and I analyse to what extent young people can convert them into their valued capabilities of employment opportunities. The reason for this is that one of the benefits of mixed income regeneration envisaged by its proponents is that it will attract investments and revitalise local economies, thereby creating job opportunities for residents of deprived neighbourhoods. Since one of the main aims of this thesis is to understand how young people's capabilities are influenced by the regeneration, I make a choice to consider the new businesses a resource. However, in another analysis they could be considered a conversion factor if the goal is, for example, to determine people's abilities to convert their educational qualifications (a resource) into valued freedoms.

Moreover, depending on the context, capabilities are not only affected by the ability to convert resources. They can be directly influenced by a person's social or environmental context. For example, the fact that young people are not effectively included in the regeneration's decision-making processes restricts their valued capability of having influence on decisions affecting their lives. It is not, however, related to converting a specific resource.

With these caveats in mind, this chapter argues that the regeneration imposes restrictions on many of young people's valued capabilities through the mechanisms of (1) dispossession, (2) social division and inequality, (3) stigmatisation and exclusion, and (4) community breakdown. Some of these mechanisms act as barriers to converting the neighbourhood resources into their valued beings and doings. The mechanisms do not always affect all young people equally, however. They interact with personal and other social factors whereby among young people some are more successful than others in converting resources or are not as vulnerable to capability constraints. This results in varying capabilities based on their gender, age, ethnic background, relative disadvantage, previous experiences and current life circumstances. Moreover, the chapter demonstrates the important role of the community organisation and the youth club as key to mitigating the negative impact of the regeneration on young people's capabilities.

The rest of the chapter will address how the capabilities within each of the five clusters are influenced by the regeneration. In each section, conversion factors are discussed including how their effect varies among young people.

9.1. Cluster 1
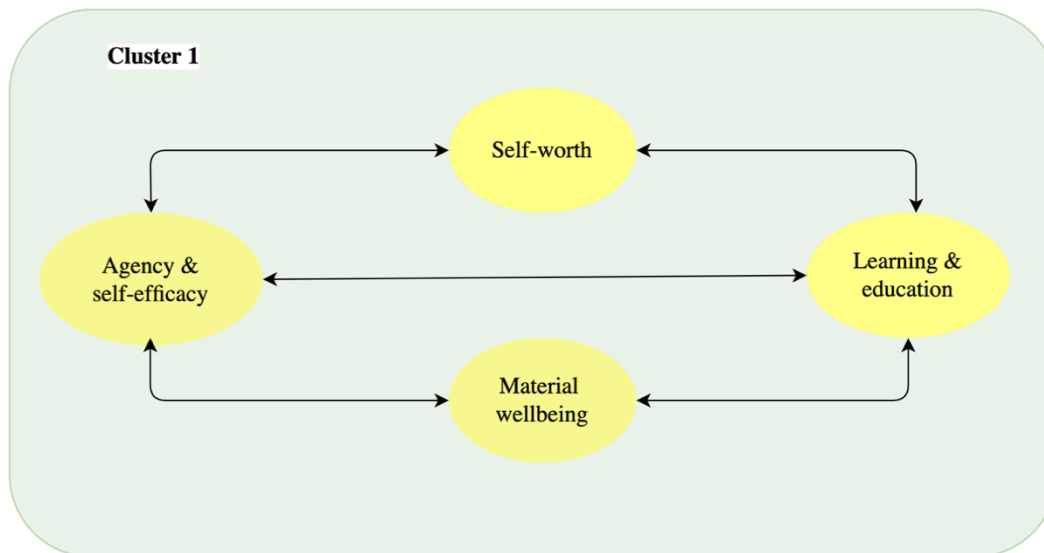
To reiterate from chapter 4, cluster 1 is about young people's agency to achieve their aspirations and goals in life and have a 'good' future in terms of their careers, building a family, and living a comfortable life without being forced to resort to illegal pathways. A big part of this success is related to material wellbeing, which is understood in this context as their ability to achieve financial security and have well-paid jobs. The capability of education and learning is instrumental for the agency to achieve and self-efficacy. Overall, being able to do well for oneself is linked to self-worth. The latter is about the sense of one's own value.

Findings show that some young people's freedom to achieve through legal means is negatively influenced by the regeneration through the combined effect of: (1) barriers to access job opportunities and build their employment skills, and (2) restrictions on their families' material wellbeing due to the higher costs of the new social housing, which adds to their already difficult financial situations.

Young people have restricted opportunities to access jobs and build employment skills, and the regeneration does not expand this valued capability. They are not able to fully benefit from the increasing number of local businesses that opened as part of the regeneration of their neighbourhood and across the whole borough. As a regeneration resource, it could be argued that it is not adequate for disadvantaged young people. My interview with the local authority worker revealed that many of these companies (most of which are in the tech and media sectors) are unwilling and/or do not have capacity to invest in training low-skilled young people through work placements (see section 5.3). They have high expectations and prefer to employ people with experience. Many are small startups with limited resources. Despite the high supply of young people wishing to join these placements, there is insufficient demand.

> *A lot of them are small companies who want to help but they just don't have the resources. Some are welcoming and some are like 'yeah, we're happy to bring on a young person', but they may have high expectations for that person. And we're kind of going there and telling them, like, these young people who probably have never been in a work environment, this is their chance to kind of gain those skills, so try not to have a high level of expectation -* **Nicole, Youth Engagement Officer.**

As for the apprenticeships offered by the regeneration's property developer, many young people were not informed about them and they do not seem to be very effective in developing the skills of those who do. Furthermore, unlike policy expectations, the presence of more affluent neighbours does not have an impact on youths' social capital or access to job networks due to the distance between the two groups. There is also evidence (based on interviews and fieldwork for this study) that the young people are perceived as lacking initiative and aspirations by some public and third sector workers providing employment support services, which arguably act as a barrier for them to benefit from these services (see section 5.3). Therefore, participants do not experience an expansion in their capabilities of material wellbeing, agency, or learning through these mechanisms.

> *You don't see any of these people (living in private housing) interacting with the young people, they keep themselves to themselves and we keep ourselves to ourselves. They're on their side, we're on our side sort of thing. They are not doing no work experience, they're not getting entrepreneurs to talk to young people, they're not getting…those sort of things will motivate the young people, but they're not doing these things –* **Joseph, 18**.

Researcher: Do you think the young people in this area have the freedom to have a successful future?

Kemal, 13: No, because the jobs round here are low paid jobs like corner shops and chicken chip shops.

At the same time, participants' material wellbeing and education and learning are worsened indirectly through parental mediation mechanisms. The higher costs of the new social housing (rents, bills and service charges) put pressure on parents' finances affecting their material wellbeing and their ability to provide for their children's needs (e.g. clothes and extracurricular activities), thereby constraining the capabilities of basic needs and learning. This capability deprivation is exacerbated by structural constraints caused by a decade-long nationwide austerity measures disproportionately affecting low-income families with children.

As a result, some young people pursue illicit ways of making money to cover their own expenses and to help their families. Facing barriers to finding jobs either due to their young age, lack of skills, or stigmatisation, some see crime as the only choice. This choice becomes easier to make or is facilitated if their friends or other people within their social circle are also following it. If this pathway is pursued, their capability of education is negatively affected.

So the fact that the price range is increasing massively, I don't agree with drug dealing, but like it's their (people selling drugs) only source to get money to actually be able to look after their families. And if the price range is going up and up and up, what are they gonna do? They can get a job yeah, but…going to the job centre, I've never been to a job centre obviously am too young but I've heard stories about the job centre and I know that the job centre is very stressful, it's long queues, it's long, it's very long. So, sometimes people resort to drug dealing, people resort to doing stupid things and yeah you can't justify what they are doing but I don't blame them, I don't disagree with what they are doing – **Emma, 14.**

It (the regeneration) makes people jealous who live in this part of the area to see all that rich bits and they don't have enough money to afford it and they want to get it to they get into crime. So they go rob the corner shops and stuff like that – **Mustafa, 13.**

Moreover, young people's capability of self-worth seems to be diminished as they perceive the differences between themselves and the more privileged households now living on the estate. This was evident in some participants discussions, for example when Anna, 13 said "*the way the rich people live, how they look, and their lifestyle is humiliating*". Emma, 14, also talked about how she thinks she is being '*looked down on*' by the people who have '*come in, settled down, and have a got a nice house*' (see section 6.1). These mechanisms are also related to the capability of social status, which will be discussed in detail in section 9.2.

Having said that, even though young people's neighbourhood environment has an influence on their agency to achieve legally, it does not affect everyone equally. Many participants expressed a very high sense of self-efficacy. They thought that if they put their mind into achieving something, they will be able to, even if their neighbourhood context does not help. They argued that while they do not get the same opportunities as others from more advantaged families, they still have agency to rise above the challenges and succeed in realising their goals in life.

> *Researcher: If we are thinking about young people in (the case study area) in general, who go to school here or who live here, do you think they have for example the opportunity or freedom to be successful in life?*
>
> *Shinique, 17: I mean we all have an opportunity but it's not as fair as let's say the people from a different type of class. I was also gonna say that most of us are brought up in an environment, so it makes us a product of it. So, if you are growing up to violence, you're gonna forget about all of this, you're gonna forget about your chances of success, you're gonna throw that away cause you wanna be like the people in your area and stuff like that, so it does kind of. But some people don't look at that, they look over it and that can actually help them get out and then they can get the chances that other people have.*
>
> *I don't think that living here benefits you, but I don't think it prevents you from doing anything you want to do. Let's say for example, you personally want to be successful. You work hard in school and there are universities like Oxford and Cambridge they are looking for more people to take in with like diverse backgrounds so then that could possibly help you to get in that. And then from there just work hard and become successful. Like I said, nothing really prevents you from doing anything you want to do – Damien, 16.*

There are three factors that contributed to young people's varying capabilities within this cluster. The first is their age. Participants talked about the difficulties of finding jobs where they are paid enough to cover their living expenses and relieve pressure on their families. However, they argued that younger teenagers (less than 16 years old) face even worse limitations when it comes to this capability, making them more vulnerable to getting involved in illegal activities, as the discussion between Jack and Andrew shows.

> *Jack, 15: A normal boy living in an environment like this, to acquire money they need to either ask their parents or do something that may lead them going to jail*
>
> *Andrew, 16: I agree*
>
> *Jack: so that's it and when they are at an older age that's when they can try to get a job, but not everyone could get a job, so what do they do when they want money?*
>
> *Andrew: sell drugs*
>
> *Jack: or do fraud to acquire what they need. Because you can't be asking your mum for money every single like*
>
> *Andrew: or some people will carry drugs for other people, holding drugs. Cause let's say if you are younger, you have less experience and most jobs they look for people that have at least some type of experience, so by the age of 16 you do work experience at school so you have that, and then by 16 have a CV, you should have a CV and from there your job career can start. But at 12 you don't think about having a CV, you just think about having the money, how you're gonna get the money, play with your friends, so the mentality changes as you get older.*

Joseph added that younger teenagers tend to have a lower sense of self-efficacy, making them more prone to risky behaviours if their parents are struggling because of regeneration induced higher costs of living and inequality.

> *I can understand. I don't wanna judge everyone but like quite a few young people that I've come across they are weak-minded, and I don't think it's their fault but I think they haven't reached that level of maturity to make that decision. It's usually like heaven and hell. You are living in hell and you wanna go to heaven, so you wanna do whatever it takes to get there because seeing just…Imagine you're a homeless person sleeping in front of a mansion, you wanna be able to go inside of that mansion, you wanna see how it feels – Joseph, 18.*

The second personal conversion factor responsible for variation in capabilities within this cluster is social capital. Young people's and/or their families' social networks are crucial in their knowledge about opportunities. For example, William's mother was instrumental in finding him the apprenticeship with the developer (see section 5.3). She has access to information through her local relationships by virtue of her role as a community organisation board member. In contrast, Grace (see below) rated her freedom to achieve the future she wants as red (i.e. least level of freedom[46]) because even though she has a dream to open her own beauty business she does not have the knowledge and skills to take steps to achieve it.

> *I put the future as red because I know what I want to do but I don't necessarily know how to get there. Like, what I wanna do in the future, it's not like really school-based, it's about what I can do for myself now. I can start now and everything, but I just don't know how am gonna get there –* **Grace, 15**.

It remains the case, however, that if the jobs available to young people are low waged, and employers from higher paid sectors are not willing to train them, their capabilities will still be limited even if they have social capital as a personal resource.

A third factor that ameliorated against the capability restrictions discussed above is the presence of positive role models and supportive adults in young people's lives. Successful role models, such as parents, relatives and neighbours who set a positive example for participants influence their perceptions about their ability to achieve without having to resort to illicit means. Likewise, my time volunteering at the youth club demonstrated how youth workers are key in supporting young people and steering them away from following risky and illegal behaviours. Youth workers built close relationships with many of the young people, enabled a safe space for them to discuss problems and seek advice, encouraged them to believe in themselves, and helped them with their schoolwork and applications to jobs and post-secondary education.

> *You see in the youth club, you're kind of like treated, you're not really treated as a young child or either in primary but you're treated equally […] I like the youth club workers because they take the time out of their lives to support us as children and make sure that we're cool –* **Caroline, 13**.

---

[46] During participatory group sessions, participants ranked the level of freedom/opportunities they have to achieve their valued beings and doings on a three point scale: Green, orange and red, corresponding to maximum, medium and minimum level of freedom.

> *Researcher: Do you think the people that live in this area have the freedom to be successful, to have successful careers?*
>
> *Hasan, 13: Yes, they do cause like my uncle. Do you know the school called ★★★? It's a secondary school. But back in the day apparently it was like a really bad school. There was a lot of fights. My uncle used to go to that school, but even though he was involved in the fights as well, he was still able to come out successful.*

Supportive adults also facilitated spaces for young people to voice their concerns about their local area and advocate for changes, an important capability in cluster 2 which is discussed in the following section.

9.2. Cluster 2
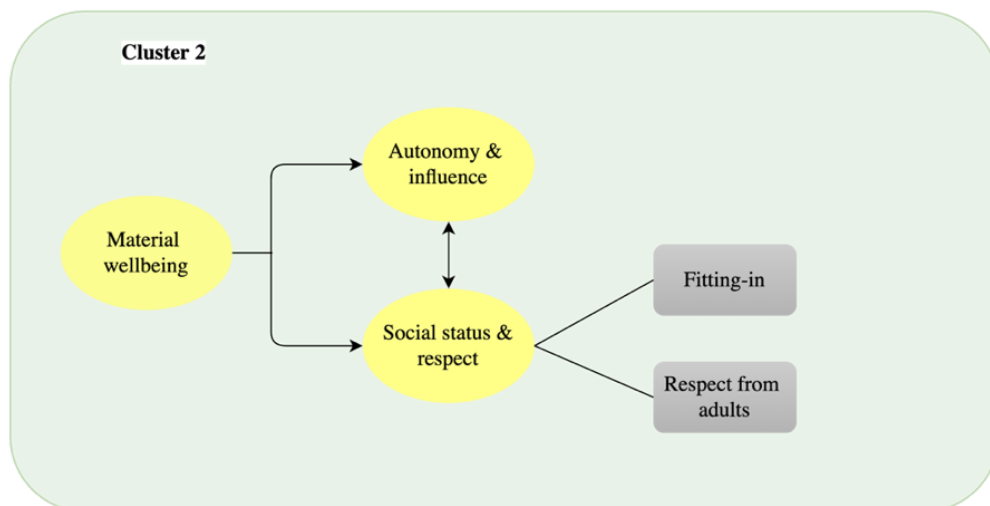
Cluster 2 consists of participants' capability of social status and respect, which is defined as their ability to be acknowledged and valued in society. Related to this is the capability of autonomy and influence over decisions affecting their lives. The third capability within this cluster is material wellbeing, which is instrumental for both status and influence. It protects against the shame and stigma of poverty. It is mentioned in chapter 4 that capabilities within this cluster are viewed not only as personal freedoms but also as collective ones (see section 4.2). As a social group, young people from working- and lower-class backgrounds value being recognised, treated with respect and having influence over what happens in their local environment.

Young people consider the whole regeneration project as a diminution of theirs and their low-income families' status and respect in society. It is the collective aspect of these capabilities that is largely impacted by the regeneration. Many of the regeneration processes described in chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 communicated to young people that they are no longer wanted or welcomed in the neighbourhood, that they are being dispossessed of their neighbourhood and pushed out of it and that their opinions and needs do not matter. The mechanisms involved in these capability deprivations include: (1) the money-oriented nature of the regeneration; (2) the prioritisation of wealthier residents' needs and services, (3) the stigmatisation and exclusion of young people, (4) the inequalities between them and more affluent residents, and (5) their limited participation in the regeneration. Underlying these capability limitations and the processes driving them are wider socio-economic structural factors related to young people's and their families' position in society. Therefore, while participants' personal freedoms are influenced by the mechanisms discussed above, a big part of these influences are experienced collectively by virtue of belonging to a socially marginalised group whether that corresponds to their age, social class, ethnicity or an intersection between the three.

Young people think their area is being gentrified and their families are being pushed out and replaced by more affluent people. They believe the aim behind the regeneration is to generate capital for the organisations leading it, rather than improve their lives. Interviews with community organisation board members and analysis of official regeneration documentation confirmed that these perceptions are not far from reality. There is a projected net loss in social housing, which is driven by the developer's inflated profit levels (see section 5.1). Additionally, the higher house prices and rent levels mean that only those who can afford them will be able to stay in the area.

> *I think what will happen is that people will still be getting social housing, fact. But people that will stay will be those who can pay the rent, so people who can keep up with the payment, it won't be people who are working minimum wage or who have health issues or special education needs, it will be people who can benefit the big society. That's what will happen -* **Youth Support and Development Team Leader, Youth Club.**

Since the start of the regeneration, young people have witnessed a gradual shift in local services and facilities, which are increasingly catering for the more affluent residents. Teenagers are among the most disadvantaged groups by this shift. They are not welcomed at many of the new facilities, which have increasingly also become unaffordable (i.e. constraining their material wellbeing). In some cases prices of the new facilities (e.g. the gym and café) are increased deliberately to

discourage teenagers from accessing them, because they are considered a nuisance to the more affluent customers. This process is very clear in the case of the café owner who at the beginning was offering his food at affordable prices and attracting many of the estate's youth. He then "*realised (they) need to choose what kind of customer (they) are going to sell the food*", eventually choosing the affluent customers by increasing their prices and changing the menu. Another example is the water sports centre's management that no longer have an incentive to reach out to the estate's youth. Even though they offer concessions for families claiming welfare benefits, their youth activities are usually fully booked by full-paying customers. These shifts in service provision signal to young people that the needs of the new more affluent residents are more important than them.

Moreover, many of the spaces young people used to access have been demolished or left unmaintained for many years (e.g. football pitches and parks). They have been replaced by a children's playground, which is better suited to the needs of the private housing residents. They are more likely to be young professionals and families with small children. The new green spaces are perceived to be designed mainly as a visual element that is attractive for homebuyers and property investors, rather than being a functional space where people can sit and play.

> *Zakaria, 14: We don't get nothing…they only care about other people, they don't care about us, the kids, all they care about are just adults. They don't do anything good for us.*
> *Researcher: Why do you think that's so?*
> *Zakaria: because they would have done something, they've only like the new blocks for the rich people, they haven't done nothing for us.*
> *Beth,16: There was a big park in my area that everyone went to and they knocked it down for the new blocks. And that new park is crap as well, it's absolutely crap. The park in my area was way better, everyone was happy, everyone was happy and when they knocked it down, no one liked it. And the astroturf that was there as well, everyone used to play football there.*

Moreover, the public-private partnerships enabled by the regeneration exacerbated young people's stigmatisation, control and exclusion (see section 7.1). Instead of becoming a platform for improving young people's wellbeing, these partnerships facilitated coordinated strategies between local institutions (the police, the school, the developer and security guards) that aim to eliminate groups of teenagers from the neighbourhood's public spaces. Teenagers are stereotyped as troublemakers and perpetrators of anti-social behaviour and crime, and residents are encouraged

to call the police whenever they see congregations of youths. Findings reveal that residents in the private housing are more likely to do that. These exclusionary actions impede on young people's respect and social standing within their neighbourhood. They are also a manifestation of the unequal experiences between them and the more privileged residents.

The influx of more affluent households has increased inequalities at the neighbourhood level. As they compare themselves to their new neighbours, young people's perception of their low social status is heightened. Participants described their neighbourhood as "two different worlds" and a "blatant divide". Underlying these views are the inequalities in housing services, living standards and violence victimisation between the two groups, which emphasise young people's relative disadvantage and low status (see section 6.2).

Finally, the lack of genuine youth involvement in the regeneration is a further manifestation of their lower status and a limitation on their capability of autonomy and influence. Section 7.2. of this thesis described how the regeneration consultations attended by young people were tokenistic, ineffective, isolated from mainstream governance structures, and usually conducted around rigid and adult-centric topics (see section 7.2). So called 'security' and 'safe neighbourhood' meetings regularly organised by the regeneration organisations or the police are usually attended by residents from older age groups, who tend to voice concerns about young people's problematic behaviours. Most of the time, as both younger and some older participants mentioned, these concerns are unfounded and driven by 'irrational' fear from groups of young people who are often stereotyped as gang members. Consequently, young people felt 'neglected', 'powerless' and 'not listened to' in the face of the changes taking place in their area, compared to adults who enjoyed a relatively higher level of participation.

> *I think a lot of young people feel kind of left out of the process. They feel like there's like a higher power that kind of come in, taken over. They are seeing a lot of things happening around them but they feel a bit powerless. Like they haven't had their say they don't know what's going on. They're kind of just part of the process and it's kind of like you're just going to have to go along with it regardless of what's happening. I think some young people may have questions about what's going on, but they don't know who to go to, to answer those questions – Nicole, Youth Engagement Officer, local authority.*

In the collective sense, there are no substantial variations in the constraints young people experience on their valued capabilities of social status, respect, autonomy and influence. Many of

209

them referred to their social class, status and age when discussing how the regeneration is affecting the capabilities within this cluster. The neighbourhood redevelopment is considered a local manifestation of these structural determinants, reinforcing participants' lower social status and influence relative to more advantaged groups and powerful institutions.

> *I think most regeneration projects across the country will see the people who benefit from these spaces are people in housing communities or already part of those boards. Those are the people who will benefit from it for financial and monetary gains for themselves and the low-income working-class families will be moved out to make room for people who can afford to live here. You've got the housing providers who are actively like a communication machine…if you see the advertising in the train station you see the picturesque way they demonstrate this area showing the reservoirs. The number of young people who have never ever ever been to that side…and that's the only images you see of this area, that side[47] because they want people to come here and generate income themselves. The amount of security and the police, they very much (inaudible) this area for people who come in and have money to spend because the cuts are coming from somewhere and they have to find savings and sell the old properties to the highest bidder -* **Youth Support and Development Team Leader, Youth Club.**

In terms of the personal experience of capability limitations, some groups are more strongly influenced by the mechanisms discussed above. For example, older teenagers (14 or older), young men, and those from black and other ethnic minority groups can face more systematic discrimination. They are often perceived by adults as more threatening and are more likely to be targeted by the police. Participants argued that these prejudiced and racist attitudes towards them are amplified by adverse media portrayals of young people from poor and black backgrounds, which often depict them as violent criminals. Additionally, participants whose families are relatively more materially disadvantaged face a higher likelihood of being displaced due to higher housing costs.

An important factor that ameliorates some of the impediments on this cluster of capabilities has been the actions and roles played by the community organisation. Since the start of the regeneration one of the community organisation's key priorities has been ensuring that social and private housing residents receive equal treatment and privileges. For example, they took a strong

---

[47] Referring to the redeveloped side of the neighbourhood

stance against including private pools and gyms in the private housing buildings and, along with the local authority, negotiated a compensation in the form of an extra community space in return for the developer's lack of transparency on this issue (see section 5.1). They also secured a promise that these exclusive luxuries will not be part of future phases of the development and that no reference to them is to be made in marketing material thereafter. Additionally, the community organisation demanded that equivalent numbers of social housing buildings overlook views of the nature reserve and water reservoir, after initial plans placed only private housing blocks with the good views and a higher share of social housing on a busy main road. While these efforts have not completely eliminated the inequalities between social and private housing tenants, without them the disparities would have been even more stark.

Furthermore, the local authority and community organisation have progressively tried to improve their bargaining powers and strengthen accountability measures vis a vis the developer to mitigate some of negative implications of the money-oriented nature of the regeneration and its potential gentrifying effects. As discussed in chapter 5, the national planning system gives developers wide freedoms in defining their profit margins and creating their own methods for assessing viability. The local council has recently taken action to address the policy loopholes that have resulted in a reduced number of social housing units than what was initially promised. They now request that the developer be more transparent about the achieved values from sales of private homes, and have added a new formula that allows the use of any forecasted sales overage to cross-subsidise the following phase of the regeneration where there is a viability gap. Additionally, they established a steering group comprising of senior members of the regeneration partner organisations, among which is the community organisation. This group discusses and negotiates strategic issues, such as viability, in a formal and transparent way before they are escalated under the Principal Development Agreement (PDA).

In summary, even though the regeneration has improved the neighbourhood's infrastructure and facilities, it has become an agent of young people's exclusion, stigmatisation and marginalisation, consequently diminishing their capabilities of social status, respect, autonomy and influence. This was mostly a collective capability restriction. However, the actions of the community organisation and the local authority help lessen these adverse influences. Many of the processes influencing these capabilities are also relevant to those within cluster 3.

9.3. Cluster 3
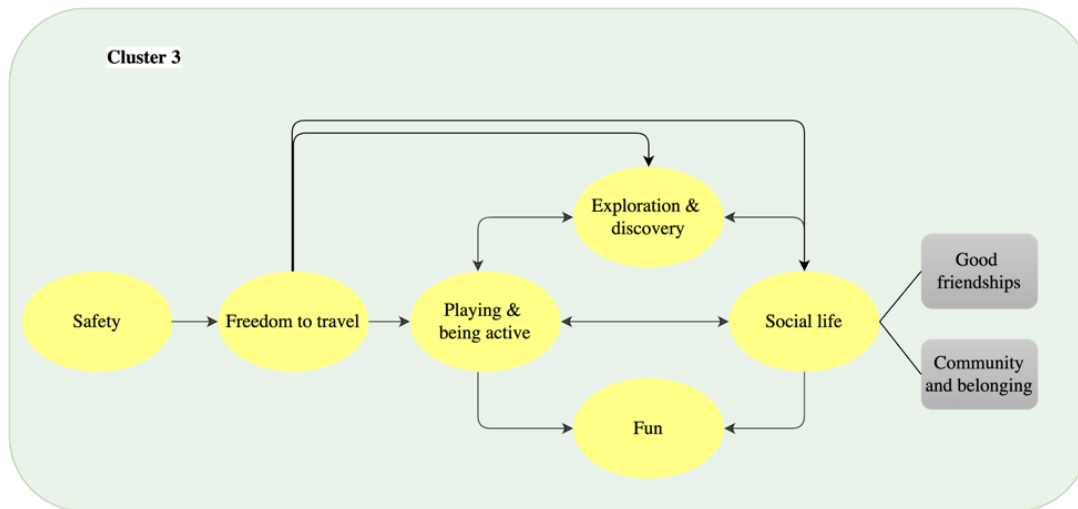
Young people faced several restrictions on the interlinked valued capabilities of being safe, traveling/being mobile, playing, being active, having fun, exploring, socialising with friends and belonging to a supportive community. The mechanisms behind these restrictions are the following: (1) the money-oriented nature of the regeneration; (2) the prioritisation of wealthier residents' needs and services, (3) the stigmatisation and exclusion of young people, (4) the drastic change the neighbourhood has undergone, (5) young people's lack of participation in the regeneration, and (6) community breakdown. Because the first three mechanisms have already been discussed in the previous section, I will focus on how they are relevant to the capabilities within this cluster.

There has been a reduction in the sports and leisure facilities available for young people to play and socialise with friends. According to the capability framework I adopt, this is considered a reduction in neighbourhood resources. Findings indicate that one of the reasons behind this is the developer's reluctance to encourage gatherings of teenagers near the private housing, which could be a disincentive for potential homebuyers and property investors. For many years, the demolished parks, football pitches and basketball court that teenagers used were not replaced with equivalent spaces. The remaining playgrounds marked for demolition have been left without maintenance. And, the developer opted for building a children's playground instead of a teenage play area as was initially promised to the community.

Researcher: how about the regeneration? Do you feel the regeneration brings any kind of opportunities for you in the area to achieve these things (in reference to the things she values in life)?

Beth, 16: They knocked down all the entertainment for the young kids and put in new flats and bragging for these rich people with a bad attitude.

Researcher: and how does that affect any of the stuff you have written you think?

Beth: young people don't really have the opportunity to have fun and all the young people in this area (referring to those younger than her) really don't even know how the area used to be like.

Besides the reduction in free and public play facilities, young people face barriers to access the private ones too, limiting their opportunities for playing, being active, having fun and socialising with friends. In other words, they are not able to convert the new facilities into valued capabilities. As discussed in section 9.2 above, this is a result of their unaffordability and the systematic stigmatisation of low-income teenagers. Because the latter are often perceived to be 'threatening', 'disruptive' and 'imposing' by their affluent customers, some of the new food and sports venues' owners put formal age restrictions and increase their prices to stop teenagers from accessing their premises (see section 7.1). For the same reasons young people are among the main groups targeted by the regeneration organisations' security measures which seek to control and eliminate congregations of youths in the redeveloped public spaces. Based on interviews with institutional actors (e.g. see quote by school vice principal p.178) and my observations of security meetings and interviews, the assumption is that any groupings of young people is deemed disruptive and an inevitable cause of anti-social behaviour and crime. The joint-working relationships between local institutions facilitated these exclusionary activities.

Not only do such restrictions limit young people's freedoms of mobility, playing, exploring and spending time with friends, but they also expose some of them to risk. Some participants told me that they are forced to spend time in unsafe spaces where there is no supervision from trusted adults (e.g. on the main road), or go further out to neighbouring areas. This exposes them to being targeted by gangs. For girls, they are more likely to experience sexual harassment. Participants also argued that the lack of positive activities to occupy young people's free time can increase the likelihood of being engaged in risky behaviour. Others (especially younger ones) are not able to go out as they would wish to because their parents are fearful for their safety. Thus, they spend much of their free time '*trapped*' at home resorting to video games or social media. This is exacerbated by the perceived and objective increase in violence levels and youth victimisation in the case study

area (see section 6.2). Even though increased security and policing would normally be considered a neighbourhood resource and one of the benefits of regeneration (expanding the valued capability of safety), it has the opposite effect on teenagers.

These themes are evident in the conversation between Beth and Jack below.

> *Beth, 16: I think the area was better before (the regeneration) because there was stuff for young people to do. But now because there is nothing for young people to do, they're gonna get on the wrong path and do bad things. And do you know whose fault that is? The people that are in charge of the regeneration. They complain about young people getting involved in crime when it's their fault.*
>
> *Jack, 15: they improved the area.*
>
> *Beth: no they didn't improve it…cause they put a thing there that is not even a park. You don't see children out in the area like you used to back in the day.*
>
> *Jack: yeah but that's because everyone in the area is getting older.*
>
> *Beth: no but there are young people here but you don't see them out.*
>
> *Jack: because who the hell would want to leave their child out in (borough where case study area is located)? It's a dangerous place*
>
> *Beth: Exactly, because look there is no park.*

As young people are alienated from the neighbourhood and spend less time in its public spaces and facilities, their valued capability of sense of community and belonging is diminished. Three other mechanisms – community breakdown, drastic change and lack of participation – contributed to this capability deprivation.

The influx of the higher-income residents is perceived by participants to be dividing the community due to their lack of social integration. Many of the people who live in the private housing are either transient young professionals who are less likely to spend time in the area, or families with small children with low chances of interacting with teenagers on the estate. This was partly driven by the lower proportion of family-sized units in the private tenure compared to social housing. The developer argued that building a higher proportion of 1 bed private flats improves the financial viability of the project because they have a higher value by floor area than the larger flats. In addition, it is not clear whether in the future cross-tenure community cohesion would improve if private housing residents hold stigmatising views about lower-income families and/or

opt for sending their children to private nurseries and schools as is the case with the two households in the private housing who participated in this study (see section 8.3).

> *I think it's interesting what you said about the people who've grown up in (the case study area), they feel a real sense of ownership and wanting to be engaged. I think part of the problem for those of us moving in is that we don't have that connection. And so, certainly for the first four, three years, I had no idea there was such a thing as (the community organisation), I had no idea. I assumed there was some kind of residents estates association somewhere but I know nothing about it –* **Kelly, homeowner.**

Young people are naturally influenced by this general community context but are also more strongly disadvantaged by it. Findings from the resident survey conducted in 2019 showed that young people had significantly lower levels of belonging and intention to remain a resident than adults in the neighbourhood (Social Life 2019[48]). They were also more likely to have negative perceptions of relationships between people from different backgrounds in the area. Participants highly valued the close community relations at their estate before the regeneration. It was a relatively stable community for a long time before the demolition and re-housing of residents disrupted and cut young people's relations with their neighbours and local friends.

> *Part of the issue is probably less opportunity for those two groups (young people and new residents) to have interactions and become real people to each other. If you think about the families that grew up in (case study area) and it's very easy through that context for them to meet and know each other but it's less likely that the young couple with the baby in the shared-ownership to actually have an opportunity to interact with a 16-year-old somewhere. It can happen, and I think there is more chance of that actually happening in a regeneration than elsewhere because there are lots of stuff going on and quite a lot of active thought given to how we can try and do these things but it's less naturally likely to be the case. So, because of that it's easy for of misconceptions to grow and take hold –* **Local Councillor**

Moreover, the drastic change and demolition of young people's homes and places that held their childhood memories and histories changed the neighbourhood beyond recognition for them. This

---

[48] To be redacted from publication

has negatively influenced their capability of having a sense of belonging, especially in light of their lack of real involvement in decisions about these changes.

> *If we took down all the buildings that we have now, it's just not gonna be (name of case study area) anymore, it's just gonna be something completely different. And yeah, I feel like it's gonna affect young people because we grew up in a neighbourhood which we are so used to and then all of a sudden it's just becoming so newly developed to the point where it's…that's not what I remember when I was little – **Emma, 14**.*

> *Researcher: how would you describe where you live?*
> *Beth, 16: it's negative.*
> *Researcher: it's negative? All negative?*
> *Beth: yeah*
> *Researcher: why is that?*
> *Beth: because they ruined this area. They ruined my area […] the stupid people that are in charge of the regeneration - and I hope they listen to this recording as well - they don't even live in (borough where case study area is located) and they changed my area.*

Young people are affected in different ways by these capability constraints. Older teenagers (14 or older), young men, and those from black and other ethnic minority groups face higher levels of stigmatisation and policing. Young women are more likely to be exposed to sexual harassment if they have less opportunities for accessing safe spaces, while younger teenagers can have their independent mobility restricted by their parents. On the other hand, among the youngest participants (12 and 13 years of age) some were able to benefit from the new playground and community events because they were more suitable for their age group. Therefore, they had higher chances than older teenagers to build new friendships with people their age in the area. Additionally, those whose parents are relatively materially disadvantaged faced higher restrictions on their ability to access the private facilities.

Another personal factor that seemed to influence the severity of the negative impact on the capabilities of community, belonging and socialising with friends is whether participants' social networks are rooted within or outside the local neighbourhood. Participants who only go to school in the area or whose circle of friends is located somewhere else are not as disadvantaged by the community breakdown in the case study area. They are also able to find alternative safe spaces where they can hang out with their friends outside the area. For example, Eamon, 18, has lived on

the estate all his life but went to private schools outside of the neighbourhood since he was 10. Almost all his friends live outside of the area and he rarely spends time there. While he is affected by the regeneration in other ways, the impact on his social life is not one of them.

> *I would say I'm in quite a unique position. And I've been fortunate enough again to have nine years of private education. I was on a sponsored award. You would not find I don't think you'd find many people in a similar position. Also am going to (university), like, I didn't even think I'd get in. And I think again, you wouldn't find many people in that position around here as well. And also, I'd say I don't go to a local school. So a lot of my activities are not based round here. But due to the fact that my school is a few miles south. Like my living experience in (the case study neighbourhood) is different to other young people who live here* – **Eamon, 18**.

Efforts by the community organisation have mitigated some of the impediments on young people's freedoms within cluster 3 too. Community activists, with support from the local authority, successfully secured funding from the private sector to refurbish the old football pitch and put in place a multi-use games area, which was opened during fieldwork. Even though this was provided after years of neglect, it has expanded young people's opportunities to have fun, play, be active and socialise with their friends in a safe space. Through the photographs he took of the area, Andrew, 16, told me why the new pitch is important for him and his friends.

> **Andrew**: *I took this one (photo) because this is when the pitch was closed. So no one had access to it, and I believe that before when it was open, everyone could go there and play football to enjoy something in the area as most things are gone, so I thought like playing football there is a safe space where everyone in the area comes together and plays. That's what we do now because now it's open.*
> **Researcher**: *Yeah? So do you actually go use it now?*
> **Andrew**: *yeah we use it every Sunday. I just wanted to show how when the cage is locked, we had nothing to do basically. Yeah. On Sundays, we can all just come together and play. Now we can chill there if we wanted to, and yeah everyone is having fun.*

Findings also demonstrate the vital role played by the youth club, which is considered a valued neighbourhood resource for young people. There they feel respected and supported by youth workers. The latter facilitate for them a space where they can be themselves, play and have fun without worrying about their safety. As teenagers face hostility, policing and exclusion from the

regenerated public spaces, the presence of the youth club as a free public service is crucial for protecting to a certain extent the capabilities of young people in the area.

> *(The youth club) is a good place for young people to hang around. And if they want to go somewhere, like go somewhere after school, that's a safe place for people to go and enjoy themselves and they don't have to be like associated on the streets and stuff* – **Farah, 15**.

> *In the youth club we can stay together knowing that we're actually safe as people are watching us not like watching us but looking after us and we're here let's say twice three times a week* – **Andrew, 16.**

Moreover, the community organisation board members took a number of actions to address the problem of community breakdown caused by the regeneration. To help stop further community disruption and displacement, they demanded that social housing tenants are moved only once and directly to their new homes in future regeneration phases, rather than being moved several times (in some cases outside of the area to allow for demolition) like what happened in the first stages of the regeneration. Additionally, they rejected and successfully stopped the developer from changing the name of the neighbourhood, which would have further alienated and diminished young people's sense of belonging (see section 8.3).

In summary, the regeneration impedes young people's valued freedoms of playing, socialising with friends, having fun, going to places, exploring and being safe through a cutback on play, sports' and leisure facilities (i.e. neighbourhood resources) and barriers to access the newly developed ones. Their stigmatisation and exclusion by local institutions, service providers and more affluent residents limit their ability to convert the newly developed clean and safe environment and facilities into their valued beings and doings. They also diminished their sense of belonging and community, which is further worsened by the disruption caused by the demolition of their estate. Older young people, males and those from black and ethnic minority groups suffer from worse restrictions on their mobility and presence in public spaces. While young people who are more embedded in the community are more disadvantaged by the community breakdown and loss in sense of belonging. On the upside, the youth club and community organisation helped reduce some of these capability disadvantages.

9.4. Cluster 4
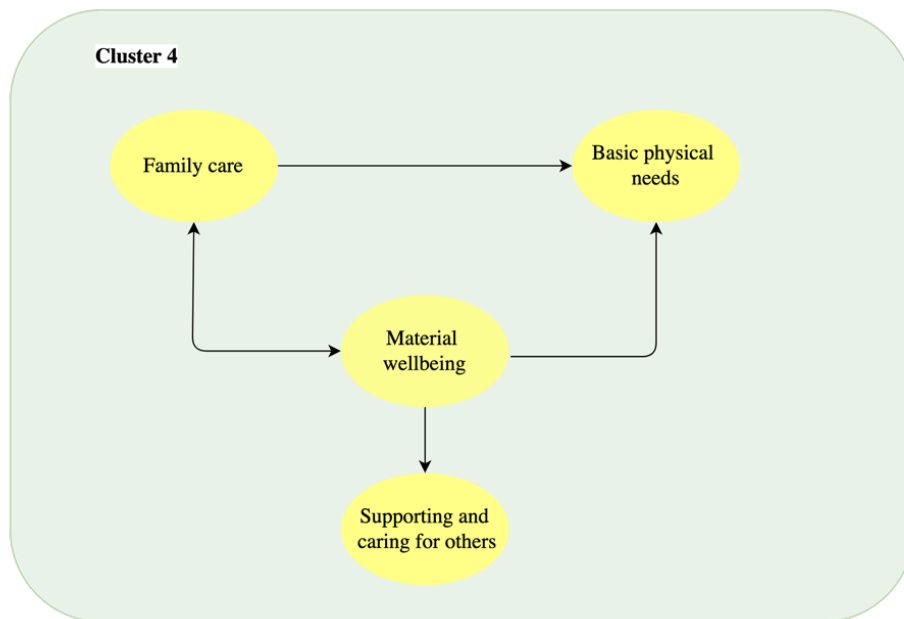
Cluster 4 contains participants' valued capability of having close and loving relationships with their family members. The latter provide young people with care and support, which is essential for satisfying their basic physical needs (e.g. food, shelter and clothes). Their families' material wellbeing facilitates care and physical needs, and mediates their own material wellbeing, which protects their dignity and respect in society. It is also important for young people to provide care and support to their families and people in their community.

The impact of the regeneration on the capabilities within cluster 4 has been touched on in previous sections. It stems from the adverse effects on low-income families' material wellbeing due to the higher housing costs. The increased expenses incurred by social housing residents is partly a result of the transfer from council to housing association tenancies and partly due to the shift to 'target rent'. The latter is partially tied to market prices and average earnings in the local area. In a context where low-income families have been bearing the brunt of austerity, these extra costs put real pressures on young people's families. Interviewees living in the new social housing added that they had no choice in the matter.

> *At the time we didn't know how expensive it's going to be because we were council tenants.*
> *We got forced, not forced but there's no option but we had to become housing association*
> *tenants […] what they had to do because it was a regeneration and there is no choice they*
> *had to match our rents to what we paid before, which is good they had to match it. But*

*it's slowly going up, obviously, cause they got to put it up to market value. So each year it goes up. Our rents didn't use to go up that much that I can remember – **Amanda, mother and social housing resident**.*

Even though the regeneration gives young people and their families an opportunity to live in new housing (which expands their capability of shelter), the higher expenses put other basic needs at risk and jeopardise their material wellbeing.

The case of Emma, 14, and her family, previously introduced in chapter 6, demonstrate the negative impact these extra costs can have on young people's capabilities (see section 6.1). Unable to meet the higher bills and charges of their new social housing, Becky, Emma's single mother talked about her limited ability to meet her children's basic needs and requirements of new clothes, going on holiday, participating in extracurricular activities, etc. She also expressed the adverse effect on her mental health. Over the course of a year, I witnessed the gradual negative impact Emma's family's difficulties had on her wellbeing. When I first met her, Emma was passionate about drama and used to attend after-school acting classes. She was also a member of her school's football team and a very sociable person among her friends. After about six months she dropped out of her acting course because her mother could no longer afford its fees. Her mental health deteriorated and her relationship with her family and friends worsened. Her mother was constantly worried about her whereabouts and told me Emma goes out until late. She was increasingly missing school because of her troubled relationship with her school mates. Emma started seeking emotional gratification from male partners and kept getting into unhealthy relationships. She repeatedly told me that she 'feels lonely even around people'. She also complained that their family support worker keeps changing and she finds it difficult having to re-tell the whole story to a new person every time.

*It's building building building, it's moneymaking, it's becoming more focused on money than anything else. Are they thinking social people? I don't think so and I think they are pushing us aside and that is the reality. If you wanna help us, you increasing the prices of everything and you are not increasing our pay, how are we gonna survive? So you're stagnating in the pay and you want us to pay, so we are just surviving, whilst others are coming from other boroughs, they are coming from everywhere even from other countries – **Becky, social housing resident and mother of a young participant**.*

Another way the increasing housing prices affect young people and their families' material wellbeing and access to secure housing is that they shrink their opportunities of buying their own home in the area.

> *Other people are aware this is social cleansing, it might be that. To me I don't buy into all of that but part of it is a bit. Because if I wanted to buy my property, I can't buy it, in no way can I afford it even if they're going to give me some money for it. It's not going to touch on what I need to buy it. The old properties: I think my mum bought her own property. That was reasonable. But nobody can -not that I could think of- in social housing can buy their flats even if they wanted to, and they're trying to save for it, it's impossible - **Amanda, mother and social housing resident**.*

Within this context the valued capability of supporting and caring for others was mainly relevant where young people felt the need to support their families and relieve their financial pressures through finding work or in worst cases resorting to illegal money-making activities.

Understandably, young participants who live on the estate, as opposed to those who only go to school there, are the ones directly affected by these capability restrictions. The latter are more heavily felt by those from relatively more materially disadvantaged families (e.g. single parent and large families). They also take a heavy toll on their emotional and mental wellbeing, the central capability of the following cluster.

9.5. Cluster 5
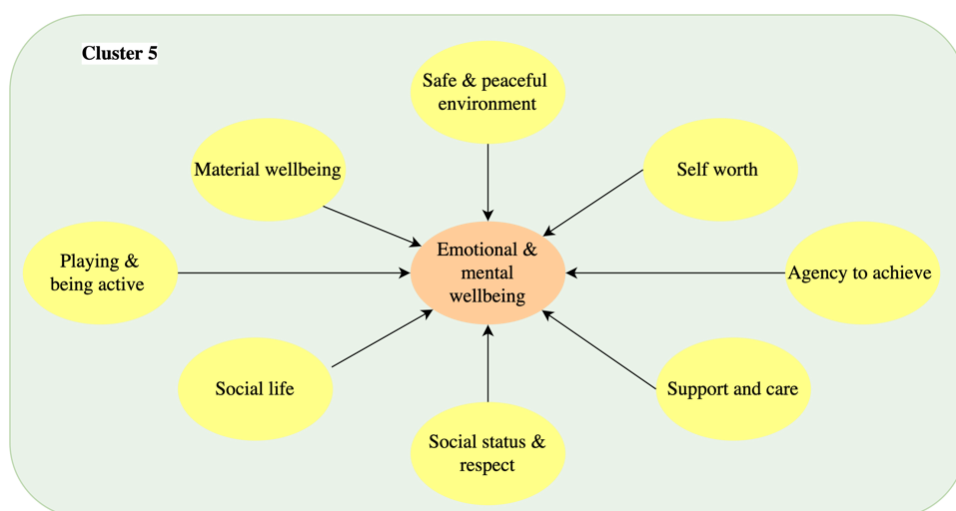
The fifth cluster of capabilities is concerned with being emotionally and mentally well. The majority of other capabilities influence young people's emotional and mental wellbeing. Participants also

221

value opportunities for engaging in calming activities and having access to stress-free environments.

Young people invoked a range of emotions and feelings as they talked about the regeneration and how it affects them. On the positive side, some young people talked about how the new pleasant physical environment, green space and access to nature provides them with an opportunity to go for nice walks, walk their dog, relax and unwind.

> *I think it's good because there is a park and fresh air so the things that are worrying you that are on your mind you can take them out –* **Nora, 13**.

On the other hand, many young people expressed the damaging impact the regeneration has on their emotional and mental wellbeing. It makes them feel 'angry', 'aggravated', 'sad', 'upset', 'heart-broken', 'annoyed', 'insulted', 'frustrated', 'trapped', 'isolated', 'powerless', 'jealous', 'scared', 'threatened', 'stressed out', 'worried', 'bored' and 'frightened'. These feelings and emotions relate to all the above-mentioned ways of how the regeneration limits young people's capabilities. For example, they felt angry and aggravated that their area is being demolished and taken over by richer people, upset that their childhood memories are erased, heart-broken over the lost community, insulted by how people at new shops treat them, threatened or frightened that they might have to move out of the area if their parents could not afford the new housing, worried about the future, trapped because they cannot move freely in the area anymore, powerless because they do not have a say in the regeneration, isolated when they cannot meet their friends, bored because there is nothing to do in the area, and jealous because they cannot own nice things as their wealthier neighbours.

From my discussions with young people, those who grew up in the area or have been living there for a long time and/or come from relatively more disadvantaged families seemed to be the most emotionally provoked by the changes in their neighbourhood. Having lived there most or all their lives, they developed a high level of ownership towards the area and therefore were experiencing a deep sense of loss and alienation. Those among them who were also more relatively disadvantaged experienced a compounded sense of powerlessness in the face of it all.

9.6. Conclusion

This chapter has refocused the discussion on young people's valued capabilities and their conversion factors. Findings show that the mixed income regeneration of young people's neighbourhood imposes limitations on a majority of their valued freedoms. Because of the interlinkages between the different clusters of capabilities, the influence of the regeneration on one capability can have knock on effects on others. However, the effect of some of the regeneration processes and mechanisms varied by age, relative disadvantage, gender, ethnic background and other personal circumstances (e.g. the location of their circle of friends or whether they only go to school in the area). Despite the improved neighbourhood facilities and resources, many young people are not able to convert them into valued capabilities. The interaction between social, structural, institutional (e.g. stigmatisation and barriers to job opportunities) and personal factors (e.g. social capital and adult role models) also resulted in some discrepancies in the ability to convert resources. On the positive side, the existence of the youth club and an active community organisation supported by the local authority acted to lessen some of these capability constraints..

10. Discussion and conclusion

This chapter draws together findings from the previous six empirical chapters, addressing how they relate to and contribute to what we already know about youth wellbeing and mixed communities. Section 10.1 summarises the main findings of the thesis in light of the original research questions. Then, section 10.2 explicates the contributions of the thesis and relates the findings to the academic literature on neighbourhood effects and mixed communities. It also examines the implications for the policy and practice of social housing regeneration. Lastly, section 10.3 addresses study limitations and possible directions for future research.

10.1. Summary of findings

10.1.1 Recap of research aims, theoretical framework and empirical approach

As its central aim, the thesis sought to investigate how the wellbeing of low-income young people is influenced by the mixed income regeneration of their social housing estate. The study was motivated by the weak evidence base for the effects of tenure (income) diversification interventions on disadvantaged young people in the UK. More specifically, it is argued that the evidence is flawed in three important respects. First, the assumptions underpinning the mechanisms through which tenure mixing schemes are thought to benefit residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods originated for the most part from research on poor areas. While there is extensive empirical knowledge about the different pathways through which living in deprived neighbourhoods has adverse effects on young people, this evidence should not be taken to mean that encouraging wealthier households to move to poor areas will simply improve their life chances. Second, the academic evidence for the effects of poverty de-concentration initiatives on young people is largely based on the US context, which mainly looks at the impact of moving people from public housing to lower poverty areas, rather than moving better-off households to poor areas. Third, the existing UK-based studies are adult-centric: they either focus on adult outcomes or ask adults about their perceptions of children and young people's experiences of mixed communities. They also produced contradictory findings that require a better conceptualisation of the mechanisms operating in these contexts, hence providing the motivation for this PhD study.

Despite this weak evidence base, mixed tenure redevelopment is being routinely adopted and considered good practice in social housing regeneration in the UK (especially in London). Since

the late 1990s neighbourhood income mix policies have sought to decrease the social exclusion of people living in residualised council housing estates and deprived areas (Social Exclusion Unit 1998). Today, creating "balanced and inclusive communities" with a mix of tenure is one of the main aims of the estate regeneration national strategy and London's planning policies (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government 2016; Greater London Authority 2018a, 2018b, 2021). It is believed that replacing mono tenure social housing estates with mixed tenure developments "fosters social diversity, redresses social exclusion and strengthens communities' sense of responsibility for, and identity with, their neighbourhoods" (Greater London Authority 2016 p.116). These effects are thought to take place through a number of pathways. A mix of income levels among residents, it is envisaged by policymakers, improves deprived neighbourhoods' reputations and reduces the stigma of living there. Crime and anti-social behaviour are expected to be deterred by upgrading the built environment and the presence of fewer people with motivation for crime and anti-social behaviour. Additionally, higher spending and expectations from better-off residents are believed to increase demand and quality of local public and private services, while also revitalising local economies. Finally, it is expected that bringing in more economically active residents with strong connections to the labour market raises aspirations among the existing community and increases their 'bridging' social capital.

To explore these rationales and address the gap in knowledge about the effects on disadvantaged young people's wellbeing, the thesis proposed that drawing on the fields of youth wellbeing and the capability approach is worthwhile. More specifically it aimed to answer the following questions:

Main research question

How are the capabilities of low-income young people influenced by the regeneration of their social housing estate into a mixed income neighbourhood?

Sub-research questions

1. What capabilities do low-income young people in a mixed income neighbourhood value? (i.e. what are their valued beings and doings?)
2. What are the mechanisms by which their valued capabilities are influenced by transforming their social housing estate into a mixed income neighbourhood?
3. How do personal, social, institutional and environmental factors influence young people's ability to convert the resources brought by the regeneration into valued capabilities?

A case study was undertaken of a historically deprived inner-London council estate that has been transformed into a mixed income community through large scale demolition and regeneration. The research design was informed by critical realism, and youth-centred and capability approaches. A mix of four data production methods was adopted: (1) participant and non-participant observation, (2) participatory activities and group discussions, (3) semi-structured interviews, and (4) document analysis. A total of 74 people participated in the study during 2018/19, 40 of which were aged between 12 and 19 years, while the remaining 34 were adult community stakeholders. The data was analysed thematically through a hybrid process of deductive and inductive coding.

10.1.2. What capabilities do low-income young people in a mixed income neighbourhood value?

Chapter 4 addressed the first sub-research question. It presented five clusters of 16 capabilities that young people value, which include material wellbeing, self-worth, agency, education, influence, status and respect, playing, exploring, moving freely, being safe, having fun, socialising, belonging, as well as caring and being cared for, having close family relationships and being emotionally and mentally well.

The findings make a novel contribution to the capability approach theoretical literature by conceptualising participants' valued capabilities as *clusters* of interconnected and overlapping capabilities, as opposed to the common practice of a linear disconnected *list* of domains. Capabilities within each cluster are more strongly connected, but those across clusters are also linked in different ways, as figure 7 visually illustrates. Despite the existing literature addressing the instrumental role of freedoms (e.g. Sen 1999, Nussbaum 2000, and Wolff and De-Shalit 2007) and the empirical studies that discussed fundamental capabilities such as education, aspiration, shelter, food, etc. (e.g. Terzi 2007, Hart 2013, and Anich et al. 2011), capabilities are still thought of and framed as a linear list.

I argue that it is important to think of groups or clusters of capabilities from the outset when embarking on an evaluation of people's freedoms to achieve their valued beings and doings. The cluster framework highlights the intrinsic and instrumental roles of each capability and more accurately elucidates the complex ways freedoms are experienced. It also directs our attention to the closer relationships binding certain groups of capabilities. Moreover, the cluster structure aids in designing and evaluating policy interventions, such as mixed communities regeneration, by providing a clear understanding of the relationships between young people's wellbeing dimensions. For example, using the clusters, it can be hypothesised that without provision of a safe space where

young people can hang out with their friends in the neighbourhood, it will potentially be connected to lower sense of belonging, which previous studies connected to anti-social behaviour.

Moreover, findings highlight the salience of material wellbeing to the participants and how its value is intertwined with their social status, respect and fitting-in – capabilities that findings demonstrate are lacking. Young people's context and circumstances (their relative disadvantage and perceived inequalities in their neighbourhood) have an influence on the prominence of these capabilities. This demonstrates the importance of using context-specific methods to identify valued capabilities, rather than relying on a priori list without community participation. Emphasis on material wellbeing and other related dimensions are comparable to findings from previous studies that conducted youth-centred research with participants of similar ages and socio-economic backgrounds (e.g. Ridge 2011; Bharara et al. 2019; Dex and Hollingworth 2012). Research with younger children or groups selected from the general population did not always find a comparable importance afforded to material wellbeing and its various meanings reported by this thesis (e.g. Fattore et al. 2006; Chaplin 2009; Andresen and Fegter 2011; Newton and Ponting 2012). Additionally, cross national research comparing children's (8-18 years) views in the UK, Spain and Sweden suggests that the emphasis on the social aspect of material wellbeing is linked to economic inequality and a culture of materialism at the country of residence (Ipsos Mori and Nairn 2011).

Figure 7: Clusters of valued capabilities
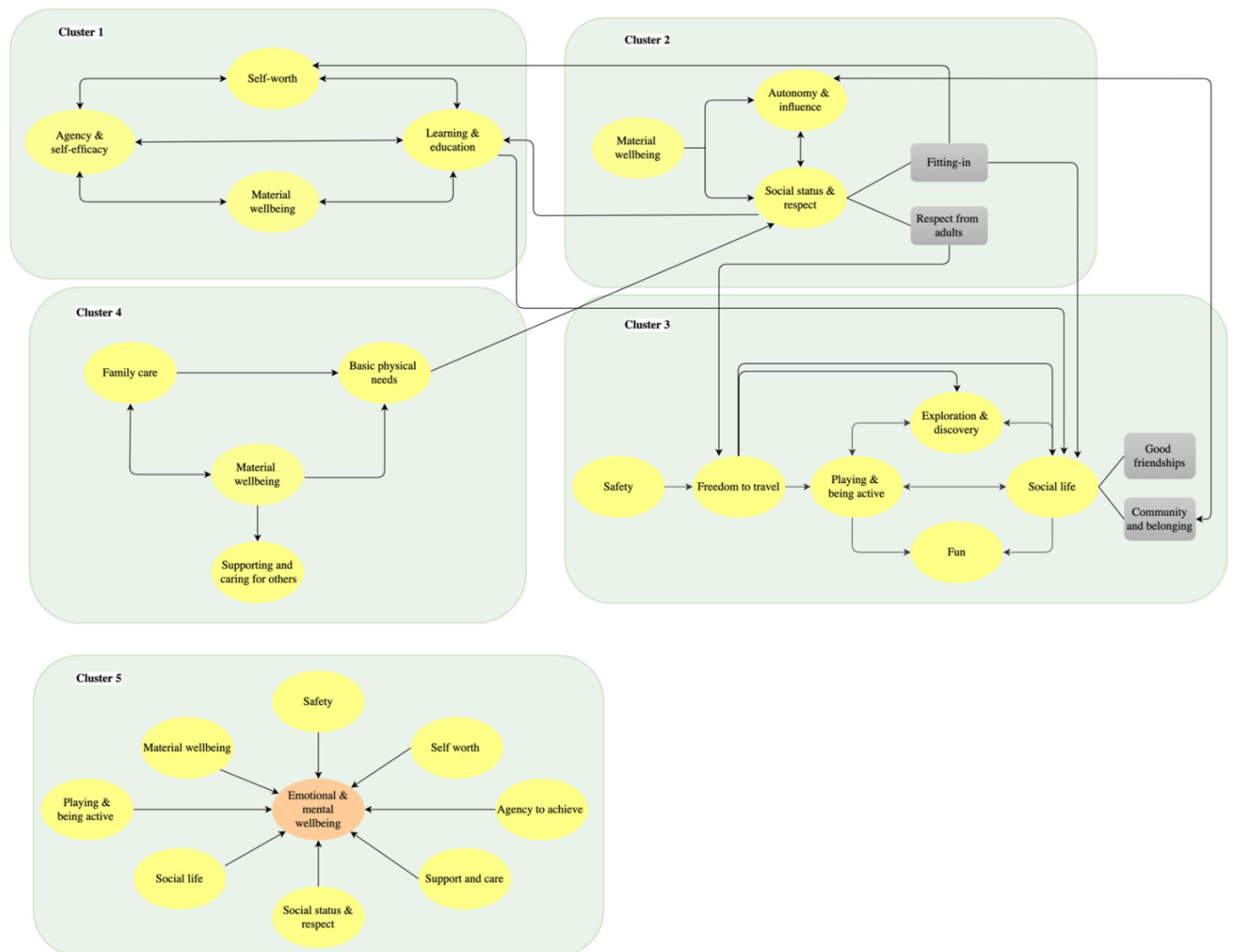
10.1.3. What are the mechanisms by which young people's valued capabilities are influenced by transforming their social housing estate into a mixed income neighbourhood?

Chapters 5, 6 , 7 and 8 addressed the second sub-research question which asks about the mechanisms by which the neighbourhood's regeneration influences young people's capabilities. Four overarching themes captured the mechanisms at play: (1) dispossession, (2) social division and inequality, (3) stigmatisation and exclusion, and (4) community breakdown.

Summary of mechanism 1: Dispossession

The first theme explains how young people are being dispossessed of the neighbourhood they have called 'home' for a long time, as a result of the regeneration. Dispossession encompasses the three sub-themes of 'money-oriented gentrification', 'drastic change', and 'it's for the rich, not young people'.

For participants the regeneration bears all the signs of socio-economic and class-based 'gentrification', even if at the present it does not directly lead to their physical displacement. They believe that its purpose is to generate wealth for a few profit-driven organisations and investors, to change the area in ways that put the affluent residents' economic, cultural, leisure, and social needs and preferences as the priority, and to force them to move out of the area. The analysis demonstrates that participants' interpretations are not entirely unrealistic.

Driven by profit-generation and financial viability considerations, the developer keeps reducing the number of social housing units from what was initially promised at the start of the regeneration. Even though the local authority guarantees the rehousing of existing residents on the estate, the projected net loss in social housing units affects young people's prospects of finding affordable homes and staying in the area. The increasing property prices that accompanied the regeneration, which are reflected in higher rents (through target rent formula) of the redeveloped social housing, put financial pressures on social tenants and worry some participants about their possible eviction.

Participants do believe that the regeneration "*is not aimed for young people, it's aimed for adults who are rich*" (Beth, 16). This perception is informed by the shift in facilities and service provision in the area. As the proportion of more affluent residents continue to increase, the owners of the new food and leisure venues see better chances of revenue making by catering for the upmarket customers, while excluding lower-income teenagers. This process is glaringly clear in the case of the café owner who at the beginning was offering his food at affordable prices and attracting many of the estate's youth. He then "*realised (they) need to choose what kind of customer (they) are going to sell the food*", eventually choosing the affluent customers by increasing their prices and changing the menu. Similar examples include the water sports centre that no longer reach out to the estate's youth, and the academy that decided to charge a fee for use of their sports hall. At the same time, many of the free open spaces (e.g. parks and football pitches) where teenagers used to spend time have been demolished, left neglected, or replaced with green spaces, the design of which focused on aesthetic and market value rather than social value. Another reason young people thought the regeneration does not benefit them is the unimprovement in their access to skills development and employment opportunities.

Finally, 'dispossession' was experienced by young people through losing their sense of place as a result of the drastic change in its physical environment – a change that is eradicating their childhood memories and histories and turning the place into a 'posh' area where they no longer feel like they belong. Even though many of them think that the area looks nicer and more modern,

they believe it is designed without consideration for its history and, again, made to appeal to investors and homebuyers and not the local community.

Summary of mechanism 2: Social inequality and division

The second overarching theme capturing the regeneration mechanisms is 'social inequality and division' (chapter 6).

The discrepancies in material resources and living standards between the young people and the more affluent residents emphasise their relative disadvantage and spark feelings of inferiority and jealousy among the former, as represented by the sub-theme 'social comparison'. Available data indicates that while there is a range of income levels among private housing residents, they remain more privileged than the lower-income teenagers on the estate. The inequality between the two groups is exacerbated by a decade of cuts to welfare spending and structural barriers to decent employment. Higher housing costs also put mounting financial pressure on some families whose incomes are already squeezed.

Evidence of parental mediation of neighbourhood effects emerged. Parents' limited material resources and associated psychological burden can constrain their ability to provide their children with their needs. This is well demonstrated by the case of Emma's single mother who described how the higher bills and service charges of their new social-rented home put her in debt and made it difficult for her to maintain her children's food, school and holiday expenses (see section 6.1).

Consequently, some young participants drew a link between the regeneration and youth crime. The added burden on parents' financial struggles, coupled with the continued obstacles young people face to access jobs, reinforces the link between poverty and illicit money making activities, with adverse effects on their education and future.

Other manifestations of the social inequality and division between young people and their more affluent neighbours include disparities in housing and experiences of safety and violence, and the social distance between the two groups. Affording to pay higher service charges, private housing residents get better security measures, more responsive maintenance and luxurious facilities (e.g. indoor swimming pool and gym) than social tenants. Despite sharing the same streets and public spaces, young people face much higher violence victimisation rates and lower sense of safety than the wealthier groups. As Jack, 16, put it: "*the area is bad for people like us*". Additionally, teenagers are among the least likely to benefit from the increased policing and security measures motivated by

the regeneration. This is because many of them are often the target of these security measures. These disparities underpin participants' perceptions of the social divide that now exists in their neighbourhood. Emma, 14, described it as "*two different worlds*".

Social distance, the final sub-theme, is concerned with the minimal social interaction between lower-income teenagers and the more well-off residents. This is partially because of the demographic mismatch between the inhabitants of different tenures. The relatively lower proportion of family-sized market sale properties contributes to this mismatch. Moreover, the two groups do not tend to socialise or carry out local activities in the same spaces. The young participants (particularly older teenagers) do not usually engage with community events and activities which are more catered for adults and young children. Furthermore, the separation of social and private housing tenures across different blocks diminishes chances of social mixing, not only between teenagers and adults but also among adults living in different tenures.

Summary of mechanism 3: Stigmatisation and exclusion

The third major theme covers pathways through which the regeneration accentuates lower-income young people's 'stigmatisation and exclusion' (chapter 7).

Findings reveal that young people are excluded from their neighbourhood's redeveloped public spaces and facilities through a range of institutional processes, which are facilitated by the regeneration's governance structures. While lower-income teenagers commonly face stigmatisation and discrimination from adults in many places they frequent, their experiences are made worse by the coordinated planned actions of different public and private organisations, namely the police, the school, local authority, developer, housing association and privately-hired security guards. Young people - particularly older teenagers and young men from black and ethnic minority groups - are seen by these institutions as the main source of crime and disruptive behaviour. Thus, acting in the name of improving neighbourhood safety and security, they devise measures that seek to completely eliminate congregations of teenagers in the redeveloped public spaces. Moreover, because young people are often perceived to be 'threatening' by their upmarket customers, some of the new food and sports venues' owners put formal age restrictions and increase their prices to stop them from accessing their premises.

Young people thought that these exclusionary practices, as well as lack of spaces where they can safely spend their leisure time, increase the chances of their exposure to risk. They force some to go with their friends further away from home or to spend time in unsupervised and unsafe areas.

Boredom or having nothing to do in the area can also increase feelings of frustration, likelihood of engaging in disruptive behaviour or spending more time 'trapped' at home particularly when the streets are perceived to be unsafe by parents. This is why the presence of the youth club is crucial for young people: it provides a safe space and supportive environment. The refurbishment of an old football pitch, thanks to the community organisation's lobbying, has ameliorated some of these problems.

The above effects are worsened by young people's limited genuine participation in the regeneration decision-making, which forms the second sub-theme under this overarching theme of 'stigmatisation and exclusion'. Participants thought that because of their lower social status, they do not have the power to influence and voice their opinions about the changes taking place in their neighbourhood. The consultations held by the regeneration organisations with youths were 'tokenistic', sporadic, done without careful planning, and largely – even deliberately – planned around narrow issues that adults believe concern young people. Youth participation is not mainstreamed into the regeneration governance structures which are dominated by adults and mostly older people. There is no clear mandate or guidelines for engagement with young people. This absence of accountability for young people's inclusion often means their participation is not given due consideration.

Summary of mechanism 4: Community breakdown

The final mechanism connecting young people's wellbeing and their estate's mixed income regeneration is the ensuing breakdown of their community networks. Participants highly valued the close community relations at their estate before the regeneration. It was a relatively stable community for a long time before the demolition and re-housing of residents disrupted and cut young people's relations with their neighbours and local friends. Their exclusion from public spaces and lack of teenage-appropriate play areas for a long time have meant less opportunities for young people to socialise and spend time in the neighbourhood, thus negatively affecting their local friendships and community relations.

Finally, the influx of the higher-income residents is perceived by participants as dividing the community due to their lack of social integration. The high level of private renting in the market rate housing means that the new residents are more transient and - especially those without children - are less likely to spend time locally and interacting with the community. The preference of higher income families to send their children to private nurseries and schools and their prejudices toward lower-income families' values and behaviours intensify the social divide.

232

Therefore, even when they use the same local playgrounds, attend community events and board meetings, the likelihood of them building meaningful relationships beyond acquaintanceship seems to be low.

Having answered the second sub-research question about the mechanisms, chapter 9 addressed the third and final sub-research question about young people's ability to convert the neighbourhood's resources into valued beings and doings.

10.1.4. How do personal, social, institutional and environmental factors influence young people's ability to convert the resources brought by the regeneration into valued capabilities?

The analysis presented in chapter 9 demonstrates that the above-mentioned mechanisms obstruct young people's ability to convert the neighbourhood's resources into their valued beings and doings, and impose restrictions on their wellbeing freedoms. The mechanisms do not always affect all young people equally, however. They interact with personal and other social factors whereby among young people some are more successful than others in converting resources or are not as affected by capability constraints. This results in varying capabilities based on their gender, age, ethnic background, relative disadvantage, previous experiences and current life circumstances. The chapter also showed the role of the community organisation and the youth club in mitigating the negative impact of the regeneration on some young people's capabilities.

What follows is a brief summary of this analysis, before moving on to discuss how the thesis findings relate to and contribute to existing knowledge about the influence of mixed income regeneration on young people's wellbeing.
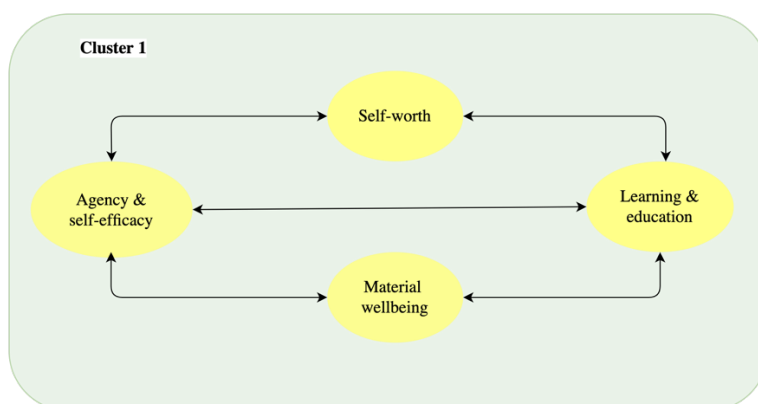
Cluster 1. While the regeneration has attracted investments and businesses to the area, young people face barriers to convert this resource into the valued capabilities of learning, achieving and material wellbeing (job opportunities). Reasons for this include the reluctance or limited capacity of the employers to train low-skilled young people. Also, the effectiveness of apprenticeships or work placements available for teenagers in building their skills is questionable, while some stereotypes about their low aspirations and idleness among employment service providers are problematic. The presence of more affluent households has not exposed young people to job networks as was hoped-for, because of the social distance between the two groups. In addition, the increased financial pressures on their parents, due to higher housing costs and other structural constraints, indirectly worsen young people's material wellbeing and push some of them to pursue illicit money-making activities, thereby diminishing their capability of achieving legally. Younger teenagers seemed to be more prone to the latter because they face higher barriers to employment and lower self-efficacy. On the other hand, those who have positive and supportive adult role models and social networks were less impacted by these capability deprivations.
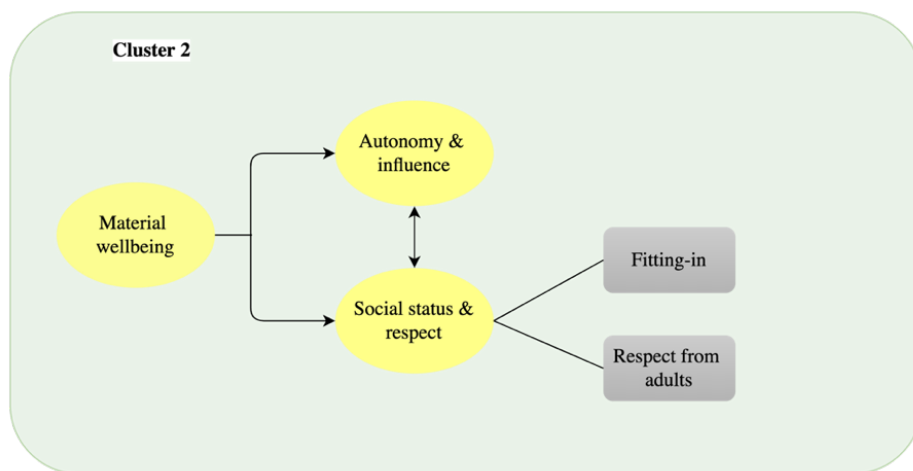
Cluster 2. Young people consider many of the regeneration processes as reinforcing theirs and their families' lower social status. They think they are being replaced by the more affluent residents due to the gentrifying and commercial nature of the regeneration. Mechanisms related to planning and financial viability structures contribute to this. Participants believe their needs and demands do not matter, not only because services are increasingly catering for the wealthier populations at the expense of their needs, but also because they feel powerless in the face of the changes taking place (diminishing the capability of influence). Living across the street from more privileged people emphasises their relative disadvantage and low status. Moreover, while the local public-private

partnerships and the emphasis on security are in principle considered among the improvements (or resources) brought by the regeneration, young people were among the most negatively affected by them. The security strategies collectively implemented by the different institutions in the area accentuate young people's exclusion and stigmatisation, thereby diminishing their opportunities for being respected. Almost all participants are affected by these capability deprivations, but older teenagers (14 or older), young men and those from black and other ethnic minority groups face more systematic discrimination. On the positive side, the community organisation has put a lot of effort in trying to mitigate the inequalities between social and private residents particularly in terms of housing amenities. The local authority has also established a number of measures to curb the disproportionate powers the developer has over the planning and viability assessments. Actions by the local authority and the community organisation have helped but not completely reversed the negative impact on young people's capabilities.
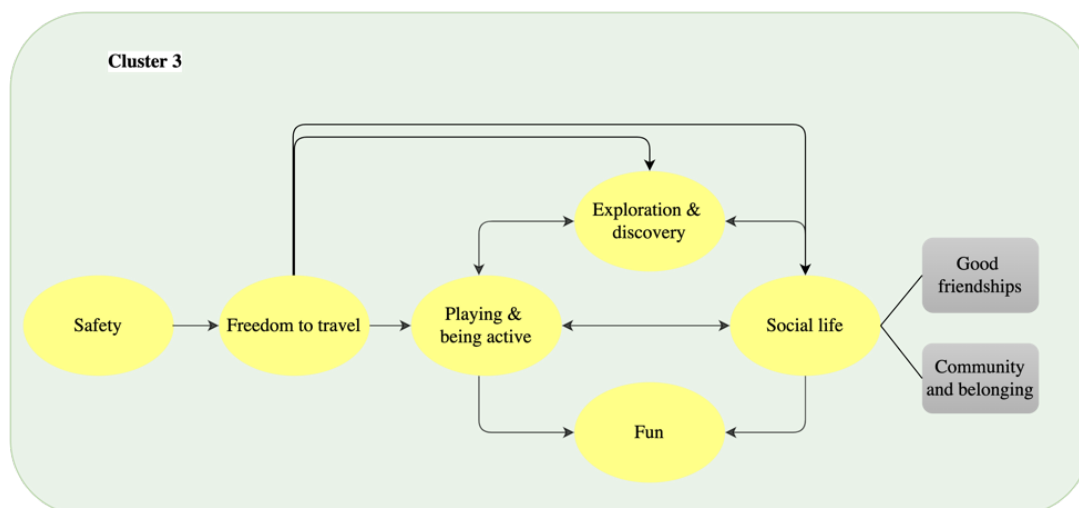
Cluster 3. Young people have faced both a reduction in neighbourhood resources and limitations on their ability to convert the new ones into their valued capabilities of mobility, safety, playing, being active, having fun, socialising, and exploring. Failure for years to replace the demolished parks and sports facilities that used to be frequented by teenagers restricted their freedoms. Likewise, the age and price barriers put in place by owners of new facilities to restrict young people's access lest they disturb adult and more affluent customers also impede on participants' capabilities. The same applies to the security measures that eliminate gatherings of young people in public spaces. These institutional and social conversion factors limit young people's opportunities for being safe as they spend time in potentially dangerous areas, while others are forced to stay isolated at home. These mechanisms have knock on effects on the capability of community and belonging, which is further aggravated by the breakdown in community relations,

the drastic change in the physical and demographic characteristics of the area and lack of youth participation.

Among young people, some are affected in different ways than others. Younger participants seemed to have more opportunities for engaging with community activities and accessing the new playgrounds with their families. But at the same time, their independent mobility is more likely to be restricted by parents, as safe spaces available for them are reduced. Participants whose social networks and activities are rooted within the area are more adversely impacted by the breakdown in community relations and restricted opportunities for socialisation.

Findings demonstrate the role of the community organisation members in lessening the effect of these conversion factors, as they negotiated funding for refurbishing one of the football pitches. To reduce the further erosion of the neighbourhood's identity, they rejected having its name changed and requested that social tenants are not moved outside of the area in future phases of the regeneration. Moreover, the youth club remained a valuable resource for young people as a safe and free space to socialise with their friends.
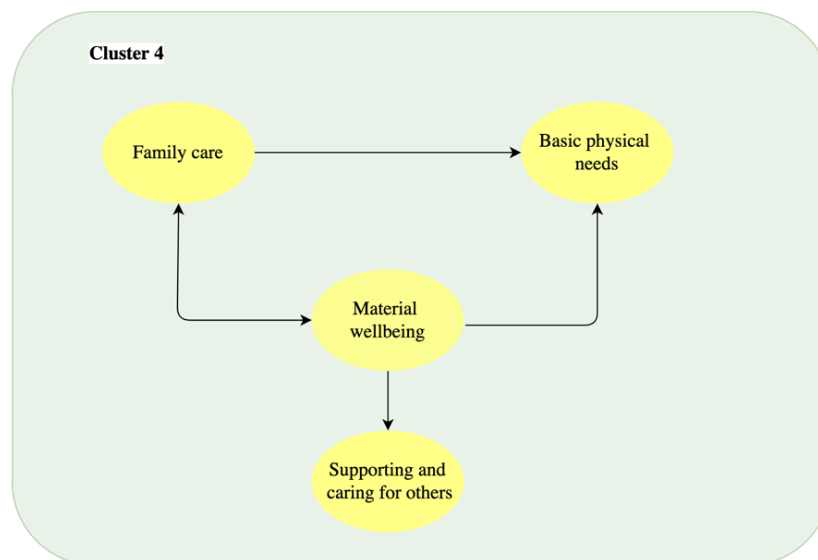
Cluster 4. Having access to a new more spacious home is, as the local authority would argue, one of the key resources made possible by the regeneration. While it does expand young people's capability of shelter, it puts the material wellbeing and other basic needs of some of them at risk. The higher costs of housing limit some families' material wellbeing, which could then negatively impact on young people's capability of being cared for and having other basic needs met (as demonstrated by the case of Emma's family mentioned above and in more detail in section 6.1).

If families face potential eviction due to inability to pay their rent, then their opportunities for being sheltered are worsened. Emma's mother was looking to move out of the area because she could no longer keep up with her bills. She and other mothers interviewed pointed out that their new rented property becomes a burden when structural constraints they face around low pay and employment barriers remain the same. Relatively more disadvantaged families (e.g. single parents) are more severely impacted by these factors.
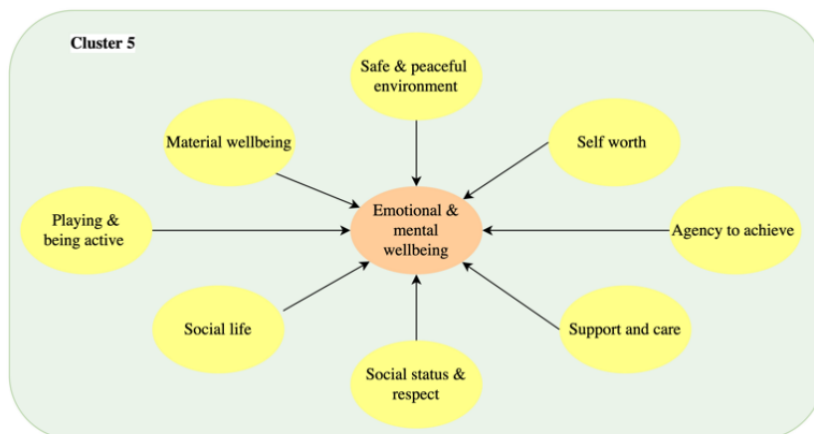
Cluster 5. The most relevant regeneration-promoted resource to this cluster is the improvements to the physical environment and expanding access to nature and green space. Some young people are able to convert this resource into valued capability of mental wellbeing, given they are not in groups or do not engage in behaviours deemed unacceptable by security guards, the police or adult residents. Nevertheless, many of the regeneration processes adversely impacted this capability. Feeling dispossessed and excluded from their area, having their community broken down, worrying about their families' material wellbeing and future while not being able to help, having no say in the changes, not fitting in the new posh area, and being conscious of the contrast between themselves and their more affluent neighbours all take a toll on their mental and emotional wellbeing. This is particularly the case for those who initially felt a great sense of ownership towards their neighbourhood.

Having summarised the findings and how they answer the research questions, the next section discusses how they contribute to existing knowledge.

10.2. Contributions of the thesis

The thesis makes three types of contributions: a contribution to understanding, to theory and to methodology. First, it furthers the understanding of mechanisms underpinning the relationship between the mixed communities approach to regeneration and youth wellbeing. Second, it contributes to the capability approach theoretical literature by proposing a different way of conceptualising valued capabilities as a web of interconnected and overlapping clusters of freedoms, as opposed to the dominant approach of a list of domains. Third, the thesis adopts a unique mix of ethnographic, participatory, interview and documentary research techniques. Producing and analysing data from multiple sources through multiple methods illuminated the complex processes of neighbourhood effects, providing a possible model for future community research on urban regeneration. Since the theoretical contribution has already been discussed in section 10.1.2, the following two sections will address the contribution to understanding and methodology.

10.2.1. Contribution to understanding

The thesis does not find evidence of the expected benefits of replacing social housing with mixed income communities. Instead, the study makes three arguments. First, it argues that the mechanisms through which young people's valued capabilities are influenced are: (1) dispossession, (2) social division and inequality, (3) stigmatisation and exclusion, and (4) community breakdown. Second, some of the mechanisms act as barriers to young people's ability to benefit from the improvements in their neighbourhood i.e. they impede their freedom to convert the neighbourhood's resources into valued beings and doings, thereby diminishing their wellbeing. Third, as some of the mechanisms (social and institutional conversion factors) interact with personal factors their effects vary by age, gender, ethnic background, relative family disadvantage and other personal circumstances.

It is important to emphasise here that these arguments should not be interpreted to mean that young people living in their pre-regeneration deprived council estate had a wide or wider capability set. There were plenty of neighbourhood problems prior to the area's redevelopment, including poor quality housing stock, drug-related crime and violence, limited employment opportunities, poor physical environment, among others. Addressing these problems are necessary for improving young people's wellbeing. However, what the thesis aims to establish is that the way the regeneration is designed and the structural context in which it is situated does not effectively

enhance, but has a negative impact on, young people's capabilities. Section 10.3 will expand on this by discussing the implications for the policy and practice of social housing regeneration

The rest of this section addresses what the findings of the thesis say about the pathways underpinning the policy rationale behind the mixed communities regeneration approach, and discusses how they relate to the existing academic literature.

The most fundamental claim about mixed tenure regeneration is that it aims to create inclusive and diverse communities that accommodate people with a range of income levels. At the time of fieldwork, the case study area was mixed in terms of housing tenure and resident income levels, but there was also evidence of gentrifying effects. The main contribution the thesis makes here is that it demonstrates how these gentrifying effects negatively influence teenagers' wellbeing by diminishing their capabilities of belonging, social status, material wellbeing, social life, playing, having fun, exploring, and emotional and mental wellbeing. It is argued that young people do face both direct and indirect displacement from their area as a result of the regeneration.

So far, the case study neighbourhood has arguably fared relatively better in terms of avoiding mass displacement of the original social housing residents compared to other regeneration projects or to market-led gentrification. This could be attributed to political will from the local authority which thus far remains committed to re-housing all existing residents in the area. The community organisation has also played an important role in holding the developer and the council accountable for promises they made at the start of the regeneration more than ten years ago. Comparing the case study area to other regeneration projects is useful here. For example, the regeneration of the Heygate estate in London resulted in the displacement of about 3000 council housing tenants and leaseholders (Lees 2018). The demolished 1,023 social-rented units have been replaced by only 82 because this is the maximum number of social-rented units deemed viably deliverable by the developer (35 per cent Campaign 2020). Not only was this approved by the local council, but it also took a three-year-long legal battle between the latter and the estate's residents for the council to release the financial viability assessment documents that justify the loss in social housing. This is not uncommon in London (see https://www.estatewatch.london/). A recent study estimated that between 1997 and 2018 more than 135 thousand council tenants were displaced from their estates as a result of regeneration projects that demolished 54 thousand social housing units (Lees 2018).

Having said that, findings reveal that gentrifying mechanisms are still taking place in the case study area, contributing to young people's perceptions of being dispossessed of their neighbourhood.

The first of these gentrifying processes stem from the national and local planning structures that do not provide sufficient safeguards against the loss of social housing taking place in the case study area and other similar developments. To recap from chapter 5, the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) gives developers freedom in setting the profit margin they wish to achieve from a development and in designing the methods for assessing its financial viability (Grayston 2017). For example, there are no standardised procedures for estimating projected sales values of properties to be sold in the open market. Consequently, developers find ways to underestimate these values and set inflated profit levels to justify reduced provision of social housing, or else the project would be deemed financially unviable.

The projected shortfall in social housing provision in the case study neighbourhood neither complies with London planning policy guidance nor the promises to increase social housing that were made to the community at the start of the regeneration. The Principal Development Agreement between the council and the developer specifies a minimum of 41 per cent affordable housing of the total development but is silent on the tenure split within the affordable housing provision. Thus, with their profit margin set at a relatively high level, the developer has been squeezing the number of social housing units relative to intermediate housing claiming that otherwise the project will be financially unviable, i.e. not profitable enough. The initial regeneration plan aimed to deliver a tenure split where social housing makes up 34 per cent of the total development. With the projected loss in social rented units, this percentage is set to be go down to 20 per cent. Thus, even with the best of intentions from the local authority and campaigning by residents, it has not been possible to stop the gentrification of the area.

The other set of dispossession mechanisms which throw doubt on the proclaimed goal of creating inclusive, diverse and mixed communities correspond to: the drastic change in the demographic and physical characteristics of the area and its consequences on young people's loss of sense of place and belonging; the shift in the neighbourhood's facilities which are increasingly catering for more upmarket clientele; and the increasing social housing costs that risk the displacement of the most materially disadvantaged families.

These mechanisms resemble processes of *indirect* displacement identified in the market-led gentrification literature. Indirect displacement refers to the cultural, economic, social, political, resource, housing market and affective displacement that working class groups experience in gentrifying areas (e.g. Davidson 2008; Twigge-Molecey 2014; Kennelly and Watt 2012; Watt 2013, p.113). These are differentiated from *direct* displacement processes where low-income groups are forced out of a neighbourhood through evictions or harassments by landlords (Marcuse 1985;

Atkinson 2000; Freeman 2002). For example, previous studies conducted in areas undergoing market gentrification in London found that the influx of white professionals and middle classes results in experiences of 'unhoming', discomfort and loss of belonging among the existing working-class residents (Butcher and Dickens 2016; Elliott-Cooper et al. 2019). Elliott-Cooper and colleagues (2019) argued that it is a form of violence that disproportionately imposes mental harms on working-class and ethnic-minority groups. In my case study area, council-led mixed tenure regeneration was having strikingly similar effects on young people. The regeneration is drastically changing the identity of the area in ways that erase young people's memories and histories, and which are more fitting with 'posh' tastes. The resulting loss of ownership and belonging to the area experienced by young people does not match the London mayor's vision about how mixed communities are meant to strengthen residents' 'sense of responsibility for, and identity with, their neighbourhoods' (Greater London Authority 2016 p.116).

Indirect economic or housing market displacement is described by gentrification researchers in terms of increasing house prices due to competition from higher income groups moving into an area, or the development of new high-status commercial and residential projects in adjacent neighbourhoods (Davidson 2008; Twigge-Molecey 2014). While this effect is mitigated to a certain extent by the continued presence of social housing in the case study area, it is still reflected in the higher target rent rates of social housing. Findings contribute to this knowledge by showing the ways disadvantaged young people are particularly influenced by this type of indirect displacement in the form of constrained capabilities of material wellbeing, basic needs and social status which are mediated through their parents' worse financial circumstances.

Moreover, the thesis finds evidence of what has been called in the gentrification literature as 'neighbourhood resource displacement', which signifies the reorientation of neighbourhood services in the interest of more affluent residents (Davidson 2008). Previous studies documented how the change in consumption patterns as a result of the increasing numbers of wealthier residents eroded the need for good quality public services (Atkinson 2000; Peck and Tickell 2002), and resulted in the replacement of discounted stores with more upmarket shops in gentrifying areas (Davidson 2008).

The thesis builds on this literature by showing how these changes explicitly target young people. Facilities in the case study area changed their own provision to attract the more affluent customers, as they no longer felt the need to cater for the lower-income young people. In some cases, restaurant, coffee shop and gym owners increased their prices or put age restrictions mainly to

241

exclude teenagers who are perceived to be threatening, imposing or a nuisance to their customers. Free open spaces used by teenagers were also demolished and not replaced for years, while the property developer opted for building playgrounds more suitable for younger children, likely out of reluctance to encourage teenagers from gathering outside of private housing. This also suits the needs of the private housing households with small children.

These findings challenge or perhaps demonstrate unforeseen consequences to another policy rationale underpinning how the mixed tenure regeneration is expected to benefit existing communities: that higher spending and expectations from better off residents would bring more "money to support facilities" and improve the quality of local services (Lupton and Tunstall 2010). This has indeed taken place in the case study area, but it has also meant that as wealthier residents consume and spend more time locally, lower-income young people are outpriced and excluded. Teenagers face many social and institutional barriers to converting these resources into valued capabilities. Some of these barriers, it is argued, amount to direct rather than indirect forms of displacement.

Participants considered what is happening as *explicit* or *direct* attempts to 'kick them out' of the area. What underlies these attitudes are the multiple deliberate ways of excluding, stigmatising and marginalising lower-income young people in particular. This is relevant to a third element of the mixed communities initiative (MCI) theory of change, which expects that a mix of income levels among residents would reduce the stigma of living in deprived area by improving their reputations. Previous research found evidence that service providers and front-line staff in disadvantaged areas stigmatise their residents as 'undeserving' (Hastings 2009) and that the bad reputations of some poor areas make it hard to attract experienced civil servants to work there (Lupton 2003b, 2004). While it is true that, as participants mentioned, the regeneration has 'opened up the area', made it 'more appealing' and that 'people are now moving there when it used to be a place that no one wanted to move to', young people however are still stigmatised even more so than before.

Pathways identified under the 'stigmatisation and exclusion' theme expand the existing literature by demonstrating how the mixed income regeneration of a council estate institutionalises the exclusion of young people from their neighbourhood. Partnerships are forged between local public and private bodies interested in maintaining 'order', and attracting investors and homebuyers to the area. As they espouse blanket assumptions about the criminality and problematic behaviour of lower-income teenagers, these local coalitions entrench structural discrimination and stigmatisation of disadvantaged youths and those from black and ethnic minority groups. Direct

242

displacement is evident in the security strategies that aim to control and almost completely eliminate the presence of groups of young people from public spaces, restricting their freedoms of mobility, safety, exploring, socialising, being respected, playing and belonging to a supportive community.

Relevant here are the social disorganisation and collective efficacy theories, which attribute the higher levels of disorder and crime in disadvantaged neighbourhoods to adults' inability to apply social control on teenagers' activities. Testing the social disorganisation model on two large national surveys in England and Wales, Sampson and Groves confirmed that areas with low SES or high residential instability have weaker organisational base and low cohesion and trust, respectively, hindering their ability to cooperate to maintain formal and informal control on youth groups (Sampson and Groves 1989; Shaw and McKay 1942). Relatedly, Sampson et al. 1997 found evidence that low levels of community trust and cohesion in poor areas result in low collective efficacy i.e. less willingness from residents to intervene on behalf of the common good whenever they encounter unacceptable behaviour by youths. However, young people and their subjective experiences were not included in the development or empirical studies backing both theories. They were conceptualised from a predominately adult-centric perspective. This thesis finds that the regeneration and influx of more affluent residents have indeed strengthened the organisational base of the neighbourhood. The area's affairs are governed by a consortium of institutions working collectively to instate order and security. However, findings also demonstrate that young people perceive these organisations as outsiders and show how the latter's actions are detrimental for their wellbeing. Informal control is not carried out by concerned residents who have mutual trust and close relationships. Where residents (particularly higher-income) see behaviours they disagree with, they often expect the police to deal with it. In a context of racialised attitudes and policing practices, this accentuates discrimination against disadvantaged youths.

These set of findings also contribute to the existing literature on urban regeneration. Previous research of public housing regeneration found evidence of disapproving attitudes from higher-income residents of unsupervised youth activities, contested norms and values in public spaces, demands for more policing (Chaskin et al. 2013; Silverman et al. 2005; Carnegie et al. 2018; Mitchell 2003), and the deliberate design of play areas to exclude older young people (Brown and Lees 2009). Similarly, qualitative findings from the Moving to Opportunity MTO experiment revealed that boys who moved to better-off neighbourhoods were exposed to bullying, unfavourable attitudes from neighbours, and police harassment (Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2011). Research in areas undergoing gentrification or city-centre regeneration also revealed processes of securitisation,

'sanitisation', and criminalisation, whereby 'undesirable' populations such as low-income youths, street vendors and rough sleepers are evicted from public spaces (e.g. see Aramayona 2020; Dee 2015; Kennelly and Watt 2011; Raco 2003; Lees 2003; Rogers and Coafee 2005). The thesis expands this knowledge by revealing the processes involved in the planning, execution, and rationalisation of these exclusionary practices within the context of mixed tenure council estate regeneration. It also demonstrates the different ways they negatively influence young people's wellbeing and capabilities.

This brings us to another policy expectation about how mixed tenure (income) regeneration is supposed to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour. A number of processes are imagined to work here: it is predicted that the presence of more affluent families would expose youths to aspirational peer groups; more economically active residents with strong connections to the labour market would raise young people's aspirations, increase their bridging social capital and act as role models; and that mixed communities would have "fewer people with motivation for crime and anti-social behaviour" (Lupton and Tunstall 2010). The thesis does not find evidence for most of these anticipated pathways due to the social distance between young people and their affluent neighbours. Instead, it argues that the mechanisms taking place could be worsening young people's exposure to risk and crime.

Discouraging young people from congregating in public spaces does limit their ability to meet their peers or make new ones. But it also limits one of their most valued capabilities, and is not an effective strategy for reducing risk behaviours. In the neighbourhood effects literature, negative peer influences are considered one of the most important neighbourhood mechanisms for youth risk behaviours in areas with concentration of poverty (Case and Katz 1991; Sinclair et al 1994; Galster 2012). This was certainly evident in the views of adult residents and local organisational actors, interviewed for this study, who believe that groups of teenagers are inevitably disruptive, anti-social and a crime risk (see section 7.1). Young people have a more nuanced perspective on this issue, though. They do acknowledge the negative impact of gang violence on their life, fear of getting caught up in it, and ease of getting involved in crime if one is forced to take that risk (due to poverty). However, it is precisely for these reasons, according to them, that they are most in need of spaces where they can meet their friends safely. Expelling them from supervised and secure public spaces hardly helps. It could also expose some of them to more risk as they spend time in unsupervised areas. It restricts their valued capabilities of building friendships and having supportive community relationships, which are important for their mental wellbeing. Spending less time in the neighbourhood weakens young people's community relations and sense of belonging,

factors linked to more crime and anti-social behaviour according to the literature (Sampson and Raudenbush 1999). It certainly minimises opportunities for them to interact with the new residents.

Neither the positive peer nor adult role model effects were observed in the case study neighbourhood. In line with previous evidence (Clampet-Lundquist 2007; Jupp et al. 1999; Allen et al. 2005; Tersteeg and Pinkster 2015), there are generally limited cross-tenure social interactions. The social distance is particularly wide between teenagers and the more affluent residents, partly due to the demographic mismatch between the two groups. But also, because young people do not feel welcomed in the redeveloped areas, they are less likely to participate in community events. Thus, lack of social interactions between the two groups persists despite the regular community activities and high-quality public space in the area, factors previous studies linked to higher social mixing (e.g. Silverman et al. 2005; Allen et al. 2005; Sautkina et al. 2012). Even though some participants acknowledge that living in a place where many people are not deemed 'successful' can negatively affect self-efficacy, they do not believe that the presence of higher-income residents has a positive effect either. Young people mentioned that their role models are those they can relate to and know about their success stories, rather than strangers who have money.

It follows that the expectation that neighbourhood income mixing would improve disadvantaged residents' 'bridging' social capital (i.e. exposure to more advantaged social networks, job opportunities, access to information, etc.) has not materialised for the young participants (Kearns 2004). Despite their aspirations to build their skills, find employment and earn their own money, many are not able to benefit from the businesses that opened in the borough as a result of its widespread regeneration, even despite the local authority's efforts to connect them to these job networks. The businesses' reluctance to spend money and time into training low skilled youth and stereotypes about the latter's lazy attitudes act as barriers. There are also doubts about the efficacy of the developer's apprenticeships to build skills and knowledge for future employment. These findings provide possible explanations to the numerous null and inconclusive effects of neighbourhood SES on individual earnings in previous research (Knies et al. 2020; Lindahl 2011; Brännström 2005; Sanbonmatsu et al. 2011).

Additionally, the thesis findings build on previous evidence of the 'relative deprivation' neighbourhood effects by revealing the processes by which it takes place in a deprived neighbourhood turned into a mixed income community. Relative deprivation as a mechanism suggests that people's perception of their own wealth is influenced by how they compare their

circumstances to those of others (Walker and Pettigrew 1984; Wilkinson 2001). Accordingly, those who are relatively poor in a wealthy neighbourhood and do not have the opportunities to reach similar higher living standard will become conscious of their lower social status, consequently experiencing worse psychological wellbeing (Galster 2012; Luttmer 2005; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn 2000). Some studies, mainly using quantitative statistical methods, found a link between living among more affluent neighbours (using objective measures of relative deprivation) and worse mental and behavioural youth outcomes (e.g. Nieuwenhuis et al. 2017; Odgers et al. 2015; Lund and Dearing 2013; Flouri et al. 2015; Sanbonmatsu et al. 2011; Oberwittler 2007; Gibbons 2002). However, they only provide an indication for the 'relative deprivation' hypothesis. This thesis's findings elucidate the processes that underlie this relationship as more affluent residents move into a council estate undergoing mixed tenure regeneration. In a context where young people's capabilities to develop their employment skills and improve their material wellbeing and sense of achievement are limited, and their families face increasing financial pressures, rather than raising their aspirations, living across the street from more privileged residents highlights their lower status. Visible discrepancies in living standards can be demoralising and negatively affect their valued capability of emotional and mental wellbeing. Findings also reveal that young people's perception of their relatively lower social status is influenced by the intersections between their socio-economic status, age, gender and ethnic background, which distinctively shape their neighbourhood experiences compared to the more affluent neighbours. Besides their economic position, differences in experiences of violence, racialised policing practices and access to public spaces and recreational facilities translate into very contrasting neighbourhood realities between the two groups, which exacerbate teenagers' perceptions of their disadvantaged situation. The fact that this takes place in a context where they perceive being dispossessed of their neighbourhood worsens their mental wellbeing.

Because of all the above, young people believe that the regeneration strengthens the link between youth crime and poverty, and inequality. They gave primarily structural rationalisations to young people's illicit money-making activities: to help their struggling families and gain social status. As housing costs and local inequality increase, opportunities for job and skills development do not improve, and young people are shunned from the redeveloped neighbourhood, the regeneration reinforces drivers of crime. While it may be true that, as expected by the Mixed Communities Initiative (MCI) theory of change (Department for Communities and Local Government 2010), affluent households have less motivation for crime, these findings show that the regeneration reinforces and possibly increases lower-income youths' incentives for it.

Finally, the findings provide evidence for the heterogeneity of neighbourhood effects established in the literature (Small and Feldman 2011; Sharkey and Faber 2014). The mechanisms do not affect all participants equally. They interact with personal attributes whereby among young people some are more successful than others in converting resources or are not as vulnerable to capability constraints. This results in varying capabilities based on their gender, age, ethnic background, relative disadvantage, previous experiences, and current life circumstances. Additionally, the thesis suggests that the history of the estate, its specific characteristics (e.g. having had a relatively stable community) and the circumstances of how a mixed community is introduced (i.e. through demolition of a council estate) do matter. For example, mechanisms like the impact of the drastic change on young people's sense of place, belonging and community relations would not be relevant in a completely new scheme. Also, the thesis findings contrast with those of a previous study that interviewed children and young people in three mixed tenure neighbourhoods that were initially designed with social mix in mind (Allen et al. 2005). Researchers found that young people were ambivalent about mixed tenure and forged close cross-tenure friendships.

Furthermore, the thesis demonstrates that as a social group, lower-income teenagers have distinctive experiences in their mixed income area, as compared to adults from both higher and lower income backgrounds. One illustrative example was the joint interview between Emma, 14, and her mother who did agree on some issues, but also had different concerns and points of view on others. While Emma thought she is being judged and looked down on by the richer residents, her mother considered their family lucky and a source of envy from the other social residents that have not yet moved to their new homes. Equally, the mother thought that the regeneration has "cleaned up" the area from 'the youth who used to be selling drugs on their doorstep''. Emma, on the other hand, replied that the regeneration has not solved the problem and that she "knows for a fact it (drug dealing) is still going on'', adding that she believes that for some people this is the only source of money because of the increasing prices caused by the regeneration. Moreover, there are a number of differences between the thesis's findings about young people's experiences of mixed income regeneration and those from previous studies conducted from adults' perspectives. For example, qualitative research conducted by Bond et al. 2013 and Silverman et al. 2005 showed that adult residents in some of the areas they studied were positive about mixed tenure, and thought that owner occupiers have a good influence on social renters, improved the areas' reputations and increased levels of informal social control. These perspectives are not evident in my research with young people, yet their experiences and views are overlooked.

Findings show that despite the acknowledgement among the regeneration partner organisations of the importance of engaging with young people, this recognition has not materialised into action due to the absence of institutional structures and mandates that ensure young people are involved effectively. This violates the principles of child and youth participation enshrined in the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child. The exclusion of children and young people from decision-making is widely discussed within the UK urban renewal and planning literatures (e.g. Phillips 2004; Speak 2000; O'Sullivan et al. 2020; Fitzpatrick et al. 2000; Rogers 2006). Phillips (2004) argued that children are excluded on two grounds: their social class and generational position, deeming them unskilled and incompetent to participate by regeneration boards. Even where youth forums or other forms of youth involvement existed, researchers in the early 2000s highlighted the limited power they usually have, mainly because they tend to be disconnected from wider regeneration structures (e.g. see Fitzpatrick et al. 2000, and Phillips 2004). About twenty years later, little progress seems to have been made to successfully involve children and young people.

10.2.2. Implications for policy and practice

The findings discussed thus far have several implications for the policy and practice of mixed income regeneration of social housing estates if they are to achieve their objectives of "tackling poor life chances" and creating "mixed and inclusive communities" (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government 2016, p.2; Greater London Authority 2021). Some implications are procedural or relate to processes of designing, managing and executing mixed income regeneration projects. Others address structural issues. In the rest of this section, I discuss suggestions for reforms that could be considered by policy makers, practitioners and community leaders.

One fundamental change to start with is the meaningful, sustainable and effective inclusion of young people in regeneration decision-making processes. There are a few takeaway points from my experience of engaging with young people in this study. Young people value having the space to voice their opinions about designing and organising their local areas. Policy makers and practitioners responsible for planning and neighbourhood regeneration should recognise children and young people as an important stakeholder whose distinctive uses of public space and overall experiences of their neighbourhood should be given careful consideration. Sufficient time and investment should be allocated to designing a youth participation strategy before the start of regeneration projects. Young people should be involved in designing these strategies. I often found that members of the regeneration partner organisations (local authority, community organisation

and community organisation) did not know how to engage with young people. Asking the latter about their preferences for engagement is a good starting point. Perhaps, it is also worth investing in training members of regeneration boards about the principles and good practice of children and youth participation.

Different types of engagement opportunities should be made available to allow young people to choose the degree and form of participation that suits their preferences for self-expression, time availability and life circumstances throughout the regeneration stages. It would be ideal to adopt a mix, including consultations, youth forums, joint management (e.g. members of regeneration boards), and youth control (e.g. young people leading specific projects). Each one of these has its strengths and weaknesses in terms of scope and level of representation and power, as discussed by Fitzpatrick et al. (2000).

It is recommended that the different forms of participation enable open discussions where young people can express the range of issues important to them within their neighbourhood. Findings show that consultations are sometimes deliberately designed around rigid adult-determined topics because decision-makers want to avoid raising expectations about what is possible to achieve within their remit. I argue this is a narrow view that perceives discussions as one-way interactions and underestimates young people's capacities to engage in informed discussions. Instead, conversations with young people ought to be honest and transparent about realistic possibilities for change. Relatedly, adults should invest time and resources into building trusted relationships with young people. As mentioned in section 7.2 some of the participants were involved in groups campaigning to influence local council decisions. One of the things they most valued about these forums is having supportive adults around. Hart (2008) introduced the 'scaffold' metaphor to describe structures of participation where adults and children of different competencies help each other reach higher degrees of contribution. These forums prove that youth participation is achievable.

Importantly, youth participation should be embedded in mainstream regeneration governance structures with clear accountability measures. There are several examples of youth forums at the neighbourhood, borough and national levels (e.g. youth parliaments). However, they run the risk of being separate structures that do not have meaningful influence on decision-making (Fitzpatrick et al 2000; Phillips 2004). It is advised that principles and structures for child and youth participation at the neighbourhood level (including within regeneration projects) be part of Local

Plans, and a requirement of regeneration planning permissions. The London Plan stipulates consultation with communities on a range of issues, but refers to consultation with children and young people only once with regards to planning play and informal recreation (Greater London Authority 2021). This is undoubtedly important but still restricts the range of issues where there is statutory requirement for consultations with this group. It is also limited to one form of participation. The Mayor of London's most recent design inquiry entitled 'Making London Child-Friendly' gives fantastic advice to planners and developers on best practice in engaging with children and young people, but the recommendations are non-binding (Mayor of London 2020).

Another important problem raised by the findings is how the mixed income regeneration contributes to the exclusion of young people from the neighbourhood's public spaces and their limited opportunities for socialising with their friends outdoors. There are a number of issues to be addressed: first, the demolition of parks, play areas and football pitches teenagers accessed before the regeneration. The second is the implementation of security strategies that aim to prevent teenagers from gathering in public spaces. Third, the barriers imposed on youths to access new leisure, food and sports' facilities.

To address the first point, it is important to provide alternative high quality play areas that meet the needs of young people from all ages before existing ones are demolished. This will prevent a situation where years pass before new ones are built leaving teenagers with limited spaces for play and socialisation. Not only does this ensure their wellbeing at the present, but it also caters for their needs at a crucial time in their social and cognitive development. Moreover, it is crucial to maintain public youth services including youth clubs and detached youth work. Findings demonstrated the importance of the youth club in providing a supervised safe space with supportive adults. This is generally important, but is even more so in the context of regeneration where private facilities compete to attract upmarket customers. Cuts to council-provided youth services in London were estimated to be £38.1 million between 2011 and 2018 (Berry 2018). This includes the loss of at least 800 full-time youth workers and 81 youth centres. The situation is expected to worsen as a result of the covid pandemic with nearly a third of youth clubs facing closure due to financial difficulties (London Youth 2020).

Recently there have been welcome policy developments that address play provision in London's public realm. The London Plan now sets a statutory quota of 10 square metres of play space per child in all new residential developments. It urges that play areas are not segregated by tenure, and

that "where development is to be phased, there should be an early implementation of play space" (Greater London Authority 2021, p.229). It also requires "appropriate provision for different age groups, including older children and teenagers", and that "formal play provision should be free, well-designed, accessible, inclusive and stimulating" (ibid, p.228). It adds that any "loss resulting from the proposed development should be replaced by equivalent or better provision in terms of quantity and quality in a suitable location" (ibid, p.230). This is all very positive, and it is hoped other regions will follow suit.

The policy does not, however, engage with the second two issues arising from the exclusion of lower young people from public spaces that are not designated for their age group. At the heart of this exclusion is entrenched stigmatisation of lower income youths, and the social and institutional racism against black and ethnic minority groups. A starting point is working at the local level to build tolerant and equal relationships between institutions (regeneration partners, schools, police, etc.) and young community members. The latter should be asked by regeneration organisations to participate in formulating neighbourhood safety strategies. An open and honest discussion about youth crime and racialised policing is essential between the police's safer neighbourhood teams and local youths. Instead of disruptive and potentially criminal, young people should be viewed as community members with a stake in its safety, especially because they are among the most impacted by street violence. It is recognised that it will take time to build back trust between young people (especially young black men) and the police not least because institutional race-, class- and generational-based inequalities have existed for decades. They also stem from social and structural factors that require fundamental change.

With regards to local amenities, regeneration retail strategies must take into consideration the needs of the wider community. This can be achieved by targeting vendors who cater for people from different ages and income-levels. For example, young people are usually attracted to affordable food takeaway, coffee shops and ice cream parlors.

The 'Making London Child-Friendly' enquiry addresses children's and young people's independent mobility, defined as their "freedom to occupy and move around the public realm – either alone or with other children – without adult supervision" (Mayor of London 2020, p.22). It touches on some of the issues discussed here. For example, it advocates for young people's right to "feel welcome and able to play and socialise in public and communal spaces" (ibid, p. 71), and advises "adults to actively support and enable independent mobility and play in everyday contexts" (ibid,

p.92). A notable recommendation for local authorities and developers in mixed tenure developments is to draw "a shared residential agreement protecting the rights of children and young people to play and freely socialise […] at the earliest stage for tenants and homeowners in residential developments." (Mayor of London 2020 p.92). Young people's capabilities would be improved if these principles are applied. Ideally, owners and workers at new facilities (such as supermarkets, shops, gyms, restaurants, etc.) are included in such 'shared residential agreements'.

Moving on to the problematic system behind cross-subsidisation and financial viability assessment (FVAs), which as findings demonstrate can jeopardise social housing provision and contribute to increased inequality between social and private housing. I support recommendations made by Shelter on this matter (see Grayston 2017). Rather than using viability assessments to manage regular market risks, they called for limiting their use to 'exceptional circumstances' where there are for example unforeseen remediation site costs that would render schemes genuinely unviable unless an alteration is made (Grayston 2017). In these limited cases where a compromise in the level of affordable housing provision is unavoidable, the example of the regeneration project under study here should be followed in terms of undertaking regular reviews to ensure any sales returns in excess of what was initially predicted are used to fill gaps in affordable housing provision. To strengthen this requirement, it should be specified by national policy. Social housing must be given priority in cases where there is predicted net loss as a result of regeneration.

Moreover, developers should not be given free rein in deciding their profit margins and methods of assessing risk or projected sales values. Central government must set a formula determining acceptable levels of returns taking into account local housing markets. The Mayor of London's guidance issued in 2017 on estimating the Benchmark Land Value[49] is a welcome development that should be incorporated into the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). It is based on the current land use value plus an "appropriate premium" (Greater London Authority 2017). This way the landowner is guaranteed the value of the land prior to further development, and on top of that the premium acts as an incentive for selling the land. Local planning authorities could standardise the method for calculating premiums.

Beyond replacing demolished social housing, the actual proportion of different tenures needs consideration by local planning authorities. It is not possible to provide recommendations for a specific tenure split based on this qualitative research. However, findings indicate that the amount

---

[49] This is the benchmark value developers need to match or exceed to incentivize landowners to sell.

of new and affluent residents is relevant to young people's capabilities through mechanisms of dispossession, exclusion, social divide and community breakdown. At the time of field work the tenure split was 48% social rent, 33% private rent, 11% homeownership, and 8% shared ownership. By the end of the project, social rent is projected to be 20%. The private rented tenure is partially a product of the property developer selling multiple units (in one case an entire building) to investors and landlords. However, private renting is rarely planned for at a policy level when it comes to mixed tenure regeneration. At their inception in the early 2000s, interventions to diversify housing tenure of council estates were mainly thought of in terms of achieving a mix between homeownership and social housing. It is likely because at the time these were the two dominant tenures. Since then, the proportion of the private rented sector at the national level increased from about 10 per cent to 19.5 per cent in 2020 (Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government 2021). In London, it went from about 15 per cent to 28.7 per cent (ibid). Outside of institutional Build to Rent, properties developed for market sale that end up privately let are not considered in mixed tenure policy. This has implications for the income mix and stability of neighbourhoods that does not seem to be accounted for in planning for mixed tenure developments.

In addition, findings indicate that one way to avoid social division and resentment between social tenants and new affluent residents, housing should be truly tenure blind both internally and externally. Private internal amenities like swimming pools and gyms or hiring security guards outside of private blocks' entrances are divisive. The London 2021 Plan states that "housing developments should be designed to maximise tenure integration, and affordable housing units should have the same external appearance as private housing. All entrances will need to be well integrated with the rest of the development and should be indistinguishable from each other" (Greater London Authority 2021, p.129).

Preserving the character of the neighbourhood is very important for participants' sense of belonging and ownership towards the area. Involving young people, as well as other community members, in the design of housing and street layouts could improve their sense of place. Regeneration architects could exploit technologies such as the new simulation videogame, now widely used by UN-Habitat and international charities, which allows communities to actively take part in designing their neighbourhoods' public spaces and physical infrastructure (Design Indaba 2019). Such simulations could provide an indication of residents' broad preferences in terms of materials to use, height and shape of buildings, features to include in public spaces, etc.

Furthermore, cross-tenure social interactions in general, and between teenagers and the new affluent residents in particular could be encouraged in a number of ways. From the design side, consideration should be given not only to the tenure mix, but also to housing size mix in order to attract families into the private properties. London planning policy does recommend a balanced mix of unit sizes within the different tenures. However, as the findings demonstrate, this is overlooked due to financial viability considerations: small-sized units achieve higher returns per square metre than bigger properties. Integration of tenures at the block level, not only at the street level, could also improve social interactions.

To incentivise teenagers' involvement in community events, it is recommended that activities suitable for their age are incorporated. Young people can be encouraged to take part in the organisation of community events (like seasonal festivals, street markets, etc.) for an appropriate remuneration, which would also contribute to their skills development. Additionally, they can exhibit some of their talents at such events. This could include putting together dance routines, singing, exhibiting or selling art they produced, etc. Certainly, it would help if they are participating in regeneration decision-making and feel welcomed in public spaces in the first place.

Considering the above suggestions could help ameliorate some of the capability restrictions young people experience as a result of the regeneration. However, findings demonstrate that in many cases the mechanisms operating within the mixed income neighbourhood reinforce existing structural factors. Without addressing the latter, there would be limits to what an optimal social housing regeneration can achieve to improve disadvantaged young people's wellbeing. It is beyond this thesis to make detailed recommendations for how socio-structural inequalities could be addressed. However, some of the constraints that would need to be considered include a commitment by central and local governments to genuinely involve children and young people in the governance and policy making structures. This would need to be accompanied by socio-cultural change that respects all children and young people regardless of their backgrounds and adopts a duty of care towards them. It is also paramount to invest in removing structural barriers that prevent young people from accessing opportunities to build their skills for employment both at the national and local levels. Equally, it is crucial to develop a welfare regime that adequately helps lower-income families weather the increase in living costs that accompanies mixed income regeneration. Otherwise, improvements to their neighbourhood can become a burden rather than a blessing, with adverse impact on children's and young people's wellbeing. As participants

emphasised, economic and racial inequalities are at the root of drug dealing and gang-related crime. Adopting an exclusively policing approach is not going to be effective at eradicating drug markets, if anything it reinforces racial and class prejudice.

10.2.3. Contribution to methodology

The third type of contribution the thesis makes is methodological, as it adopts a unique mix of ethnographic and youth-centred participatory approaches that illuminated not only young people's views and experiences, but also expounded a deep understanding of their neighbourhood context.

The study's research design elucidates the substance and workings of the complex mechanisms underpinning the relationship between young people's wellbeing and the mixed income regeneration of their neighbourhood. Dedicating time to observe community dynamics by attending regeneration and other community meetings, local events, and consultations, as well as interviewing a wide range of local actors developed a comprehensive understanding of the institutional, environmental, and social conversion factors affecting low-income teenagers' capabilities. Young people's viewpoints on their neighbourhood experiences, however, guided my observations and the issues I brought up during interviews with adults and service providers. At the same time, I was able to see things from the latter's perspective and identify processes that were not always apparent to young people. The result is a triangulated analysis that took into account the different dimensions of young people's neighbourhood experiences. Previous qualitative urban regeneration studies with children or adults mainly used one or a few forms of data collection methods such as interviews, surveys, focus groups and/or diaries (e.g. Watt 2009, 2013; Bond et al. 2013; Silverman et al. 2005; Kearns et al. 2013; Gosling 2008). Some utilised participatory activity-based methods with young people (e.g. O'Sullivan et al. 2020; Allen et al. 2005; Speak 2000; Brown and Lees 2009). This thesis, however, managed to distinctively combine some of these methods (interviews, group discussions and participatory activities) with ethnographic methods of participatory and non-participatory observation as well as an analysis of regeneration documents. This multi-method and multi-source approach is particularly useful in exposing the processes of this complex social phenomenon.

Furthermore, taking participants' valued beings and doings as a starting point, and then exploring how their neighbourhood's regeneration expand or impede their freedom to achieve these things produced a youth-centred analysis of the different ways the area affects all the things they care about (including for example being able to have fun and explore), rather than focusing on only

255

one or a few dimensions chosen by me that may not have captured what is important for them. It also allowed me to link the different mechanisms to specific capabilities.

Adopting the capability approach as an analytical framework has meant that the improvements to the neighbourhood's facilities, infrastructure and services are not taken at face value, rather they were considered resources that are converted into capabilities at varying levels depending on the conversion factors of the different groups occupying the area. Thus, I was able to identify low-income teenagers' unique position compared to other social groups, as well as the different opportunities and freedoms available to different sub-groups among the young people themselves.

10.3. Study limitations and directions for future research

10.3.1. Limitations

Despite the unique contributions the thesis makes, it has a number of limitations that should be recognised when interpreting its findings and conclusions. I previously discussed in chapter 3 the constraints pertaining to resourcing, achieving some types of triangulation and access to participants. To briefly reiterate, these include the decision to study only one neighbourhood which compromised on incorporating a comparative analysis; being a solo researcher whose background, identity and subjective world views influence the research and its findings (see appendix M for a statement on reflexivity); and obstacles to including participants from the Turkish and Kurdish minority ethnic communities in the area.

There are further caveats important to bear in mind in order to appropriately contextualise the findings of the thesis. The area under study is an ethnically diverse inner-city neighbourhood located in a borough experiencing high levels of gentrification, and a city with high levels of inequality. The neighbourhood was relatively stable with a strong community before the regeneration. These characteristics are relevant to how the mixed income regeneration influences young people's wellbeing, and thus have implications on the extent to which the findings apply to other contexts. Additionally, it is a large regeneration project taking place over almost three decades. The fieldwork for this study provides a snapshot of only one year in the life of young people about ten years since the start of their estate's regeneration in 2007. It is a constantly changing picture and each phase of the regeneration brings its own challenges and experiences.

Therefore, it is likely that new and different findings would be produced had I conducted the same study five years ago or waited until the completion of the regeneration after 2035.

As explained in chapter 3, being a qualitative single-case study, the aim is to achieve theoretical and analytic generalisation, rather than universalisation or statistical representation. In other words, generalisation at the level of mechanisms or processes that exist for an outcome to occur. The thesis produced an analysis of the mechanisms underpinning the influence of the regeneration on young people's capabilities, according to which it could be claimed that if similar mechanisms and the conditions producing them exist in other comparable neighbourhoods, then it is likely that young people's capabilities will be restricted.

10.3.2. Directions for future research

There are various ways in which future research could fill gaps left by this study's limitations and build on its findings. The first would be to explore young people's experiences of mixed income regeneration in other contexts. For example, it is possible to investigate different types of neighbourhoods, located in other local areas, cities, regions, or countries. This would illuminate the extent to which there are common experiences across contexts, and throw into sharper relief the context-specific factors, both of which would be helpful in designing future regeneration initiatives. The second would be to conduct a more focused investigation of the experiences of different sub-groups among young people, for example participants from different ethnic backgrounds, genders, disabilities, etc. This would further clarify how personal and social conversion factors impact on capabilities. A possible third line of enquiry would be to interview a full sample of the private tenants and homeowners to get a better understanding of how they experience the neighbourhood and its influence on their capabilities. Producing a full comparative analysis of capabilities of young people and the new private residents would better elucidate the contrasts and/or similarities between the two groups. A fourth prospect for future research is to quantitatively test the mechanisms found here on a representative sample by incorporating them into statistical models. This could include to what extent young people are included in the community, their freedom to use public spaces, their participation in decision making, attitudes towards them from institutional actors and residents of different housing tenures, subjective and objective levels of local inequality, access to affordable youth facilities, among others. It is likely that there will be limitations on the data available to test for many of these variables, which opens a fifth possible avenue for future research activity. Collecting relevant data on a range of

neighbourhood characteristics and subjective perceptions of residents is crucial for advancing our understanding of neighbourhood effects on their inhabitants' life chances and wellbeing.

A sixth research direction could be adopting a longitudinal research design to test for the long-term impact on young people's outcomes. It is evident from the findings that the living through the disruption caused by the regeneration has an impact on participants' experiences and wellbeing. It would be interesting to follow, for example, a group of younger children or pre-teens now for a few years to explore their experiences when they become teenagers after the regeneration is completed. This would better explicate the temporal as well as enduring effects of neighbourhood regeneration.

A final possible avenue is to apply the capability approach framework to understanding neighbourhood effects on other sub-populations, especially those who are not highly represented in the neighbourhood effects research. For example, people with disabilities, or the elderly.

10.4. Conclusion

Nearly 30 months after Joseph played me his song at the youth club, I believe I have a better understanding of why he thinks 'everything is upside down' in his area and why the regeneration has not improved his and other young people's lives. My research investigation revealed that they are not able to benefit from most of the improvements to their neighbourhood due to processes of dispossession, social division, stigmatisation, exclusion and community breakdown. In fact, these processes impede on their freedoms to be and do the things they value in life, including their independent mobility, playing, exploring, having fun, being safe, socialising with friends, belonging to a supportive community, material wellbeing, basic needs, agency, social status, respect, influence and emotional and mental wellbeing. These findings are a far cry from the avowed policy goal of creating inclusive and socially mixed communities, where young people interact with more affluent 'aspirational' peers and positive adult role models, build their social capital, experience a stronger sense of identity with their neighbourhoods, and benefit from better services, a revived local economy and less stigma. Perhaps the tenure-diversification of the estate has been successful in de-concentrating poverty, but it introduced a new set of problems.

As a social group, lower-income teenagers face unique experiences in their socio-economically-mixed neighbourhood. However, the capabilities of some are influenced in different ways as a result of interactions between their personal characteristics and social and institutional conversion

factors, with different implications by age, relative disadvantage, gender, ethnic background and personal circumstances. More precisely, younger teenagers have better chances of converting the neighbourhood resources of improved physical environment and community activities. Those whose families are relatively more financially secure, who have a strong support network or positive adult role models are less negatively influenced by constraints on their material wellbeing, agency to achieve legally and associated impact on their emotional and mental wellbeing. Also, young people whose social networks are rooted in the area are more adversely influenced by the breakdown in their community and their loss of belonging and sense of place.

The thesis demonstrates the important role played by an active community organisation and supportive youth workers in ameliorating some of the capability deprivations suffered by young people. And while there are several ways the regeneration policies and practices could be adjusted to ensure disadvantaged youth are in a better position to benefit from their area's redevelopment, without changes to structural inequalities, the welfare regime, and systemic and systematic racism and stigmatisation of lower-income youths, mixed income regeneration can only achieve so much.

References

35% Campaign (2020). Heygate estate regeneration. [Viewed on 15 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.35percent.org/heygate-regeneration-faq/.

Ackroyd, S. and Karlsson, J.C. (2014). Critical realism, research techniques, and research designs. In Edwards, P.K., O'Mahoney, J. and Vincent, S. (eds.). *Studying organizations using critical realism: A practical guide.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Agence Nationale Pour la Renovation Urbaine (n.d.). Le Programme National de Rénovation Urbaine (PNRU). [Viewed on 3 Jul 2021]. Available from: https://www.anru.fr/le-programme-national-de-renovation-urbaine-pnru.

Alderson, P. (2001). Research by children. *Social Research Methodology*, 4(2), 139-153.

Alderson, P. (2013). *Childhoods real and imagined.* London: Routledge.

Alderson, P. (2016). The philosophy of critical realism and childhood studies. *Global Studies of Childhood*, 6(2), 199–210.

Alkire, S. (2002). *Valuing freedoms: Sen's capability approach and poverty reduction.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Allen, C., Camina, M., Casey, R., Coward, S. & Wood, M. (2005). Mixed tenure, twenty years on – Nothing out of the ordinary. *Chartered Institute of Housing/Joseph Rowntree Foundation.* Available from: https://www.jrf.org.uk/report/messages-three-mature-mixed-tenure-communities.

Alvarado, S.E. (2018). The impact of childhood neighborhood disadvantage on adult joblessness and income. *Social Science Research.* 70, 1-17.

AMION Consulting (2010). Evaluation of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal: Final report summary. Department for Communities and Local Government.

Andresen, S. & Fegter, S. (2011). Children growing up in poverty and their ideas on what constitutes a good life: Childhood studies in Germany. *Child Ind Res*, 4, 1-19.

Anderson, S., Leventhal, T. and Dupéré, V. (2014). Exposure to neighborhood affluence and poverty in childhood and adolescence and academic achievement and behavior. *Applied Developmental Science.* 18(3), 123-138.

Andersson, S., Aptekar, L. Boal, A. Brostrom, S. Bruner, J., Chambers, R., Cleaver, F., Cornwall, A., Dawes, A., DiCarlo, M.A., Gibbons, J., Kaminsky, D., Wright, J., Stiles, D., G. Dona, C. Kalinganire, F. Muramutsa, D. Donald, J. Wallis, A. Cockburn, J. Ennew, J. Ennew, J. Boyden, O. Fals-Borda, U. Flick, P. Freire, G. Gebauer, C. Wulf, C. Golomb, F. Goodenough, R. Heeks, R. Hinton, D. Johnson, R. Jolley, A. Vulic-Prtoric, E. Koppitz, M.B. Lykes, M.B. Lykes, J. Mienczakowski, S. Morgan, D. O'Connor, S. Rudenberg, P. Jansen, P. Fridjhon, C. Smith, D. Nylund, D. Summerfield, A. Veale, D. Dona, M. Veltman, K. Browne, L.S. Vygotsky, Woodhead, M. & Yardley, K. (2005). Creative Methodologies in Participatory Research with Children. In S. Greene & D. Hogan (Eds.) *Researching Children's Experience.* London: Sage Publications. pp. 254-272.

Anich, R., Biggeri, M., Libanora, R., & Mariani, S. (2011). Street children in Kampala and NGOs' actions: Understanding capabilities deprivation and expansion. In M. Biggeri, J. Ballet, & F. Comim (Eds.), *Children and the capability approach* (pp. 107-136). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Aramayona, B. (2020). "Fear, disgust and dignity": The securitisation of everyday life and the new revanchism against the urban subaltern in a working-class area of Madrid. In M. Smagacz-Poziemska, M.V. Gómez, P. Pereira, L. Guarino, S. Kurtenbach, and J.J. Villalón (eds.) *Inequality and uncertainty: Current challenges for cities*. Singapore: Palgrave Mcmillan. pp. 87-104.

Arbaci S. and Rae, I. (2013). Mixed-tenure neighbourhoods in London: Policy myth or effective device to alleviate deprivation? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 37(2), 451-79.

Archer, M. (1982). Morphogenesis versus structuration: On combining structure and action. *The British Journal of Sociology*. 33(4), 455- 483.

Archer, M., Gorski, P., Little, D., Porpora, D., Rutzou, T., Smith, C., Steinmetz, G. and Vandenberghe, F. (2016). What is critical realism?. *Perspectives*. Available from: http://www.asatheory.org/current-newsletter-online/what-is-critical-realism.

Arthurson, K. (2002) Creating inclusive communities through balancing social mix: A critical relationship or tenuous link?. *Urban Policy and Research*. 20(3), 245-261.

Arztmann, D., Wintersteller, T. & Wöhrer, V. (2016). 'Do differences destroy a "we"?' Producing knowledge with children and young people. *Graduate Journal of Social Science April*, 12(2), 77–95.

Atkinson, R. (2000). The hidden costs of gentrification: Displacement in central London. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 15, 307-326.

Atkinson, R. and Kintrea, K. (2001). Disentangling area effects: Evidence from deprived and non-deprived neighbourhoods. *Urban Studies*. 38(12), 2277-2298.

Atkinson, R. and Kintrea, K. (2000). Owner-occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts. *Policy & Politics*. 28(1), 93-108.

Atkinson, R. and Kintrea, K. (2004). 'Opportunities and Despair, it's all in there': Practitioner experiences and explanations of area effects and life chances. Sociology. 38(3), 437–455.

Ballet, J., Biggeri, M. and Comim, F. (2011). Children's agency and the capability approach: A conceptual framework. In M. Biggeri, J. Ballet and F. Comim (eds). *Children and the capability approach*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.22-45.

Baskarada, S. (2014). Qualitative Case Study Guidelines. *The Qualitative Report*, 19(40), 1-18. Available from http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR19/baskarada24.pdf.

Baum, S., Arthurson, K. and Rickson, K. (2010). Happy people in mixed-up places: The association between the degree and type of local socioeconomic mix and expressions of neighbourhood satisfaction. *Urban Studies*. 47(3), 467–485.

Ben-Arieh, A. (2005). Where are the children? Children's role in measuring and monitoring their well-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 75, pp. 573-596.

Ben-Arieh, A. (2008). The child indicators movement: Past, present, and future. *Child Ind Res* 1, 3–16.

Ben-Arieh, A. (2012). How do we measure and monitor the "state of our children"?: Revisiting the topic in honor of Sheila B. Kamerman. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 34(3), 569-575.

Ben-Arieh, A. and Frønes, I. (2011). Taxonomy for child well-being indicators: A framework for the analysis of the well-being of children. *Childhood*, 18(4), pp. 460-476.

Berry, S. (2018). London's lost youth services 2018. [Viewed on 26 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2018_03_20_sb_londons_lost_youth_services_2018_final.pdf.

Berndt, Thomas J. (1996). Transitions in friendship and friends' Influence. In J. Graber, J. Brooks-Gunn, and A. C. Petersen, eds. *Transitions through adolescence: Interpersonal domains and contexts*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bharara, G., Duncan, S., Jarden, A., and Hinckson, E. (2019). A prototype analysis of New Zealand adolescents' conceptualizations of wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 9(4), 1-25.

Bhaskar, R. (1987). *A realist theory of science*. New York: Routledge.

Biggeri, M. and Libanora, R. (2011). From valuing to evaluating: Tools and procedures to operationalize the capability approach. In Biggeri, M., Ballet, J. & Comim, F., eds. *Children and the Capability Approach*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 79-106.

Biggeri, M. and Mehrotra (2011) Child poverty as capability deprivation: How to choose domains of child well-being and poverty. In M. Biggeri, J. Ballet, & F. Comim, eds. *Children and the capability approach*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 46-75.

Biggeri, M. (2007). Children's valued capabilities. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter, eds. *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 197-214.

Biggeri, M. Libanora, R., Mariani, S., and Menchini L. (2006). Children conceptualizing their capabilities: Results of a survey conducted during the first children's world congress on child labour. *Journal of Human Development*, 7(1), 59-83.

Blečić, I., Cecchini, A.B., and Talu, V. (2013). The Capability approach in urban quality of life and urban policies: Towards a conceptual framework. In S. Serreli ed. *City project and public space*. London: Springer. Pp. 269-288.

Block, J.P., Scribner, R.A. and DeSalvo, K.B. (2004). Fast food, race/ethnicity, and income: A geographic analysis. *Am J Prev Med*. 27(3), 211-7.

Boardman, J. D. and Saint Onge, J. M. (2005). Neighborhoods and adolescent development. *Children, youth and environments*, *15*(1), 138–164.

Bond, L., McKee, M.J., Sautkina, E., Kearns, A., Tannahill, C. and Cox, J. (2013). Residents' perspectives on mixed tenure communities: a qualitative study of social renters and owner occupiers. Project

Report. *GoWell*, Glasgow, UK. Available at:
http://www.gowellonline.com/assets/0000/0500/Mixed_Tenure_Report__Residents__-_Mar_2013.pdf.

Booth, J.M. and Shaw, D.S. (2020). Relations among perceptions of neighborhood cohesion and control and parental monitoring across adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. 49, 74-86.

Bramley, G. and Karley, N.K. (2007). Homeownership, poverty and educational achievement: School effects as neighbourhood effects, *Housing Studies*. 22(5), 693-721.

Brännström, L. (2005). Does neighbourhood origin matter? A longitudinal multilevel assessment of neighbourhood effects on income and receipt of social assistance in a Stockholm birth cohort. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 22(4), 169-195.

Braun, V. & Clare, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.

Brewer, J. D. (2000). *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Bridge, G., Butler, T. and Lees, L. eds. (2011). *Mixed communities: Gentrification by stealth?* Bristol: Policy Press.

Briggs, X. (1997). Yonkers revisited: the early impacts of scattered-site public housing on families and neighborhoods. A Report to the Ford Foundation. Available from:
https://www.clearinghouse.net/detailResource.php?id=235

Brown, N. and Lees, L. (2009). Young people and the regeneration of the King's Cross Ten Estates. In R. Imrie, L. Lees, M. Raco, eds. *Regenerating London: Governance, sustainability and community in a global city*. New York: Routledge. pp. 289-309.

Brownlie, J. (2009). Researching, not playing, in the public sphere. *Sociology*, 43(4), 699-716.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods* (5th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bharara, G. Duncan, S., Jarden, A., & Hinckson, E. (2019). A prototype analysis of New Zealand adolescents' conceptualizations of wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 9(4), 1-25.

Burchardt, T. & Hick, R. (2016). The capability approach to advantage and disadvantage. In H. Dean & L. Platt, eds. *Social advantage and disadvantage*. Oxford, UK.: Oxford University Press. pp. 44-67.

Burchardt, T. & Vizard, P. (2009). Developing an equality measurement framework: A list of substantive freedoms for adults and children. *Equality and Human Rights Commission*. Available from:
https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/sites/default/files/research_report_18_developing_equality_measurement_framework_substantive-freedoms-for-adults-and-children.pdf

Butcher, M. and Dickens, L. (2016). Spatial dislocation and affective displacement: Youth perspectives on gentrification in London. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. 40(4), 800-816.

Cabinet Office (2005). Improving the prospects of people living in areas of multiple deprivation in England. *Prime Minister's Strategy Unit*.

Carnegie, A., Norris, M. and Byrne, M. (2018). Tenure mixing to combat public housing stigmatization: External benefits, internal challenges and contextual influences in three Dublin neighbourhoods. Working Papers 201801, Geary Institute, University College Dublin.

Carver, A., Timperio, A., and Crawford, D. (2008). Playing it safe: The influence of neighbourhood safety on children's physical activity—A review. *Health & Place*. 14, 217-227.

Camina, M.M. and Wood, M.J. (2009). Parallel lives: Towards a greater Understanding of what mixed communities can offer. *Urban Studies*. 46(2), 459–480.

Case, A. C. and Katz, L. F. (1991). The company you keep: the effects of family and neighborhood on disadvantaged youths. *National Bureau of Economic Research*. Working paper 3707.

Chaplin, L.N. (2009). Please may I have a bike? Better yet, may I have a hug? An examination of children's and adolescents' happiness. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 20, 541-562.

Chaskin, R.J., Sichling, F. and Joseph, M.L. (2013). Youth in mixed-income communities replacing public housing complexes: Context, dynamics and response. *Cities*, 35, 423-431.

The Children's Society (2008). Happy and they know it?: Developing a well-being framework based on children and young people consultation. Available from: https://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/resources-and-publications/publications-library/happy-and-they-know-it-developing-well-be

The Children's Society (2009). The good childhood inquiry: What children told us. Available from: https://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/sites/default/files/tcs/research_docs/good%20childhood%20national%20inquiry.pdf

The Children's Society (2020). The good childhood report 2020. Available from: https://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/good-childhood.

Chung, H.L. and Steinberg, L. (2006). Relations between neighborhood factors, parenting behaviors, peer deviance, and delinquency among serious juvenile offenders. *Development and Psychopathology*. 42(2), 319-331.

Clark, A. (2010). Young children as protagonists and the role of participatory, visual methods in engaging multiple perspectives. *Am J Community Psychol*, 46, 115-123.

Clark, D. A. (2003). Concepts and perceptions of human well-being: Some evidence from South Africa. *Oxford Development Studies*, 31(2), 173-196.

Clampet-Lundquist, S. (2007). No nore 'bois ball: The effect of relocation from public housing on adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 22(3), 298-323.

Clampet-Lundquist, S., Edin, K., Kling, J.R., Duncan, G.J. (2011). Moving teenagers out of high-risk neighborhoods: How girls fare better than boys. *The American Journal of Sociology*. 116(4),1154-89.

Cockburn, C. (2015). Standpoint theory. In S. Mojab (Ed.), *Marxism and feminism*. London: Zed Books.

Cole, I. and Goodchild, B. (2001). Social mix and the 'balanced community' in British housing policy – a tale of two epochs. *GeoJournal*. 51, 351-360.

Collins, P.H. (1997). Comment on Hekman's "truth and method: feminist standpoint theory revisited": Where's the power? Signs, 22(2), 375-381. Available from https://www.jstor.org/stable/3175278?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

Cooper, K. and Hills, J. (2021). The Conservative Goverments' Record on Social Security: Policies, Spending and Outcomes, May 2015 to pre-COVID 2020. *Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion*. Available from: https://sticerd.lse.ac.uk/dps/case/spdo/spdorp10.pdf.

Corlett, A. (2018). Despite 'the end of austerity', April promises another deep benefit cut. *Resolution Foundation*. Available from: https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/comment/despite-the-end-of-austerity-april-promises-another-deep-benefit-cut/

Coulton, J.C. and Korbin, J.E. (2007). Indicators of child well-being through a neighborhood lens. *Social Indicators Research*. 84, 349-361.

Crane, J. (1991). The epidemic theory of ghettos and neighborhood effects on dropping out and teenage childbearing. *American Journal of Sociology*. 96(5), 1226-1259.

Cushon, J.A., Vu, L.T.H., Janzen, B.L. and Muhajarine, N. (2011). Neighborhood poverty impacts children's physical health and well-being over time: evidence from the early development instrument. *Early Education and Development*. 22(2), 183-205.

Czischke, D. ed. (2009). *Urban regeneration in Europe: The place of social housing in integrated urban policies*. Brussels: CECODHAS European Social Housing Observatory. Available from: https://world-habitat.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Colloquium-3-web.pdf

Danermark, B., Estrom, M., Jakobson, L. and Karlsson, J.C. (2001). *Explaining society: Critical realism in the social sciences*. London: Routledge.

Daniele, F. (2020). Urban inequality in France: When public investment is not enough. *Instituto Per Gli Studi Politica Internazionale*. [Viewed 20 Jul 2021]. Available from: https://www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/urban-inequality-france-when-public-investment-not-enough-28283.

Darbyshire, P., Macdougall, C. and Schiller, W. (2005). Multiple methods in qualitative research with children: more insight or just more? *Qualitative Research*, 5(4), 417-436.

Darcy, M. (2010). De-concentration of disadvantage and mixed income housing: a critical discourse approach. *Housing Theory and Society*. 27(1), 1-22.

Darcy, M. (2013). From high-rise projects to suburban estates: Public tenants and the globalised discourse of deconcentration. *Cities*. 23, 365-372.

Davidson, M. (2008). Spoiled mixture: Where does state-led 'positive' gentrification end?. *Urban Studies*. 45(12), 2385–2405.

Deboulet, A. and Abram, S. (2017). Are social mix and participation compatible? Conflicts and claims in urban renewal in France and England. In P. Watt and P. Smets, eds. Bingley: Emerald Publishing. *Social housing and urban renewal: a cross-national perspective.* pp. 141-177.

Dee, M. (2015). Young people and urban public space in Australia-creating pathways to community, belonging and inclusion. *International Journal of Social Science Research*, 3(2), 138-151.

DeLuca, S., & Rosenblatt, P. (2010). Does moving to better neighborhoods lead to better schooling opportunities? Parental school choice in an experimental housing voucher program. *Teachers College Record.* 112(5), 1443–1491.

DeLuca, S., Duncan, G.J., Keels, M. and Mendenhall, R. (2012). The notable and the null: Using mixed methods to understand the diverse impacts of residential mobility programs. In In M. van Ham, D. Manley, N. Bailey, L. Simpson, D. Maclennan, eds. *Neighbourhood Effects Research: New Perspectives.* London: Springer. pp.195-223.

Denzin, N.K. (1970). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods.* London: Aldine Transaction.

Department for Communities and Local Government (2010). Evaluation of the Mixed Communities Initiative demonstration projects – final report. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/mixed-communities-initiative.

Department for Communities and Local Government (2014). Estate Regeneration Programme prospectus for 2015/16. [Viewed on 28 Aug 2021]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/estate-regeneration-programme.

Design, Indaba (2019). City residents are helping design public space with Minecraft. {Viewed on 26 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.designindaba.com/articles/creative-work/city-residents-are-helping-design-public-space-minecraft.

Dex, S. and Hollingworth, K. (2012). Children's and young people's voices on their wellbeing. *Childhood Wellbeing Research Centre*, Working paper No. 16. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/childrens-and-young-peoples-voices-on-their-wellbeing

Deutsche, A.R., Crockett, L.J., Wolff, J.M. and Russell, S.T. (2012). Parent and peer pathways to adolescent delinquency: Variations by ethnicity and neighborhood context. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence.* 41, 1078-1094.

Dietz, R.D. (2002). The estimation of neighborhood effects in the social sciences: An interdisciplinary approach. *Social Science Research.* 31, 539-575.

Donmoyer, R. (2009). Generalizability and the Single-Case Study. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersley and P. Foster, eds. *Case Study Method.* London: Sage Publications. pp. 45-67.

Durlauf, S. N. (2004). Neighbourhood effects. In J.V. Henderson and J.E. Thisse, eds. *Handbook of Regional and Urban Economics, Volume 4.* Madison: Elsevier. pp. 2174-2242.

Easton, G. (2010). Critical realism in case study research. *Industrial Marketing Management*, 39, 118-128.

Elder, G.H. Jr, Eccles J.S., Ardelt, M. and Lord, S. (1995), Inner-city parents under economic pressure: Perspectives on the strategies of parenting. *Journal of Marriage and the Family.* 57(3), 771–784.

Ellen, I.G. and Turner, M. A. (1997). Does neighborhood matter? Assessing recent evidence. *Housing Policy Debate.* 8(4), 833-866.

Ellliott-Cooper, A., Hubbard, P. and Lees, L. (2020). Moving beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, displacement and the violence of un-homing. Progress in Human Geography. 44(3), 492–509.

Fattore, T., Fegter, S. and Hunner-Kreisel, C. (2019). Children's understandings of well-being in global and local contexts: Theoretical and methodological considerations for a multinational qualitative study. *Child Indicators Research.* 12, 385-407.

Fattore, T., Mason, J. & Watson, E. (2007). Children's conceptualisation(s) of their well-being. *Social Indicators Research*, 80, 5-29.

Fattore, T., Mason, J., & Watson, E. (2016). *Children's Understandings of Well-Being: Towards a Child Standpoint.* Dordrecht: Springer.

Fauth, R.C. (2004). The impacts of neighborhood poverty deconcentration efforts on low-income Children's and adolescents' well-being. *Children, Youth and Environments.* 14(1), 1-55.

Fereday, J. & Muir-Cochran, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: A hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 1-11.

Fitzpatrick, S., Hastings, A. and Kintrea, K. (2000). Youth involvement in urban regeneration: hard lessons, future directions. *Policy and Politics*, 28(4), 493-509.

Fleetwood, A. (2005). Ontology in organization and management studies: A critical realist perspective. Organization, 12(2), 197–222.

Fleetwood, A. (2017). The critical realist conception of open and closed systems. *Journal of Economic Methodology.* 24(1), 41-68.

Fletcher, A.J. (2017). Applying critical realism in qualitative research: Methodology meets method. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 20(2), 181-194.

Flick, U. (2004). Background theories of qualitative research. In U. Flick, E. von Kardoff and I. Steinke, eds. *A companion to qualitative research: Paradigms, theories, methods, practice and contexts.* London: Sage Publications. pp.99-146.

Flick, U. (2007a). *Designing qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications.

Flick, U. (2007b). *Managing quality in qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications.

Flouri, E., Midouhas, E., Joshi, H. and Sullivan A. (2015). Neighbourhood social fragmentation and the mental health of children in poverty. *Health and Place*, 31, 138-145.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2004). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. F. Gubrium, & D. Silverman, eds. *Qualitative research practice*. London: Sage Publications. pp. 390-404.

Forrest, R. and Murie, A. (1983). Residualization and council housing: Aspects of the changing social relations of housing tenure. *Journal of Social Policy*. 12(4), 453 – 468.

Fraser, L.K. and Edwards, K.L. (2010). The association between the geography of fast food outlets and childhood obesity rates in Leeds, UK. *Health & Place*. 16, 1124–1128.

Frediani, A. A. (2015). Space and capabilities: Approaching informal settlement upgrading through a capability perspective. In C. Lemanski and C. Marx, eds. *The city in urban poverty*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. P.64-84.

Frediani, A. A. (2007). Amartya Sen, the World Bank, and the redress of urban poverty: A Brazilian case study. *Journal of Human Development*, 8(1), 133–152.

Freeman, L. (2002). Gentrification and displacement. *The Urban Prospect*, 8, 1–4.

Fuller, T.R., Sciandra, M., Koumans, E.H., Boulet, S.L., Warner, L., Cox, S. and Gennetian, L.A. (2019). *SSM – Population Health*. 9, 1-7.

Garner, C.L. and Raudenbush, S.W. (1991). Neighborhood effects on educational attainment: A multilevel analysis. *Sociology of Education*. 64(4), 251-262.

Gallagher, M. (2009) Data collection and analysis. In K. Tisdall, J. Davis and M. Gallagher, eds. *Researching with Children and Young people*, London, UK: Sage. pp. 65-127.

Galster, G. (2007). Should policy makers strive for neighborhood social mix? An analysis of the Western European evidence base. *Housing Studies*. 22(4), 523-545.

Galster, G. (2012) The mechanism(s) of neighbourhood effects: Theory, evidence, and policy implications. In M. van Ham, D. Manley, N. Bailey, L. Simpson and D. Maclennan, eds. *Neighbourhood effects research: New perspectives*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, pp. 23-56.

Galster, G., Andersson, R., Musterd, S. and Kuappinen, T.M. (2008). Does neighborhood income mix affect earnings of adults? New evidence from Sweden. *Journal of Urban Economics*. 63(3), 858-870.

Galster, G. and Santiago, A. (2017). Neighbourhood ethnic composition and outcomes for low-income Latino and African American children. Urban Studies. 54(2), 482–500.

Gennetian, L.A., Sanbonmatsu, L., Katz, L.F., Kling, J.R., Sciandra, M., Ludwig, J., Duncan, G.J. and Kessler, R.C. (2012). The long-term effects of Moving to Opportunity on youth outcomes. *Cityscape*. 14(2), 137-167.

Gergen, K. J. (2015). *An invitation to social construction*. London: Sage Publications.

Gibbons, S. (2002). Neighbourhood effects on educational achievement: Evidence from the census and national child development study. *Centre for the Economics of Education, London School of Economics and Political Science.*

Gold, R.L. (1958). Roles in sociological field observations. *Social Forces*, 36(3), 217-223.

Gosling, V.K. (2008). Regenerating communities: Women's experiences of urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*. 45(3), 607-626.

Grayston, R. (2017). Slipping through the loophole: How viability assessments are reducing affordable housing supply in England. *Shelter*, [Viewed on 6 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://england.shelter.org.uk/professional_resources/policy_and_research/policy_library/report_slipping_through_the_loophole_how_viability_assessments_are_reducing_affordable_housing_supply_in_england

Greater London Authority (2016). The London Plan 2016. Available from: https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/planning/london-plan/past-versions-and-alterations-london-plan/london-plan-2016.

Greater London Authority (2017). Homes for Londoners: Affordable housing and viability supplementary planning guidance 2017. [Viewed on 26 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/ah_viability_spg_201708152.pdf.

Greater London Authority (2018a). Better homes for local people: the Mayor's good practice guide to estate regeneration. [Viewed on 6 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/housing-and-land/improving-quality/estate-regeneration.

Greater London Authority (2018b). London Housing Strategy. ISBN 978-1-84781-683-2. Available from: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2018_lhs_london_housing_strategy.pdf.

Greater London Authority (2021). The London Plan 2021. Available from: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/the_london_plan_2021.pdf.

Greenberg, M., Lengua, L., Coie, J. and Pinderhughes, E. (1999). Predicting developmental outcomes at school entry using a multiple-risk model: Four American communities. *Developmental Psychology*. 35(2), 403–417.

Gulczyńska, A. (2019). Stigma and the doomed-to-fail school careers of young people from disadvantaged neighbourhoods. *Children's Geographies*. 17(4), 413-426.

Hammersley, M. & Gomm, R. (2009). Introduction. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersley, & P. Foster, eds. *Case Study Method*. London: Sage Publications. pp.1-15.

Hanafin, S. and Brooks, A. (2005). Report on the development of a national set of child well-being indicators in Ireland. *The National Children's Office*. [Viewed on 19 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://researchmatters.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/ReportonDevelopmentWelBeingIndicators.pdf.

Harding, S. (1993). Rethinking standpoint epistemology: What is "strong objectivity"? In: L.M. Alcoff and E. Potter, eds. *Feminist Epistemologies*. New York: Routledge. pp. 49–8.

Harrison, A.K. (2018). *Ethnography*: *Understanding qualitative research*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hart, C. S. (2014). The capability approach and educational research. In C.S. Hart, M. Biggeri and B. Babic, eds. *Agency and participation in childhood and youth: International applications of the capability approach in schools and beyond*. London: Bloomsbury. pp.17-43.

Hart, C. S. (2013). *Aspirations, education and social justice: Applying Sen and Bourdieu*. London: Bloomsbury.

Hart, C.S. and Brando, N. (2018). A capability approach to children's well-being, agency and participatory rights in education. *European Journal of Education Research, Development and Policy*. 53(3), 293-309.

Hart, R.A. (1992). Children's participation: From tokenism to citizenship. *Innocenti* Essay no.4, International Child Development Centre, Florence. Available from https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/100-childrens-participation-from-tokenism-to-citizenship.html

Hart, R.A. (2008). Stepping back from 'the ladder': Reflections on a model of participatory work with children. In Reid, A., Jensen, B.B., Nikel, J. and Simovska, V. (eds.). *Participation and learning: Perspectives on education and the environment, health and sustainability*. Springer. pp. 19-31.

Hastings, A. (2009). Neighbourhood environmental services and neighbourhood 'effects': Exploring the role of urban services in intensifying neighbourhood problems. *Housing Studies*. 24(4), 503-524.

Hickman, R., Cao, M., Lira, B.M., Fillone, A. and Biona, J.B. (2017). Understanding capabilities, functionings and travel in high and low income neighbourhoods in Manila. *Social Inclusion*, 5(4), 161-174.

Hills, J. (1998). Thatcherism, New Labour and the Welfare State. *Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion*. [Viewed on 6 Sep 2021]. Available from: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/5553/1/Thatcherism_New_Labour_and_the_Welfare_State.pdf

Ho, H.C., Man, H.Y., Wong, M.S., Shi, Y. and Walker, B.B. (2020). Perceived differences in the (re)production of environmental deprivation between sub-populations: A study combining citizens' perceptions with remote-sensed and administrative data. *Building and Environment*. 174, 1-14.

Holland, J., Reynolds, T. and Weller, S. (2007). Transitions, networks and communities: The significance of social capital in the lives of children and young people. *Journal of Youth Studies*. 10(1), 97-116.

Holm, A. (2006). Urban renewal and the end of social housing: the roll out of neoliberalism in East Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg. *Social Justice*. 33(3), 114-128.

Hu, X. (2018). Methodological implications of critical realism for entrepreneurship research. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 17(2), 118-139.

Hunt, D. B. (2009). *Blueprint for Disaster: The Unraveling of Chicago Public Housing*. United Kingdom: University of Chicago Press.

Intemann, K. (2010). 25 Years of feminist empiricism and standpoint theory: Where are we now? *Hypatia, 25*(4), 778-796.

Ipsos Mori and Nairn, A. (2011). Children's well-being in UK, Sweden and Spain: The role of inequality and materialism. [Viewed on 25 Sep 2021]. Available from:

https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/publication/1177-03/sri-unicef-role-of-inequality-and-materialism-june-2011.pdf.

James, A., Jenks, C., & Prout, A. (1998). *Theorizing childhood.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

James, A. and Prout, A. (1997). A new paradigm for the sociology of childhood? Provenance, promise and problems. In A. James and A. Prout, eds. *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood.* London: Falmer Press, pp. 7-33.

Jencks, C. and Mayer, S. (1990). The social consequences of growing up in a poor neighbourhood. In L. Lynn, and M. McGeary, eds. *Inner City Poverty in the United States.* Washington, DC: National Academic Press, pp. 111– 186.

Jenks, C. (2005). *Childhood* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Jivraj, S., Norman, P., Nicholas, O. and Murray, E.T. (2019). Are there sensitive neighbourhood effect periods during the life course on midlife health and wellbeing? *Health and Place.* 57, 147-156.

Jones, A. (2004) Children and young people as researchers. In S. Fraser, V. Lewis, S. Ding, M. Kellett, and C. Robinson, eds. *Doing research with children and young people.* London: Sage, pp. 113–30.

Jones, B. (2010). Slum clearance, privatization and residualization: the practices and politics of council housing in mid-twentieth-century England. *Twentieth Century British History.* 21(4), 510–539.

Jupp, B., Sainsbusry, J. and Akers-Douglas, O. (1999). Living together: Community life on mixed tenure estates. Demos.

Karyda, M. (2020). The influence of neighbourhood crime on young people becoming not in education, employment or training. *British Journal of Sociology of Education.* 41(3), 393-409.

Kauppinen, T. (2007) Neighbourhood effects in a European city: Secondary education of young people in Helsinki. *Social Science Research, 36*(1), 421-444.

Kearns, A. (2004). Social capital, regeneration & urban policy. *ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research.*

Kearns, A. and Mason, P. (2007). Mixed tenure communities and neighbourhood quality. *Housing Studies.* 22(5), 661-691.

Kearns, A., McKee, M., Sautkina, E., Cox, J. and Bond, L. (2013). How to mix? Spatial configurations, modes of production and resident perceptions of mixed tenure neighbourhoods. *Cities.* 35, 397-408.

Kearns, A., McKee, M., Sautkina, E., Weeks, G. and Bond Lyndal. (2013). Mixed-tenure orthodoxy: Practitioner reflections on policy effects. *Cityscape: A Journal of Policy Development and Research.* 15(2), 47-67.

Kellock, A., and Lawthom, R. (2011) Sen's capability approach: Children and well-being explored through the use of photography. In M. Biggeri, J. Ballet and F. Comim, eds. *Children and the capability approach.* London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.137-161.

Kennelley, J. and Watt, P. (2011). Sanitizing public space in olympic host cities: The spatial experiences of marginalized youth in 2010 Vancouver and 2012 London. *Sociology*, 45(5), 765–781.

Kennelley, J. and Watt, P. (2012). Seeing Olympic effects through the eyes of marginally housed youth: changing places and the gentrification of East London. *Visual Studies*, 27(2), 151-160.

Kintrea, K., Bannister, J. and Pickering, L. (2010). *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. 25, 447–465.

Klebanov, P.K., Brooks-Gunn, J., Chase-Landsdale, P.L. and Gordon, R.A. (1997). Are neighborhood effects on young children mediated by features of the home environment?, In J. Brooks- Gunn, G. J. Duncan and J.L. Aber, eds. *Neighborhood poverty: Context and consequences for children*, Volume 1. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation.

Kleinepier, T. and van Ham, M. (2018). The temporal dynamics of neighborhood disadvantage in childhood and subsequent problem behavior in adolescence. *J Youth Adolesc*. 47(8), 1611–1628.

Kling, J.R., Ludwig, J. and Katz, L.F. (2005). Neighborhood effects on crime for female and male youth: evidence from a randomized housing voucher experiment. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 120(1), 87-130.

Knies, G., Melo, P.C. and Zhang, M. (2020). Neighbourhood deprivation, life satisfaction and earnings: Comparative analyses of neighbourhood effects at bespoke scales. *Urban Studies*, 1-20.

Kohen, D.E., Dahinten, V.S. and Leventhal, T. (2008). Neighborhood disadvantage: Pathways of effects for young children. *Child Development*. 79(1), 156 – 169.

Kokushkin, M. (2014). Standpoint theory is dead, long live standpoint theory! Why standpoint thinking should be embraced by scholars who do not identify as feminists? *Journal of Arts and Humanities, 3*(7), 8-20.

Lan Nguyen Chaplin, L.N. (2009). Please may I have a bike? better yet, may I have a hug? An examination of children's and adolescents' happiness. *J Happiness Stud*, 10(5), 41–562.

Lansdown, G. (2005). The evolving capacities of the child. *Innocenti Insights* no.11. Available from https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/384-the-evolving-capacities-of-the-child.html

Lee, N. (1999). The challenge of childhood: Distributions of childhood's ambiguity in adult institutions. *Childhood*, 6(4), 455-474.

Lees, L. (2003). The ambivalence of diversity and the politics of urban renaissance: The case of youth in downtown Portland, Maine. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(3), 613-634.

Lees, L. (2008). Gentrification and social mixing: Towards an inclusive urban renaissance? *Urban Studies*. 45(12), 2449–2470.

Lees, L. (2018). Challenging the gentrification of council estates in London. *Urban Transformations*. Available from: https://www.urbantransformations.ox.ac.uk/blog/2018/challenging-the-gentrification-of-council-estates-in-london/.

Lees. L. and Hubbard, P. (2020). Estate renewal in London: an assessment of regeneration-induced displacement. *UK Collaborative Centre for Housing Evidence*. [Viewed on 31 Aug 2021]. Available from: https://housingevidence.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/11873_CaCHE_policy_briefing_200715_final.pdf

Lees, L., Butler, T. and Bridge, G. (2012). Introduction: Gentrification, social mix/ing and mixed communities. In G. Bridge, T. Butler and L. Lees, eds. *Mixed communities: Gentrification by stealth?* Bristol: Policy Press. pp.1-14.

Leventhal, T. and Brooks-Gunn, J. (2000). The neighborhoods they live in: the effects of neighborhood residence on child and adolescent outcomes. *Psychol Bull.* 126(2), 309-37.

Leventhal, T. and Brooks-Gunn, J. (2005). Neighborhood and gender effects on family processes: Results from the Moving to Opportunity program. *Family Relations.* 54, 633-643.

Levy, B.L. (2019). Heterogeneous impacts of concentrated poverty during adolescence on college outcomes. *Social Forces.* 98(1), 147 – 1821.

Linares, L., Heeren, T., Bronfman, E., Zuckerman, B., Augustyn, M. andTronick, E. (2001). A mediational model for the impact of exposure to community violence on early child behavior problems. *Child Development*, 72(2), 639-652.

Lindahl, L. (2011). A comparison of family and neighborhood effects on grades, test scores, educational attainment and income—evidence from Sweden. *The Journal of Economic Inequality*, 9, 207-226.

Livingston, M., Kearns, A. and Bailey, N. (2013). Delivering mixed communities: The relationship between housing tenure mix and social mix in England's neighbourhoods. *Housing Studies.* 28(7), 1056-1080.

London Councils (2018). London's local services: investing in the future. [Viewed on 22 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/our-key-themes/local-government-finance/london%E2%80%99s-local-services-investing-future/london%E2%80%99s-local.

London Youth. (2020). 'Running on reserves': The impact of COVID-19 on London's youth sector. [Viewed on 26 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://londonyouth.org/running-on-reserves-the-impact-of-covid-19-on-londons-youth-sector/.

Lund, T.J. and Dearing, E. (2013). Is growing up affluent risky for adolescents or is the problem growing up in an affluent neighborhood? Journal of Research on Adolescence, 23(2), 274-282.

Lupton, R. (2003a). 'Neighbourhood effects': Can we measure them and does it matter? *Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE)*, London School of Economics. Available from: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/6327/.

Lupton, R. (2003b). *Poverty Street: The dynamics of neighbourhood decline and renewal.* Bristol: Policy Press.

Lupton, R. (2004). Schools in disadvantaged areas: Recognising context and raising quality. *Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion*, London School of Economics.

Lupton, R. and Fuller, C. (2009). Mixed communities: A new approach to spatially concentrated poverty in England. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.* 33 (4), 1014-1028.

Lupton, R. and Kneale, D. (2012). Theorising and measuring place in neighbourhood effects research: the example of teenage parenthood in England. In M. van Ham, D. Manley, N. Bailey, L.

Simpson, D. Maclennan, eds. *Neighbourhood Effects Research: New Perspectives*. London: Springer. pp.121-145.

Lupton, R. and Tunstall, R. (2010). Mixed communities: Evidence review. *Department for Communities and Local Government*. London: Crown.

Luttmer, E.F.P. (2005). Neighbours as negatives: Relative earnings and well-being. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 120(3), 963-1002.

Mabry, L. (2008). Case study in social research. In P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman and J. Brannen, eds. *The SAGE handbook of social research methods*. London: Sage Publications. pp.214-227.

Main, G. (2019). Money matters: A nuanced approach to understanding the relationship between household income and child subjective well-being. *Child Indicators Research*, 12, 1125-1145.

Main, G. & Pople, L. (2011). Missing out: A child centred analysis of material deprivation and subjective well-being. *The Children's Society*. Available from: https://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/resources-and-publications/publications-library/missing-out-child-centered-analysis-mater

Malet, F. M., McSherry, D., Larkin, E., & Robinson, C. (2010). Research with children: Methodological issues and innovative techniques. *Journal of Early Childhood Research, 8*(2), 175-192.

Marcuse, P. (1985). Gentrification, abandonment, and displacement: Connections, causes, and policy responses in New York City. *Journal of Urban and Contemporary Law*, 28, 195-240.

Matthews, S.H. (2007). A window on the 'new' sociology of childhood. *Sociology Compass, 1*(1), 322–334.

Mayall, B. (2000). The sociology of childhood in relation to children's rights. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 8, 243–259.

Mayor of London (2020). Making London child-friendly: Designing places and streets for children and young people. [Viewed on 26 Sep]. Available from: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/ggbd_making_london_child-friendly.pdf.

McAuley, C. (2019). Exploring eleven year old children's understanding of well-being using wellbeing maps: Commonalities and divergences across areas of varying levels of deprivation and ethnic diversity in an English Qualitative Study. *Children and Youth Services Review*. 97(C), 22-29.

McAuley, C., Rose, W. and Pugh, G. (eds.) (2010). *Child well-being: Understanding children's lives*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

McCulloch, A. (2001) Teenage childbearing in Great Britain and the spatial concentration of poverty households. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*. 55(1), 16-23.

Mcintyre, A. (2000). *Inner-city kids: Adolescents confront life and violence in an urban community*. New York: New York University Press.

Medina-Minton, N. (2019). Are children an oppressed group? Positing a child standpoint theory. *Child Adolesc Soc Work J*. 36, 439–447.

Merriam, S. (1988). *Case study research in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Metropolitan Police (2021a). Crime data dashboard. Available from: https://www.met.police.uk/sd/stats-and-data/met/crime-data-dashboard/.

Metropolitan Police (2021b). Stop and search dashboard. Available at: https://www.met.police.uk/sd/stats-and-data/met/stop-and-search-dashboard/

Metropolitan Police Service (2021). Recorded Crime: Geographic Breakdown. *London Data Store*. Available from: https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/recorded_crime_summary.

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2004) Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004. Available from https://data.gov.uk/dataset/59599787-bd50-4500-a409-fc586260dbbd/index-of-multiple-deprivation-2004

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2007). Indices of Deprivation 2007. Available from: https://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20100411141238/http://www.communities.gov.uk/communities/neighbourhoodrenewal/deprivation/deprivation07/

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2016). Estate Regeneration National Strategy. [Viewed on 6 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/guidance/estate-regeneration-national-strategy

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2019). Index of Multiple Deprivation 2019. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/english-indices-of-deprivation-2019

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2021). Live tables on dwelling stock (including vacants). Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/live-tables-on-dwelling-stock-including-vacants.

Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: Guilford Press.

Mitchell, L.M. (2006) Child-centered? Thinking critically about children's drawings as a visual research method. *Visual Anthropology Review*, 22(1), 60-73.

Moreira de Souza, T. (2019). Urban regeneration and tenure mix: exploring the dynamics of neighbour interactions. *Housing Studies*. 34(9), 1521–1542.

Morrow, V. (1999) Conceptualising social capital in relation to the well-being of children and young people: a critical review. *The Sociological Review*. 47(4), 744–765.

Morse, J. (2018). Reframing rigor in qualitative inquiry. In N.K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, eds. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (5th ed.). London: Sage Publications. pp. 796-817.

Musterd, S. (2002). Response: Mixed housing policy: A European (Dutch) perspective. *Housing Studies*. 17(1), 139-143.

Musterd, S. and Andersson, R. (2005). Housing mix, social mix, and social opportunities. *Urban Affairs Review*. 40(6), 761-790.

Newton, J. and Ponting, C. (2013). Eliciting young people's views on wellbeing through contemporary science debates in Wales. *Child Indicators Research*, 6, 7-95.

NHS Digital (2019). Hospital Admissions for Assault by Sharp Object. Available from: https://digital.nhs.uk/data-and-information/find-data-and-publications/supplementary-information/2019-supplementary-information-files/hospital-admissions-for-assault-by-sharp-object.

Nieuwenhuis, J., Kleinepier, T. and van Ham, M. (2021). The role of exposure to neighborhood and school poverty in understanding educational attainment. *J Youth Adolescence*. 50, 872–892.

Nussbaum, M. (2000). In defense of universal values. In *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach* (The Seeley Lectures, pp. 34-110). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nussbaum, M. (2003). Capabilities as fundamental entitlements: Sen and social justice. *Feminist Economics*, 9(2 – 3), 33 – 59.

Nussbaum, M. and Sen, A. (1993). *The quality of life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ó Riain, S. (2009). Extending the ethnographic case study. In D. Byrne and C. C. Ragin, eds. *The Sage handbook of case-based methods*. London: Sage Publications. pp.289-306.

Oberwittler, D. (2007). The effects of neighbourhood poverty on adolescent problem behaviours: A multi-level analysis differentiated by gender and ethnicity. *Housing Studies*. 22(5), 781-803.

Odgers, C.L., Donley, S., Caspi, A., Bates, C.J. and Moffitt, T. E. (2015). Living alongside more affluent neighbors predicts greater involvement in antisocial behavior among low-income boys. *The Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 56(10), 1055-1064.

Odgers, C.L., Moffitt, T.E., Tach, L.M., Sampson, R.J. Taylor, A., Matthews, C.L. and Caspi, A. (2009). The protective effects of neighborhood collective efficacy on British children growing up in deprivation: A developmental analysis. *Developmental Psychology,* 45(4), 942–957.

O'Sullivan, S., O'Connell, C. and Byrne, L. (2020). "Listen to what we have to say": Children and young people's perspectives on urban regeneration. *Social Inclusion*. 8(3), 77-87.

Office for National Statistics (2017). Young people's well-being: 2017. [Viewed on 21 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/articles/youngpeopleswellbeingandpersonalfinance/2017.

Office for National Statistics (2018). Children's well-being and social relationships, UK: 2018. [Viewed on 21 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/articles/measuringnationalwellbeing/march2018.

Office for National Statistics (2020a). Children's well-being indicator review, UK: 2020. [Viewed on 21 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/wellbeing/articles/childrenswellbeingindicatorreviewuk2020/2020-09-02.

Office for National Statistics (2020b). Crime Survey in England and Wales. Available from: https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/crimeinengland andwalesannualtrendanddemographictables/current.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (2005). Sustainable Communities Homes for All: A Five year plan from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Padrón, M. H. and Ballet, J. (2011) Child agency and identity: The case of Peruvian children in a transitional situation. In M. Biggeri, J. Ballet and F. Comim (eds). *Children and the capability approach*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.162-174.

Parry, O., Warren, E., Madoc-Jones, I., Baker, S., & Hughes, C. (2010). Voices of children and young people in Wales study: A qualitative study of wellbeing among children and young people under 25 years old. *Welsh Assembly Government*. Available from http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/id/eprint/3725

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Patton, M. Q. (1999). Enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis. *Health Services Research, 34*(5) Part II, 1189-1208.

Peck, J. and Tickell, A. (2002) Neoliberalizing space. *Antipode*, 34, 380–404.

Phillips, B. (2004). Re-generation games: The politics of childhood in urban renewal. *Community Development Journal*, 39(2), 166-176.

Phipps, S. (2002). The well-being of young Canadian children in international perspective: A functionings approach. *Review of Income and Wealth*, 48(4), 493-515.

Pinto, R.R. (1993). An analysis of the impact of estate action schemes. *Local Government Studies*. 19(1), 37-55.

Police.uk (2020). Metropolitan Police service: Compare your area. Available from: https://www.police.uk/pu/your-area/metropolitan-police-service/performance/compare-your-area/?tc=E05009387.

Popkin, S.J., Katz, B., Cunningham, M.K., Brown, K.D., Gustafson, J. and Turner, M.A. (2004). A decade of HOPE VI: Research findings and policy challenges. *The Urban Institute*. Available from: https://www.urban.org/research/publication/decade-hope-vi.

Popkin, S.J., Leventhal, T. and Weismann, G. (2010). Girls in the 'hood: How safety affects the life chances of low-income girls. *Urban Affairs Review*. 45(6), 715–744.

Portes, A. and Landolt, P. (1996). The downside of social capital. *The American Prospect*. 26, 18–21.

Power, A. (1997) *Estates on the edge: the social consequences of mass housing in Northern Europe*. New York: St Martin's Press.

Power, A. (2012). Social inequality, disadvantaged neighbourhoods and transport deprivation: an assessment of the historical influence of housing policies. *Journal of Transport Geography*. 21, 39-48.

Price, L. and Martin, L. (2018). Introduction to the special issue: applied critical realism in the social sciences. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 17(2), 89-96.

Prime Minister's Office (2016a). Estate regeneration: article by David Cameron. [Viewed on 28 Aug 2021]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/estate-regeneration-article-by-david-cameron.

Prime Minister's Office (2016b). Prime Minister pledges to transform sink estates. [Viewed on 6 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/prime-minister-pledges-to-transform-sink-estates

Prout, A. (2011). Taking a step away from modernity: Reconsidering the new sociology of childhood. *Global Studies of Childhood*, *1*(1), 4.

Prout, A. and James, A. (2003). A new paradigm for the sociology of childhood? Provenance, promise and problems. In A. James and A. Prout, eds. *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. London: Falmer Press.

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Qvortrup, J., Bardy, M., Sgritta, G., & Wintersberger, H. (Eds.) (1994). *Childhood matters: social theory, practice and politics*. Aldershot : Avebury.

Rabinowitz, J.A., Powell, T., Sadler, R., Reboussin, B., Green, K., Milam, A., Smart, M., Furr-Holden, D., Latimore, A. and Tandon, D. (2020). Neighborhood profiles and associations with coping behaviors among low-income youth. *J Youth Adolescence*. 49, 494–505.

Raco, M. (2003). Remaking place and securitising space: Urban regeneration and the strategies, tactics and practices of policing in the UK. *Urban Studies*, 40(9), 1869–1887.

Redmond, G. and Skattebol, J. (2019). Material deprivation and capability deprivation in the midst of affluence: The case of young people in Australia. *Children and Youth Services Review*. 97, 36–48.

Rees, G., Goswami, H., & Bradshaw, J. (2010). Developing an index of children's subjective well-being in England. *The Children's Society*. Available from: https://www.childrenssociety.org.uk/what-we-do/resources-and-publications/publications-library/developing-index-childrens-subjective-w-0

Rhodes, J., Tyler, P. and Brennan, A. (2017). The Single Regeneration Budget: Final evaluation. *Department of Land Economy, University of Cambridge*. [Viewed on 6 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.landecon.cam.ac.uk/system/files/documents/part1-final-eval-feb-07.pdf

Ridge, T. (2002). *Childhood poverty and social exclusion: From a child's perspective*. Bristol, UK: Bristol University Press. DOI: 10.2307/j.ctt1t8986p

Ridge, T. (2011). The everyday costs of poverty in childhood: A review of qualitative research exploring the lives and experiences of low-income children in the UK. Children and Society, 25(1), 73-84.

Robeyns, I. (2006) The capability approach in practice. *The Journal of Political Philosophy,* 14(3), 351-376.

Robeyns, I. (2017). *Wellbeing, freedom and social justice: The capability approach re-examined.* Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers.

Robison, O., Kearns, A., Gray, L., Bond, L. and Henderson, M. (2016). Mixed tenure communities as a policy instrument for educational outcomes in a deprived urban context? *Urban Research & Practice.* 9(2), 131-157.

Rogers, P. (2006). Young people's participation in the renaissance of public space—A case study in Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. *Youth and Environments*, 16(2), 105-126.

Rogers, M. (2012) "They are there for you": the importance of neighbourhood friends to children's wellbeing. *Child Ind Res*, 5, 483-502.

Rogers, P. and Coaffee, J. (2005). Moral panics and urban renaissance. *City*, 9(3), 321-340.

Rolin, K. (2009). Standpoint theory as a methodology for the study of power relations. *Hypatia, 24*(4), 218-226.

Rose, D., Germain, A., Bacqué, M., Bridge, G., Fijalkow, Y. and Slater, T. (2012). 'Social Mix' and neighbourhood revitalization in a transatlantic perspective: Comparing local policy discourses and expectations in Paris (France), Bristol (UK) and Montréal (Canada). *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(2), 430-450.

Ross, C.E., Mirowsky, J. and Pribesh, S. (2001). Powerlessness and the amplification of threat: Neighborhood disadvantage, disorder, and mistrust. *American Sociological Review.* 66(4), 568-591.

Ruiz-Tagle, J. (2017). Territorial stigmatization in socially-mixed neighborhoods in Chicago and Santiago: A comparison of global-north and global-south urban renewal problems. In P. Watt and P. Smets, eds. *Social housing and urban renewal : A cross-national perspective.* Bingley: Emerald Publishing. pp. 311-349.

Saitadze, I. (2021). The effects of neighborhood factors, maternal depression and parental emotional support on social – behavioral outcomes of children involved in the child welfare system. *Journal of Public Child Welfare.*

Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Sampson, R. (2012). *Great American city: Chicago and the enduring neighbourhood effect.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sampson, R. J. and Groves, W. B. (1989). Community structure and crime: Testing social-disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(4), 774–802.

Sampson, R. J. and Raudenbush, S. W. (1999). Systematic social observation of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3), 603-651.

Sampson, R.J, Raudenbush, S. and Earls, F. (1997). Neighborhoods and violent crime: A multilevel study of collective efficacy. *Science*, 277, 918-924.

Sanbonmatsu, L., Ludwig, J., Katz, L.F., Gennetian, L.A., Duncan, G.J., Kessler, R.C., Adam, E., McDade, T.W. and Lindau, S.T. (2011). Moving to Opportunity for Fair Housing demonstration program: Final impacts evaluation. *National Bureau of Economic Research.*

Sapolsky, R. (2017). *Behave: The biology of humans at our best and worst.* London: Vintage.

Satariano, B. (2019). Diverse socioeconomic processes influencing health and wellbeing across generations in deprived neighbourhoods in Malta. *Social Science and Medicine.* 232, 453 – 459.

Savills (2016). Completing London's streets: How the regeneration and intensification of housing estates could increase London's supply of homes and benefit residents. *Savills Research Report to the Cabinet Office.* [Viewed 28 Aug 2021]. Available from: https://pdf.euro.savills.co.uk/uk/residential---other/completing-london-s-streets-080116.pdf

Sautkina, E., Bond, L. & Kearns, A. (2012) Mixed evidence on mixed tenure effects: Findings from a systematic review of UK studies, 1995–2009. *Housing Studies.* 27(6), 748-782.

Scottish Government (n.d.) Getting it right for every child (GIRFEC). Available from: https://www.gov.scot/policies/girfec/wellbeing-indicators-shanarri/

Schubotz, D. (2012). Involving young people as peer researchers in research on community relations in Northern Ireland. In S. Heath and C. Walker, eds. *Innovations in Youth Research.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 101-120.

Scottish Government (n.d.) Getting it right for every child (GIRFEC). Available from: https://www.gov.scot/policies/girfec/wellbeing-indicators- shanarri/.

Seale, C. (1999). *The quality of qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications.

Sen, A. (1985) Well-being, agency and freedom: The Dewey lectures 1984. *The Journal of Philosophy,* 82(4), 169-221.

Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality reexamined.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A. (2004) Capabilities, lists, and public reason: Continuing the conversation. *Feminist Economics,* 10(3), 77-80.

Sen, A. (2007) Children and human rights. *Indian Journal of Human Development*, 1(2), 235-245.

Sen, Amartya. (2009). Capability: Reach and limit. In *Debating global society: Reach and limits of the capability approach.* Milan: Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli. pp. 15–28.

Sharkey, P. and Faber, J.W. (2014). Where, when, why, and for whom do residential contexts matter? Moving away from the dichotomous understanding of neighborhood effects. *The Annual Review of Sociology.* 40, 559–79.

Shaw, C. and McKay, H. (1942) *Juvenile delinquency in urban areas.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shiner, M., Carre, Z., Delsol, R. and Eastwood, N. (2018). The colour of injustice: 'race', drugs and law enforcement in England and Wales. StopWatch, London, United Kingdom. ISBN 9781999316303.

Silverman, E., Lupton, R. & Fenton, L. (2005) A good place for children? Attracting and retaining families in inner urban mixed income communities. *Chartered Institute of Housing and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.*

Simons, R.L., Johnson, C., Beaman, J., Conger, R.D. and Whitbeck, L.B. (1996). Parents and peer group as mediators of the effect of community structure on adolescent problem behavior. *American Journal of Community Psychology.* 24(1), 145-171.

Sinclair, J. J., Petit, G. S., Harrist, A. W., Dodge, K. A., and Bates, J. E. (1994). Age differences, and correlates of risk behavior problems. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 17(4), 675–696.

Sloggett, A., & Joshi, H. (1998). Deprivation indicators as predictors of life events 1981–1992 based on the UK ONS longitudinal study. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 52(4), 228–233.

Small, L.M. and Feldman, J. (2012). Ethnographic evidence, heterogeneity, and neighbourhood effects after Moving to Opportunity. In M. van Ham, D. Manley, N. Bailey, L. Simpson, D. Maclennan, eds. *Neighbourhood Effects Research: New Perspectives.* London: Springer. pp. 57-78.

Social Exclusion Unit (1998). *Bringing Britain together: A national strategy for neighbourhood renewal.* Cm4045. London: HMSO.

Social Exclusion Unit (2001). A new commitment to neighbourhood renewal: National strategy action plan. *The Cabinet Office.* [Viewed on 28 Aug 2021]. Available from: http://www.bris.ac.uk/poverty/downloads/keyofficialdocuments/Neighbourhood%20Renewal%20National%20Strategy%20Report.pdf.

Speak, S. (2000). Children in urban regeneration: Foundations for sustainable participation. *Community Development Journal*, *35*(1), 31–40.

Stake, R.E. (1995). *The art of case study research.* London: Sage Publications.

Tersteeg, A.K. and Pinkster, F.M. (2015). "Us up here and them down there": How design, management, and neighborhood facilities shape social distance in a mixed-tenure housing development. *Urban Affairs Review*, 1–29.

Terzi, L. (2007). The capability to be educated. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter, eds. *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Trucco, E.M. Colder, C.R. Wieczorek, W.F., Lengua, L.J. and Hawk JR, L.W. (2014). Early adolescent alcohol use in context: how neighborhoods, parents, and peers impact youth. *Development and Psychopathology.* 26(2), 425-36.

Tunstall, R. (2011). Mixed communities and urban policy: reflections from the UK. In G. Bridge, T. Butler and L. Lees, eds. *Mixed communities: Gentrification by stealth?.* Bristol: Policy Press. pp. 35-41.

Tunstall, R. and Lupton, R. (2010). Mixed Communities: Evidence review. *Department for Communities and Local Government*. Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/mixed-communities-evidence-review

Twigge-Molecey, A. (2014). Exploring resident experiences of indirect displacement in a neighbourhood undergoing gentrification: The case of Saint-Henri in Montréal. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 23(1), 1-22.

Understanding Society (n.d.). Children and young people. Available from: https://www.understandingsociety.ac.uk/research/themes/young-people

Unicef (n.d.). Convention on the Rights of the Child text [Viewed on 18 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text.

Unterhalter, E. (2003). The capabilities approach and gendered education: An examination of South African complexities. *Theory and Research in Education*. 1(1), 7-22.

Unterhalter, E. (2012). Inequality, capabilities and poverty in four African countries: Girls' voice, schooling, and strategies for institutional change. *Cambridge Journal of Education*. 42(3), 307-325.

The Urban Task Force (1999). Towards an Urban Renaissance. Queen's Printer and Controller of HMSO, London.

Vaughan, R.P. and Walker, M. (2012). Capabilities, values and education policy. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*. 13(3), 495-512.

Veale, A. (2005) Creative methodologies in participatory research with children. In G. Sheila and D. Hogan, eds. *Researching Children's Experience*. London: Sage, pp. 253-272.

Vizard, P. & Burchardt, T. (2007). Developing a capability list: Final recommendations of the Equalities Review steering group on measurement. *Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE),* London School of Economics. Available from: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/6217/

Walker, M. (2007). Selecting capabilities for gender equality in education. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter, eds. *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walker, I. and Pettigrew, T. F. (1984). Relative deprivation theory: An overview and conceptual critique. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 23(4), 301–310.

Wallace, A. (2017). The inbetweeners: Living with abandonment, gentrification and endless urban 'renewal' in Salford, UK. In P. Watt and P. Smets, eds. *Social housing and urban renewal: A cross-national perspective*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing. pp. 431-457.

Wallace, M. (2001). A new approach to neighbourhood renewal in England. *Urban Studies*. 38(12), 2163-2166.

Watt, P. (2009). Housing stock transfers, regeneration and state-led gentrification in London. *Urban Policy and Research*. 27(3), 229-242.

Watt, P. (2013). 'It's not for us': Regeneration, the 2012 Olympics and the gentrification of East London. *City*. 17(1), 99-118.

Watt, P. (2017). Social housing and urban renewal: an introduction. In P. Watt and P. Smets, eds. *Social housing and urban renewal : A cross-national perspective*. Bingley: Emerald Publishing. pp. 1-36.

Weinhardt, F. (2010). Moving into the projects: Social housing neighbourhoods and school performance in England. *Spatial Economics Research Centre*. SERC discussion paper 44. [Viewed on 31 Aug 2021]. Available from: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/33612/1/sercdp0044.pdf.

White, J., Drew, S., & Hay,T. (2009). Ethnography versus case study. *Qualitative Research Journal, 9*(1), 18-27.

Whittaker, M. (2017). Enduring austerity? The priorities, price tags and practicalities for a government changing course on spending cuts. *Resolution Foundation*, [Viewed on 21 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/app/uploads/2017/07/Austerity-v2.pdf.

Wilkinson, R.G. (2001). *Mind the gap: Hierarchies, health and human evolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Willig, C. (2014). Interpretation and analysis. In Flick, U. (Ed.) *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp.136-150). London: Sage Publications.

Willis, J.W. (2007). *Foundations of qualitative research: Interpretive and critical approaches*. London: Sage Publications.

Wilson, W.J. (1991). The truly disadvantaged revisited: A response to Hochschild and Boxill. *Ethics*. 101(3), 593-609.

Wilson, W.J. (1991-1992). Another look at The Truly Disadvantaged. *Political Science Quarterly*. 106(4), 639-656.

Wilson, W.J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, J.Q. and Kelling, G.L. (1982). Broken windows: The police and neighborhood safety. *The Atlantic*. [Viewed on 13 Sep 2021]. Available from: https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1982/03/broken-windows/304465/

Wolff, J. and De-Shalit, A. (2007). *Disadvantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wylie, A. and Sismondo, S. (2015). Standpoint theory, in science. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 23(2), 324-330.

Wylie, A. (2003). Why standpoint matters. In R. Figueroa & S.G. Harding (Eds.), *Science and Other Cultures: Issues in Philosophies of Science and Technology* (pp. 26-48). London: Routledge.

Yin, R.K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). London: Sage publications.

Yin, R.K. (2013a). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). London: Sage publications.

Yin, R.K. (2013b). Validity and generalization in future case study evaluations. *Evaluation*, 19(3), 321–332.

Ziegler, H. (2010) Subjective well-being and capabilities: Views on the well-being of young persons. In S. Andersen, I. Diehm, U. Sander and H. Ziegler, eds. *Children and the good life: New challenges for research on children*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer. pp. 91-102.

Appendices

Appendix A: Research ehics review form

This form should be completed for every research project that involves human participants or the use of information relating to directly identifiable individuals.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="5" style="background:red">PART I - CHECKLIST</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">The Checklist is designed to identify the nature of any ethical issues raised by the research.
This checklist must be completed before potential participants are approached to take part in any research.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">1. Name of Researcher:</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3"></td><td>Status (mark with an 'X' as appropriate)</td><td>Undergraduate student</td><td></td><td>Masters student</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

	Status *(mark with an 'X' as appropriate)*	Undergraduate student		Masters student	
		Research degree student	**X**	Staff	
	Email	r.khazbak@lse.ac.uk	Telephone number	07853449044	
	Department	Social Policy			

2. Student Details if applicable. Name: Rana Khazbak

	Degree programme:	PhD Social Policy		
	Supervisor's name:	Tania Burchardt	Supervisor's email:	t.Burchardt@lse.ac.uk
	Supervisor's department:	Social Policy		

3. Title of the proposal and brief abstract

i) Title: Mechanisms of how neighbourhood income mixing influences the capabilities of disadvantaged adolescent males and females

ii) Abstract
(approx. 150-200 words. Your abstract should outline in non-technical language the purpose of the research and the methods that will be used.)

For decades, British urban regeneration policy has adopted a policy of tenure diversification to 'improve conditions' for disadvantaged households who live in deprived neighbourhoods dominated by social housing. The policy has taken two forms; (1) the insertion of home ownership into mono-tenure council estates, and (2) the demolition and replacement of social housing estates with mixed-tenure developments.

This study aims to understand how turning poor neighbourhoods into mixed-income communities affects the capabilities of disadvantaged adolescents (13-17) living in those areas, defined as their freedom to be and do what they value in life.

This study adopts an interpretivist constructivist approach to social enquiry. I also aim to use participatory child-centred methods, which consider children and young people as social actors and agents in their own lives who can provide competent voices and insights into their social realities and who have the right to express those views and be listened to.

I will select two neighbourhoods in London as case studies for the two types of mixed community interventions. My data collection activities in each local area can be summarised into three main components as follows:

1. Participatory activity-based focus group discussions with adolescents (13-17 years) as follows:
    a. Neighbourhood resource maps
    b. Drawing and picture collage
    c. Role-playing
    d. Photovoice (community photography)
2. Semi-structured individual interviews with adolescents (13-17 years)
    a. Conducted by myself
    b. Conducted by adolescent peer researchers
3. Semi-structured individual interviews with parents and adult community actors

4. Funding

Is it proposed that the research will be funded?   No

If so by whom?

5. Where the research will be conducted

In what country/ies will the research take place?

England, UK.

If the research will be conducted abroad please refer to the LSE Fieldwork and off-site activities guidance and contact the Health and Safety team to obtain your travel insurance certificate. If the destination is considered to be moderate or high risk you will need to complete the Travel Outline and Risk Assessment form.

6. Data Management Plans

Please confirm whether you have completed a Data Management Plan and submitted to Datalibrary@lse.ac.uk ?   (*see Note 1*)   Yes

	Please mark an X in the appropriate right-hand column/box	Yes	No	Not certain
7. Research that *may* need to be reviewed by an external (non-LSE) Ethics Committee				
i	Will the study require Health Research Authority approval? *(See Note 2)*		X	
ii	Does the study involve participants lacking capacity to give informed consent? *(See Note 3)*		X	
iii	Is there any other reason why the study may need to be reviewed by another external (non-LSE) Ethics Committee? If yes, please give details here		X	
	If your research will be reviewed by an external (non-LSE) ethics committee, go to Part II, C (there is no need to complete the rest of the Checklist)			
8. Consent				
i	Does the study involve children or other participants who are potentially or in any way vulnerable or who may have any difficulty giving meaningful consent to their participation or the use of their information? *(See Note 4)*	X		

		Please mark an X in the appropriate right-hand column/box	Yes	No	Not certain
ii	Are subjects to be involved in the study without their knowledge and consent (e.g. through internet-mediated research, or via covert observation of people in public places)?			X	
iii	Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? *(Answer 'yes' to this question only if the involvement of a gatekeeper in your study might raise issues of whether participants' involvement is truly voluntary or of whether the gatekeeper might influence potential participants in some other way.)*			X	

9. Research Design / Methodology

			Yes	No	Not certain
i	Does the research methodology involve the use of deception? *(See Note 5)*			X	
ii	Are there any significant concerns regarding the design of the research project? For example: • where research intrudes into the private sphere or delves into some deeply personal experience; • where the study is concerned with deviance or social control; • where the study impinges on the vested interests of powerful persons or the exercise of coercion or domination; or • where the research deals with things that are sacred to those being studied that they do not wish profaned.			X	
iii	If the proposed research relates to the provision of social or human services is it feasible and/or appropriate that service users or service user representatives should be in some way involved in or consulted upon the development of the project?			X	

10. Financial Incentives

			Yes	No	Not certain
i	Are there payments to researchers/participants that may have an impact on the objectivity of the research?			X	
ii	Will financial inducements (other than reasonable expenses and compensation for time) be offered to participants?			X	

11. Research Subjects

			Yes	No	Not certain
i	Could the study induce unacceptable psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life? Will the study involve prolonged or repetitive testing?			X	
ii	Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics? For example (but not limited to): sexual activity, illegal behaviour, experience of violence or abuse, drug use, etc.). (Please refer to the Research Ethics Policy, § 13).				X
iii	Are drugs, placebos or other substances to be administered to the study participants or will the study involve invasive, intrusive or potentially harmful procedures of any kind?			X	

12. Confidentiality

			Yes	No	Not certain
i	Will research involve the sharing of data or confidential information beyond the initial consent given?			X	
ii	Is there ambiguity about whether the information/data you are collecting is considered to be public?			X	
iii	Will the research involve administrative or secure data that requires permission from the appropriate authorities before use?			X	
iv	Will the research involve the use of visual/vocal methods that potentially pose an issue regarding confidentiality and anonymity?		X		

Please mark an X in the appropriate right-hand column/box	Yes	No	Not certain
13. Legal requirements			
The Data Protection Act 1998 will apply to any data-processing activities entailed by this research. Is there any cause for uncertainty as to whether the research will fully comply with the requirements of the Act? *(See Note 6)*		X	
14. Dissemination			
Are there any particular groups who are likely to be harmed by dissemination of the results of this project?		X	
15. Risk to researchers			
Do you have any doubts or concerns regarding your (or your colleagues) physical or psychological wellbeing during the research period?		X	
16. Sensitive research materials			
Will the research involve accessing security-sensitive material, such as material related to terrorism or to violent extremism of any kind, including, but not limited to, Islamist extremism and far-right extremism. (See Note 7)		X	

Please continue to Part II

Please note that there are certain circumstances where Self-certification of ethics review is not appropriate. Please refer to §13 of the Research Ethics Policy and Procedures

A If, after careful consideration, you have answered **No** to all the questions, you do not need to complete the questionnaire in Part III, unless you are subject to some external requirement that requires you to seek formal approval from the School's Research Ethics Committee. You can select **A** in the **Self-Certification Section** below, sign as appropriate and submit the form to your Head of Department, Research Centre Director, or their administrations as appropriate. Occasional audits of such forms may be undertaken by the School. Students who self-certify their research proposals must do so in consultation with their supervisors.

B If you have answered **Yes** or **Not certain** to any of the questions in sections 8-16 of the checklist you will need to consider more fully how you plan to deal with the ethical issues raised by your research. Answering the relevant questions in the Questionnaire in Part III below may assist you. Alternatively, your own department or institute may have alternative forms or procedures to assist you. If having done so you are wholly assured that adequate safeguards in relation to the ethical issues raised can and will be put in place, you may select **B** in the Self-certification Section below, sign as appropriate and submit the form to your Head of Department, Research Centre Director, or their administrations as appropriate. Occasional audits of such forms may be undertaken by the School.

C If you have answered Yes in section 7 that your research will be subject to an external ethics committee, please select **C** below and send the Checklist (questions 1-7) to research.ethics@lse.ac.uk. You should submit your research for ethics approval to the appropriate body. Once approval is granted please send a copy of the letter of approval to research.ethics@lse.ac.uk.

D If you are unable to self-certify your proposed research you should complete the questionnaire in Part III below and the '**Refer to Research Ethics Committee Section'** at the end of the form.

SELF-CERTIFICATION

Select A, B or C (delete as appropriate):

I have read and understood the LSE Research Ethics Policy and the questions contained in the Checklist above and confirm:

A that no significant ethical issues are raised by the research, or

B that adequate safeguards in relation to such issues can and will be put in place, or

C that the research will be subject to an external ethics review

Please complete the box below and sign the relevant section

Summary of any ethical issues identified and safeguards to be taken (expand box as necessary):

Staff: I hereby confirm that I have undertaken training and/or have had significant experience in research ethics in the course of my career and/or have sought and obtained expert advice in connection with the ethical aspects of the proposed research:

Students: I hereby confirm that I have undertaken training in research ethics in the course of my studies and/or that I have consulted and been advised by my supervisor or other expert with regard the ethical implications of my proposed research.

Staff signature:		Date:	
Student signature:		Date:	
Supervisor signature:		Date:	

By signing here the supervisor confirms that the student has been advised in relation to any ethical issues raised by her/his research; these have to the best of the supervisor's understanding been adequately addressed in the research design; and the student has been made aware of her/his responsibilities for the ethical conduct of her/his research.

Part III - QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire enables you to explain how the ethical issues relating to your research will be addressed. If you are intending to submit your proposal to the Research Ethics Committee it needs to be completed in full.

17. Research aims

Please provide brief (no more than 500 words) details in non-technical language of the research aims, the scientific background of the research and the methods that will be used. This summary should contain sufficient information to acquaint the Committee with the principal features of the proposal. A copy of the full proposal should nonetheless be attached to this document in case it is required for further information.

This study aims to understand how turning poor neighbourhoods into mixed-income communities affects the capabilities of disadvantaged adolescents (13-17) living in those areas. Capabilities are defined as individual's actual freedoms and real opportunities (capabilities) to be and do the things they have reason to value.

There is academic evidence showing that living in areas of high concentration of poverty has adverse effects on children and young people's outcomes and wellbeing independent of their individual and family backgrounds. These effects are differentiated by gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity and other personal characteristics. This is due to these neighbourhoods being highly socially and physically disorganised, lacking of social capital and collective efficacy (the collective trust and willingness of a community's members to intervene on behalf of the common or shared beliefs), suffering poor quality services and amenities, having disproportionately higher density of specific kinds of market actors (e.g. drug markets, fast food outlets). Poor neighbourhoods are also less likely to have adult role models for young people and more likely to have negative peer effects (e.g. gang membership). Additionally, poor neighbourhood conditions can indirectly affect children through their effect on parenting styles, parents' stress levels and support networks, and the home learning environment.

Consequently, British urban regeneration policy has, for decades, adopted a policy of tenure diversification to 'improve conditions' for disadvantaged households who live in deprived neighbourhoods dominated by social housing. The policy has taken two forms; (1) the insertion of home ownership into mono-tenure council estates, and (2) the demolition and replacement of social housing estates with mixed-tenure developments. The aim has been to create "a more even distribution of wealth within a locality' by attracting better-off households into highly deprived areas. It is believed that this would result in better outcomes for young people through the reversal of the above mechanisms. However, there is lack of evidence on how mixed-tenure neighbourhoods affect the wellbeing of disadvantaged young people. In fact, available evidence is mixed and sometimes shows worse outcomes.

Thus, the main research question this study aims to answer is:

How do mixed-income neighbourhoods influence the capabilities of disadvantaged adolescent men and women?

Sub-Research Questions (Sub-RQs):
1.   What are the relevant capabilities (i.e. what they value being and doing) of disadvantaged adolescents in mixed-income neighbourhoods?
2.   How do their capabilities vary by young people's gender and the process of how neighbourhoods were turned into mixed-income areas?
3.   How do mixed-income neighbourhoods interact with adolescents' internal and external conversion factors to develop or constrain these capabilities?
4.   How do these interactions vary by young people's gender and the process of how neighbourhoods were turned into mixed-income areas?

I will select two neighbourhoods in London as case studies for the two types of mixed community interventions and will us qualitative data collection methods. My data collection activities in each local area can be summarised into three main components as follows:
1. **Participatory activity-based focus group discussions with adolescents (13-17 years) as follows:**
    a. *Neighbourhood resource maps*: participants to sketch a 'neighbourhood resource map' with the aim to understand adolescents' perceptions of their neighbourhood, which resources are important to them and why, barriers to using resources if any, and how these have been affected by turning the area into a mixed neighbourhood.
    b. *Drawing and picture collage*: participants to produce a drawing or a picture collage that represents their role models or what they aspire to be and do.
    c. *Role-playing*: participants to role-play scenarios of interactions with key people in their local areas with the aim to reveal adolescents' perceptions of their relations with other people in the community.
    d. *Photovoice (community photography)*: participants to spend a week taking photos of things they like and do not like about their local area after the regeneration documenting their lives in the neighbourhood
2. **Semi-structured individual interviews with adolescents (13-17 years)**
    a. Conducted by myself
    b. Conducted by adolescent peer researchers
3. **Semi-structured individual interviews with parents and adult community actors**

18. Informed consent

i	Will potential participants be asked to give informed consent in writing and will they be asked to confirm that they have received and read the information about the study? If not, why not? *Please attach your proposed information sheet/ consent form*
	Yes

ii	If the research takes place within an online community, explain how informed consent will be obtained? What arrangements are in place for ensuring that participants do not include vulnerable groups or children?
	Not applicable

iii	How has the study been discussed or are there plans to discuss the study with those likely to be involved, including potential participants or those who may represent their views?
	The study will be discussed with all potential participants (adults and adolescents) gatekeepers and adolescents' parents/guardians before they decide to or consent for their children to take part in the study. They will be informed verbally and through an information sheet covering the following points: - the purpose of the study, - information about the researcher - why they are being asked to participate, - what their participation will involve, - how their data will be stored and used in the long-term, - potential benefits and risks for participating - they are free to to withdraw at any time without adverse consequences and without providing a reason - that if they chose to withdraw, they can request to have any information they have provided thus far to be removed from the study - contact details for the researcher and who to contact should they have a complaint.
iv	Has information (written and oral) about the study been prepared in an appropriate form and language for potential participants? At what point in the study will this information be offered? (see Annex A of the Research Ethics Policy for links to guidance on informed consent).
	Yes, it has (see answer above). This information will be offered to any potential participant before they consent to take part in the study. Because gatekeepers (e.g. schools or youth workers) will be involved in recruiting adolescent participants for the study, in most cases, they will be the first point of contact with potential adolescent participants and their parents/guardians communicating to them information about the study. Thus, I will provide them with the information sheets and parental consent forms who will in turn give them to potential participants and parents/guardians. After parental written consent is acquired and before data collection commences with young people, I will again verbally explain to them the study and everything in the information sheet and they will be given time to ask any questions they have before signing the consent forms. This step will ensure they fully understand what their participation entails and that they are voluntarily choosing to take part in the study without any coercion from the gatekeepers or their parents/guardians. Due to the nature of the study's extended data collection with one group of participants, consent is considered an 'ongoing process' where they will be reminded regularly that they are free to discontinue their participation. In addition, another round of consent forms will be prepared for parents and young people to sign before the peer research exercise, and peer researchers will be required to obtain signed consent forms from peer interviewees after explaining to them verbally and in text all information about the study.
v	Will potential participants be clearly informed that no adverse consequences will follow a decision not to participate or to withdraw during the study?
	Yes. I will communicate to potential participants verbally and via information sheet and consent form that their participation is completely voluntary and that if they decide to participate, they have the freedom to not take part in certain activities, not answer specific questions or to withdraw at any point without having to state a reason and without any adverse consequences. Please see question 18(iii) Additionally, it will be made clear that I am not in a position to provide them with any particular benefits or solutions to issues they might raise about their neighbourhood. My role is merely a researcher and that I do not work for the local authority, the housing provider or a community organisation.
vi	What provision has been made to respond to queries and problems raised by participants during the course of the study?
	Participants will be provided with mine and my supervisor's contact details (phone numbers and emails) for any queries or problems. I will also provide them (in the information sheet) with the LSE research ethics committee contact details in case they have complaints about the study.

19. Research design and methodology

i	Where relevant, how does the research methodology justify the use of deception?

	Not applicable	
ii	If the proposed research involves the deception of persons in vulnerable groups, can the information sought be obtained by other means?	
	Not applicable	
iii	How will data be collected and analysed during the project?	

Data collection

Component 1 – Participatory activity-based focus group discussions with adolescents (13-17 years):

During this phase, I plan to conduct four activity-based focus group discussions with two groups of adolescents (males and females) in each case study area.

During **the first focus group**, participants will be asked to sketch a 'neighbourhood resource map' which is a map of their local with labels of all the resources they can identify (e.g. schools, parks, youth clubs, sports grounds) as well as household membership patterns (who lives in which part of the area indicating people they personally know) and housing tenures, while indicating on the maps which of these aspects have changed with regeneration. Then they will be asked to show which community members/households (including themselves) use which resources. Once maps are completed, these will become the focus of a general discussion about

- their opinion about these resources and how they changed because of regeneration
- why they resources are important for them and young people in the area in general
- if relevant, why they use or not use some of those resources and why some people use them while others don't
- whether and how these patterns changed after regeneration of the area and what they think of these changes
- if and what they would change about the area

The second focus group discussion will involve participants producing a drawing or a picture collage that represents their role models or what they aspire to be and do. This will be followed by a discussion about

- the content of their piece of art
- how their local area can provide them with the opportunities to be and do these things
- how the changes in the area through regeneration compare to this image of the ideal neighbourhood

The **third focus group** will concentrate on community relations starting with a discussion about people in the neighbourhood who have an impact on adolescents' everyday lives and the ways they affect young people in positive and negative ways. Then, participants will be asked to role-play scenarios of those interactions.

Finally, **photovoice** will be utilised where young people will be asked to spend a week taking photos of things they like and do not like about their local area after the regeneration documenting their daily activities in and outside of the neighbourhood. In a group session, their photo diaries will be used to elicit discussions about their neighbourhoods as they will be asked the five SHOWeD questions developed by Wang and Burris (1997); What do you See here? What is really Happening here? How does this relate to Our lives? Why does this condition exist? and What can we Do about it? The questions are meant to probe participants to go beyond the surface of mere description of photos to critically discuss causes and potential solutions.

Overall, during phase 1 in each neighbourhood, one group of six to eight adolescent males and one group of six to eight adolescent females will participate in the four focus group discussions. Sessions will be audio-recorded after gaining participants' consent and held at a local community centre or school.

Component 2: Phase 2 – Participatory research with young people

This phase will include one-on-one **semi-structured interviews** with adolescents. I will conduct the interviews with some of the young people who participated in the first phase especially those who I thought had more to say beyond the focus groups. But I will also recruit additional adolescent interviewees from the

neighbourhood. Interviewees will be asked about how the neighbourhood characteristics affect their capabilities.

This phase will also include **peer interviews**, where a small number (e.g. one boy and one girl in each area) of the young people who participated in the first phase will carry out interviews with their friends and other youths in their social network. Those who volunteer to participate in peer research will be provided with training, delivered by myself, on interviewing skills and research ethics including informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity, and child safeguarding issues. They will also be guided on ways to stay safe while conducting interviews and ensuring safety of others. I will then engage with them in a discussion of possible questions as topic guides for the interviews and they will role-play interviews among themselves.

Based on interviewees' preference, interviews will be held either at the local school, community centre, other public space or at their homes. However, peer researchers will be advised not to go places they do not usually go to do the interviews (e.g. strangers' houses). After they finish conducting interviews, I will have a discussion with them about the main themes that came out of their interviews and mine, reflections on the interview process, any difficulties faced and lessons learned.

Reasons for incorporating peer-research in this study are twofold. First, it corresponds to the child standpoint and child rights perspectives. Second, it is one strategy to get access to hard-to-reach populations and especially young people who may be perceived by adults in the community as engaged in antisocial or risky behaviours. Moreover, academics have argued that research 'by' children and young people can address the generational power imbalances between the latter and adult researchers, can generate qualitatively better data owing to their access and higher ability to build rapport with other young interviewees and it develops youth's research skills.

Component 3: Interviews with community actors

Alongside research with young people, I will hold semi-structured interviews with parents and other active adult community members whose actions and decisions have an impact on young people's capabilities (e.g. youth workers, school teachers, social landlords/housing officers, local authority officials, health workers, social workers, police officers).

Interviews with adult community members will take place simultaneously with research with young people and I will question them about issues and capabilities identified by adolescents, their relationship with and perception of young people in the community, as well as, their views about the neighbourhood mix and regeneration, how this has affected the neighbourhood and the implications on children's capabilities. Besides these issues, I will ask parents about their relations with other households from other housing tenures.

Data Analysis

I will analyse the data collected thematically, that is recordings of the focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews will be transcribed and patterns or themes in the data will be identified through a systematic coding process. I will interpret the themes based on the explicit meanings participants bring to them, as opposed to searching beyond the semantic content of the data for underlying assumptions or ideas. Moreover, verbal and written data collected from young people rather than visual data will provide the main data set to be analysed from phase 1. For example, it is how participants describe and what they say about the meanings in their photos, drawings, collages and maps that will be analysed, rather than their visual content. In the presentation of the findings, however, examples of visual data will be provided to aid in fully understanding the context of the participants' interpretations.

Data collected from young participants about the relationship between their capabilities and the neighbourhoods they occupy will be the main focus of analysis, while interviews with parents and adults will be incorporated as additional complementary observations. Being a comparative case study design, both within-case and cross-case comparisons will be made between the neighbourhoods. The main comparison dimensions will be gender of young people and the process of how neighbourhoods were turned into mixed-income areas, in accordance with my research questions. However, I will also inductively identify other relevant dimensions based on the data.

iv	How have the ethical and legal dimensions of the process of collecting, analysing and storing the data been addressed?
	- Informed Consent: I will adopt an opt-in strategy which is more respectful of people's privacy, but can mean the exclusion of certain groups from the study. As mentioned above, it will be made sure that all participants join the study voluntarily and after giving their informed consent. They will be asked to sign consent forms including parents/guardians of adolescents, adolescents themselves, adolescent peer interviewees and adult interviewees. In addition, all potential participants and interviewees in this study will be assured that their participation is completely voluntary, that they have the right to refuse to answer any questions, not take part in a particular activity and withdraw at any time during the study without any penalties or having to give reasons. - Data collection is not expected to cause participants harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life. It will be made sure that the research process is not intrusive and I will not ask personal or sensitive questions that may cause distress or embarrassment to participants. However, it is recognised that this may be unforeseen. Therefore, when unsure about the sensitivity of any question, I will ask for participants' consent before discussing topics that might potentially be perceived as personal. If for any reason a participant showed signs of stress or discomfort during an interview, I will remind them they don't have to discuss things they don't want to talk about and that we can stop the interview at any time if they wish so. I will also direct them to organisations that can provide assistance. Additionally, I will apply for a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check which would show my criminal records. - It will be clearly communicated to potential participants that there will be no direct benefit to them or their communities from this research (e.g. changes or improvements to their neighbourhoods). - Before embarking on their photo project, the participants will be trained by myself on photography ethics, gaining consent from people before taking their photographs and how to stay safe. They will be instructed to avoid taking pictures showing faces of people and to get signed consent from those who can be identified in the photos. They will be provided with low cost disposable cameras in order to avoid the digital sharing of photos that can endanger the photo subjects in any way or invade their privacy. - Adolescent peer researchers will be provided with training on the ethics of research including informed consent, confidentiality, data protection and child safeguarding. They will be required to get signed consent from their interviewees. - Following from previous studies, I will ask young people who volunteer to become peer researchers to fill a short application form while making clear that the criteria for selection includes parental consent, time availability, attending research ethics and interviewing skills training and demonstrating adherence to research ethical guidelines. This will avoid disappointment in the case that someone was not chosen to be a peer researcher or the number of those who put themselves forward exceeds what is needed. - I will provide continuous support to the peer researchers while they are conducting their interviews through regular follow-up meetings to reflect on the process and answer any of their questions. In the case that any of them shows signs of distress by data they collected or for any other reason, they will be reminded that they are free to withdraw at any point and I will provide them with contacts to organisations that can help such as the Children's Society or the NSPCC. Please see bellow sections 21, 22 and 23 for how I will address the rest of ethical and legal dimensions.
v	What concerns have been taken into account with regard to the preparation and design of the research project? If agencies, communities or individuals are to be directly affected by the research (e.g. participants, service users, vulnerable communities or relations), what means have you devised to ensure that any harm or distress is minimized and/or that the research is sensitive to the particular needs and perspectives of those so affected?

20. Ethical questions arising from the provision of incentives

i	Are any incentives being offered to participants? If so, please provide details
	It is ethically recommended that young participants receive appropriate appreciation and compensation for their time and participation especially when they are involved for an extended time or act as co-researchers. While providing remuneration is unlikely due to lack of funding, I will try to show appreciation through other forms. For example, I am planning to explore working with the LSE Widening Participation Team to arrange for participants to attend some of their sessions which give secondary school children an insight into university life, the opportunities available in higher education and the content and language of the social sciences. I will also investigate the possibility of providing them with certificates at the end of the project, which provide detail of the specific training and activities they were involved in. These can be later used in college and job applications.

21. Research participants

i	Who do you identify as the participants in the project? Are other people who are not participants likely to be directly impacted by the project?
	Adolescents (13-17) who will take part in focus groups and interviews as well as parents and adult community actors who live in the two case study neighbourhoods and will be interviewed during the course of the project.
ii	What are the specific risks to research participants or third parties?
	It is not expected that the research will expose participants or third parties to physical or emotional risks beyond those encountered in normal life. However, if for any reason a participant showed signs of stress or discomfort during one of the data collection activities, I will remind them they don't have to discuss things they don't want to talk about and that we can stop the interview at any time if they wish so. I will also direct them to organisations that can provide assistance.
iii	If the research involves pain, stress, physical or emotional risk, please detail the steps taken to minimize such effects.
	Please see above

22. Confidentiality

	What arrangements have been made to preserve confidentiality for the participants or those potentially affected, and compliance with data protection law?
	I will abide by the UK Data Protection Act (DPA) in how the data for this study will be collected, stored, shared and presented and in communicating this information to potential participants prior to their consent to take part.
	During data collection, participants will be informed that what they say and do during the interviews and focus groups will remain confidential and only I will have access to the data. I will not reveal their identities, real names, contact details or any personal identifiers to anybody. Focus groups and interviews will be audio-recorded, while encouraging participants to avoid mentioning real names when the recording is switched on. Even if this is not achieved, audio files of recordings will be downloaded immediately after interview/focus group, deleted from the recorder and stored in a password protected folder on the LSE One drive. Moreover, participants will be asked to not reveal personal information discussed during the focus groups to other people.
	Nonetheless, following the LSE's safeguarding policy, confidentiality might be broken in the case of suspicion or acquiring information (deliberately or accidentally shared on the child's part) about child abuse or harm. The policy puts the responsibility on researchers to raise any concerns about the safety and

wellbeing of a child, young person or vulnerable adult to the LSE's designated safeguarding lead for guidance on what action should be taken and if disclosure is necessary. I will, however, inform young people beforehand of such limits on confidentiality and it will be included in the consent forms. Thus giving them the choice to reveal such information. In accordance with wider ethical guidelines, I would also speak with children before acting on information about child abuse or harm to explain steps I will be taking.

Digital data collected throughout the course of this study (e.g. recordings of interviews and focus groups, transcripts, photographs) will be stored on my LSE One drive, which is password protected. I will not share the password with anyone. All data will be anonymised using pseudonyms. I will not include participants' real names, contacts or any identifiers. Non-digital data including photographs, drawings and collages will be stored in boxes inside my LSE locker, to which I only have access. Signed consent forms which may contain identifying information (e.g. signatures and real names) will be stored separately from data files.

Finally, study findings will be presented in aggregate form with no personal identifiers and I will use pseudonyms in case of including direct quotations by individual participants. In the case of young people, they will be assured that I will not share what they say with their parents or other adult supervisors (e.g. teachers, youth workers).

23. Dissemination	
	Will the results of the study be offered to those participants or other affected parties who wish to receive them? If so, what steps have been taken to minimize any discomfort or misrepresentation that may result at the dissemination stage?
	Yes, the results will be made available to anyone who takes part in the study as participants or others in the case study neighbourhoods. Because of the participatory nature of the study, I plan to get feedback on and engage young participants in a discussion about my analysis and interpretation of the collected data. This will be done twice, first at the end of phase 1 and then at the end of phase 2. During phase 2, peer interviewers will be given time to do their own analysis of the data from the interviews they conducted and I will have a discussion with them about the main themes that come out of their interviews. In the case where mine and their interpretations of the data diverge or where no agreement is reached, I will present the two different interpretations in the findings.
24. Risk to researchers	
	Are there any risks to researchers? If so, please provide details.
	It is not expected that the study will expose the researcher to risks beyond those encountered in normal life. However, I will keep and share a log of my planned interviews and where they will be taking place with my supervisor or one of my colleagues at CASE.

REFER TO RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE		
Approval is required by the Research Ethics Committee on one or more of the following grounds (please mark with an 'X' in the appropriate place in the right-hand column):		
a.	Significant ethical issues are raised by the research, including research characterised by one or more of the following features:	
	(i) Research involving deception of participants, or which is conducted without their full and informed consent at the time the study is carried out or when the data is gathered, or which involves the use of confidential information.	X

	(ii) Research involving more than minimal risk of harm to participants, such as: ○ research involving vulnerable groups ○ research involving personally intrusive or ethically sensitive topics ○ research involving groups where permission of a gatekeeper is normally required for initial access to members ○ research which would induce unacceptable psychological stress, anxiety or humiliation or cause more than minimal pain	
b.	The researcher wants to seek the advice of the Research Ethics Committee	**X**
c.	External obligations (for instance, funder requirements, data access requirements) require it	
d.	Research undertaken by a student or member of staff who has not received appropriate training or has insufficient experience in research ethics and has been unable to access appropriate advice or support.	

Appendix B: Ethics approval by the LSE Ethics Committee

Rana Khazbak
Department of Social Policy
R.Khazbak@lse.ac.uk

9th August 2018

Dear Rana

Re: 'Mechanisms of how neighbourhood income mixing influences the capabilities of disadvantaged adolescent males and females' (REC ref. 000737)

I am writing with reference to the above research proposal. The Research Ethics Committee, having considered the documentation sent, is satisfied that the ethical issues raised by the proposed research have been properly taken into account and that adequate safeguards have been put in place. I am accordingly able on behalf of the Committee to confirm our approval of the application.

Please note that any significant changes to the research design must be reported to the Research Ethics Committee. Amendments to the research design that may affect participants and/or that may have ethical implications must be reviewed and approved by the Research Ethics Committee before commencement (or recommencement) of the project. The Research Ethics Committee may periodically conduct a selective audit of current research projects.

I would like to take this opportunity to wish you well with your research project.
If you have any further queries, please feel free to contact Lyn Grove, Research Division.

Yours sincerely,

Professor John Worrall
Chair of the Research Ethics Committee
cc. Dr Lyn Grove, Research Division

Appendix C: Information sheet and consent form for focus group discussions with young people

Research Project
Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

You have been given this information sheet because you are being invited to take part in a research study. This information sheet describes the study and explains what will be involved if you decide to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?
The aim is to explore young people's views of their neighbourhood and the changes taking place in the area, how they spend time outside home, their social relationships with other groups in the local area, the facilities and resources available to young people and how they use these resources. Ultimately, the purpose is to understand how the neighbourhood affects young people's life and wellbeing.

Who is conducting the study?
My name is Rana Khazbak and I am conducting this study as part of my PhD at the London School of Economics.

What will participating in this project involve?
If you agree to participate in the project, you will be invited to take part in four 1hr long sessions and one photography training where you will be engaged in a range of activities and group discussions along with five to seven other young people.

The activities include mapping, drawing, picture collage, photography and role-playing/story-telling. You do not have to be an expert in these activities. They will mainly be used to facilitate a discussion about how you think about your neighbourhood, your neighbours, living in a mixed community, the facilities available for young people and you use these facilities. I will also ask you about your future aspirations and how your neighbourhood can help you achieve these dreams.

Do I have to take part?
No, it's completely up to you whether or not you take part in the study. If you agree to take part, you are free to change your mind at any time without giving me a reason. I will also have to gain your parent/guardian written consent for you to participate.

What will happen to any information I give?
Any information I have about you and everything you say during the discussion will be kept confidential unless you mention something causing you or another young person serious harm. In that case we can discuss steps of how to deal with the problem.

The sessions will be audiotaped only for the purpose of data analysis, but your name and contact details will not be included in the transcripts of the discussions. Any extracts from what you say that are quoted in the final or further reports will be entirely anonymous.

During data collection, all electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer and any paper copies will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my office. Conditional on your consent, after the end of the project I plan to deposit data collected throughout my PhD research to the UK Data Service online ReShare repository. The data will not contain your or other participants' names or any information than can reveal your identity. This would allow other users, with my permission, to access the data for research and learning purposes only and not commercial ones. Conditions also prohibit the further distribution of the data files and require users to 'preserve at all times the confidentiality of information pertaining to individuals, households or organisations in the data files where the information is not in the public domain'.

What will happen to the results of the project?
The results of this study will be mainly used for my PhD thesis and might be published in academic papers and presented in conferences or at other universities. I would be happy to send you a copy of the results if you wish.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
There will be no immediate benefits for you, but you might enjoy participating in the activities. By taking part in this study, you can help us better understand young people's views about how neighbourhoods affect their wellbeing. However, I cannot promise that this study will have a direct impact on your particular local area as my role here is solely as a researcher. To thank you for taking the time to participate in the activities, I would like to give you a certificate of appreciation by the end of the sessions.

Are there any risks?
There are no risks. But you will be given guidance on how to stay safe while taking photos in your area as part of the photography activity.

Contacts
I am the main contact for the study. If you have any questions about the project, please don't hesitate to ask. My contact details are:

Rana Khazbak
Email: r.khazbak@lse.ac.uk
Tel: 07853449044
Department of Social Policy, 2nd Floor, Old Building, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE

Should you have any complaints, you can contact the LSE Research Ethics Committee on research.ethics@lse.ac.uk, Or my PhD supervisor Professor Tania Burchardt t.burchatdt@lse.ac.uk, tel: 020 7955 6700

To request a copy of the data held about you please contact: glpd.info.rights@lse.ac.uk

Consent form for young people and parents/guardians

Project title: Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

PART A TO BE COMPLETED BY THE YOUNG PERSON

☐ I agree to participate in group discussions/interview, part of this research study

☐ I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet provided for this study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐ I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without adverse consequences.

☐ I understand that everything I say will remain confidential, unless I mention something causing me or another young person serious harm. In that case, the researcher (Rana Khazbak) has a duty to tell the safeguarding officer at the London School of Economics, who may in turn have a duty to report this to the relevant authorities. However, Rana will discuss with me the steps to be taken beforehand.

☐ I understand that the interview/focus groups will be digitally recorded and then transcribed for the purpose of data analysis.

☐ I understand that *anonymised* information given during this interview/these focus groups may be used in future publications, reports or presentations.

☐ I understand that any personal data that could be used to identify me will be removed from the transcript of the interview/focus groups and that I will not be identified in any publications, reports or presentations.

☐ I consent for *anonymised* data collected during interview/focus group sessions to be shared with and used by other researchers after the end of the project.

Participant's Name (Printed): _____ Age _____

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

PART B TO BE COMPLETED BY THE PARENT/GUARDIAN

I have read and understood the accompanying information sheet and give permission for the young person (named above) to participate in the study.

Name _____

Relationship to young person_____

Signature _____   Date: _____

Researcher's signature _____

Appendix D: Information sheet and consent form for interviews with young people

Research Project
Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

You have been given this information sheet because you are being invited to take part in a research study. This information sheet describes the study and explains what will be involved if you decide to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?
The aim is to explore young people's views of their neighbourhood and the changes taking place in the area, how they spend time outside home, their social relationships with other groups in the local area, the facilities and resources available to young people and how they use these resources. Ultimately, the purpose is to understand how the neighbourhood affects young people's life and wellbeing.

Who is conducting the study?
My name is Rana Khazbak and I am conducting this study as part of my PhD at the London School of Economics.

What will participating in this project involve?
If you agree to participate in the project, you will be invited to take part in an interview where you will be asked about what you like and don't like about your neighbourhood, how you interact with your neighbours, the resources available for young people and how you use these resources. The interview should last for a maximum of one hour.

Do I have to take part?
No, it's completely up to you whether or not you take part in the study. If you agree to take part, you are free to change your mind at any time without giving me a reason. I will also have to gain your parent/guardian written consent for you to participate.

What will happen to any information I give?
Any information I have about you and everything you say during the interview will be kept confidential unless you mention something causing you or another young person serious harm. In that case, I have a duty to tell the safeguarding officer at the London School of Economics, who may in turn have a duty to report this to the relevant authorities. However, I will discuss with you the steps to be taken beforehand.

The interview will be audiotaped only for the purpose of data analysis, but your name and contact details will not be included in the transcript of our conversation. Any extracts from what you say that are quoted in the final or further reports will be entirely anonymous.

During data collection, all electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer and any paper copies will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my office. Conditional on your consent, after the end of the project I plan to deposit data collected throughout my PhD research to the UK Data Service online ReShare repository. The data will not contain your or other participants' names or any information than can reveal your identity. This would allow other users, with my permission, to access the data for research and learning purposes only and not commercial ones. Conditions also prohibit the further distribution of the data files and require users to 'preserve at all times the confidentiality of information pertaining to individuals, households or organisations in the data files where the information is not in the public domain'.

What will happen to the results of the project?
The results of this study will be mainly used for my PhD thesis and might be published in academic papers and presented in conferences or at other universities. I would be happy to send you a copy of the results if you wish.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
There will be no immediate benefits for you, but you might enjoy participating in the interview and expressing your views about your neighbourhood. By taking part in this study, you can help us better understand young people's views about how neighbourhoods affect their wellbeing. However, I cannot promise that this study will have a direct impact on your particular local area as my role here is solely as a researcher.

Are there any risks?
There are no risks involved as everything you say will remain confidential.

Contacts
I am the main contact for the study. If you have any questions about the project, please don't hesitate to ask. My contact details are:

Rana Khazbak
Email: r.khazbak@lse.ac.uk
Tel: 07853449044
Department of Social Policy, 2nd Floor, Old Building, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE

Should you have any complaints, you can contact the LSE Research Ethics Committee on research.ethics@lse.ac.uk, Or my PhD supervisor Professor Tania Burchardt t.burchatdt@lse.ac.uk, tel: 020 7955 6700
To request a copy of the data held about you please contact: glpd.info.rights@lse.ac.uk

Consent form for interviews with young people and parents/guardians

Project title: Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

PART A TO BE COMPLETED BY THE YOUNG PERSON

☐ I agree to participate in an interview, part of this research study

☐ I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet provided for this study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐ I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without adverse consequences.

☐ I understand that everything I say will remain confidential, unless I mention something causing me or another young person serious harm. In that case, the researcher (Rana Khazbak) has a duty to tell the safeguarding officer at the London School of Economics, who may in turn have a duty to report this to the relevant authorities. However, Rana will discuss with me the steps to be taken beforehand.

☐ I understand that the interview will be digitally recorded and then transcribed for the purpose of data analysis.

☐ I understand that *anonymised* information given during this interview/these focus groups may be used in future publications, reports or presentations.

☐ I understand that any personal data that could be used to identify me will be removed from the transcript of the interview/focus groups and that I will not be identified in any publications, reports or presentations.

☐ I consent for *anonymised* data collected during interview/focus group sessions to be shared with and used by other researchers after the end of the project.

Participant's Name (Printed): _____ Age _____
Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

PART B TO BE COMPLETED BY THE PARENT/GUARDIAN

I have read and understood the accompanying information sheet and give permission for the young person (named above) to participate in the study.

Name _____

Relationship to young person_____

Signature _____ Date: _____

Researcher's signature _____

Appendix E: Information sheet and consent form for photography project with young people

Research Project:
Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

You have been given this information sheet because you are taking part in a photography project as part of a research study. This information sheet describes the study and explains what will be involved in this photography exercise.

What is the purpose of the study?
The aim is to explore young people's views of their neighbourhood, what they think about the mix of people who live in the area, the changes taking place, the facilities and resources available to young people, how they use these resources, and ultimately how the area affects their life and wellbeing.

Who is conducting the study?
My name is Rana Khazbak and I am conducting this study as part of my PhD at the London School of Economics.

What will participating in this photography project involve?

If you agree to participate in the project, you will be provided with a disposable camera to spend a week taking photos of <u>what it is like living in the neighbourhood under the regeneration</u>. You will be asked to take photos documenting:
- how you spend time in the area & the sorts of activities you engage in,
- what you like and don't like about the area
  - in general and
  - in light of the regeneration.

Can I take photos of anything or anyone I like?
You are responsible for protecting the privacy of other people you photograph, even if they are your friends.
- Avoid, where possible, including faces of people in your images
- Ensure individuals are aware the images taken are for research purposes
- Acquire verbal consent from people before photographing them
- Do not give your camera to other people to use it
- Avoid taking inappropriate pictures
- Do not use the camera in situations or places where you feel it is not safe to do so

What will happen to the photos I take?
After a week, I will collect the camera from you and the other participants and will take them to be developed. I will ask you to write captions on the 10 photos you like the most, then we will have a discussion about what the photos mean to you.

Any information I have about you and everything you say during the discussion will be kept confidential unless you mention something causing you or another young person serious harm. In that case we can discuss steps of how to deal with the problem.

During the course of the study, I will keep your photos in a locked filing cabinet in my office. Conditional on your consent, I will include images of your photos in the final report but your name and personal information will not be revealed. After the end of the project I plan to deposit data collected throughout my PhD research to the UK Data Service online ReShare repository. The data will not contain your or other participants' names or any information than can reveal your identity. This would allow other users, with my permission, to access the data for research and learning purposes only and not commercial ones.

Do I have to take part?
No, it's completely up to you whether or not you take part in this project. If you agree to take part, you are free to change your mind at any time without giving me a reason. I will also have to gain your parent/guardian written consent for you to participate.

What will happen to the results of the project?
The results of this study will be mainly used for my PhD thesis and might be published in academic papers and presented in conferences or at other universities. I would be happy to send you a copy of the results if you wish.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
There will be no immediate benefits for you, but you might enjoy participating in the activities. By taking part in this study, you can help us better understand young people's views about how neighbourhoods affect their wellbeing.

Are there any risks?
There are no risks. But you will be given guidance on how to stay safe while taking photos in your area as part of the photography activity.

Contacts
I am the main contact for the study. If you have any questions about the project, please don't hesitate to ask. My contact details are:

Rana Khazbak
Email: r.khazbak@lse.ac.uk
Tel: 07853449044
Department of Social Policy, 2nd Floor, Old Building, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE

Should you have any complaints, you can contact the LSE Research Ethics Committee on research.ethics@lse.ac.uk, Or my PhD supervisor Professor Tania Burchardt t.burchatdt@lse.ac.uk, tel: 020 7955 6700

To request a copy of the data held about you please contact: glpd.info.rights@lse.ac.uk

Photography project consent form

PART A TO BE COMPLETED BY THE YOUNG PERSON

☐ I agree to participate in the photography project, part of this research study

☐ I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet provided for this project. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐ I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without adverse consequences.

☐ I understand that I should seek consent from people before photographing them

☐ I understand that, where possible, I should avoid including faces of people in my images

☐ I understand that I should not put myself in unsafe situations while taking photos

☐ I understand that I should be the only one using the camera and should at all times avoid taking inappropriate pictures

☐ I consent for _anonymised_ photos produced as part of this project to be shared with and used by other researchers after the end of the project.

☐ I consent for _anonymised_ photos produced as part of this project to be included in the final report.

Participant's Name (Printed): _____ Age _____

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

PART B TO BE COMPLETED BY THE PARENT/GUARDIAN

I have read and understood the accompanying information sheet and give permission for the young person (named above) to participate in the photography project.
Name _____

Relationship to young person_____

Signature _____   Date: _____

Researcher's signature _____

Appendix F: Information sheet and consent form for peer researchers
Research Project:
Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

You have been given this information sheet because you are being invited to take part in a research study as a peer-researcher. This information sheet describes the study and explains what will be involved if you decide to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?
The aim is to explore young people's views of their neighbourhood and the changes taking place in the area, how they spend time outside home, their social relationships with other groups in the local area, the facilities and resources available to young people and how they use these resources. Ultimately, the purpose is to understand how the neighbourhood affects young people's life and wellbeing.

What is the purpose of the peer-research activity?
Young people will act as peer-researchers, where they will conduct interviews with their friends on their views of the neighbourhood. Having young people interview their peers not only develops their skills, but also empowers them to decide the important questions that ought to be asked, use accessible language and encourages young participants to talk more openly about their opinions and feelings.

Who is conducting the study?
My name is Rana Khazbak and I am conducting this study as part of my PhD at the London School of Economics.

What will participating in this project involve?
If you agree to participate in the project, you will act as a 'peer researcher' where you will interview between 3 to 5 other young people that you know and who live in the local area.

Prior to conducting the interviews, you will be asked to attend a training workshop on interviewing skills and research ethics and participate in formulating the questions to be asked during the

interviews. This is in addition to regularly feed backing progress to me (the PhD researcher) throughout data collection period. After conducting all interviews, you will attend a follow-up session with me and other peer researchers to discuss main issues that came out of the interviews.

Do I have to take part?
No, it's completely up to you whether or not you take part in the study. If you agree to take part, you are free to change your mind at any time without giving me a reason. I will also have to gain your parent/guardian written consent for you to participate.

What will happen to the results of the project?
The results of this study will be mainly used for my PhD thesis and might be published in academic papers and presented in conferences or at other universities. I can send you a copy of the final write-up if you wish.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
You may find participating useful for your personal development as you can gain research, analytical and communication skills, which can be transferred to other settings and future opportunities. You may also build new friendships and overall find it enjoyable to be part of a research team.

By taking part in this study, you can help us better understand young people's views about how neighbourhoods affect their wellbeing. However, I cannot promise that this study will have a direct impact on your particular local area as my role here is solely as a researcher. To thank you for taking the time and effort to participate as a peer researcher, I would like to give you a certificate of appreciation by the end of the project.

Are there any risks?
There are no risks beyond those encountered in normal life. However, you will be given training and regular guidance on how to stay safe while conducting interviews in your area.

Contacts
I am the main contact for the study. If you have any questions about the project, please don't hesitate to ask. My contact details are:

Rana Khazbak
Email: r.khazbak@lse.ac.uk
Tel: 07853449044
Department of Social Policy, 2nd Floor, Old Building, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE

Should you have any complaints, you can contact the LSE Research Ethics Committee on research.ethics@lse.ac.uk, Or my PhD supervisor Professor Tania Burchardt t.burchatdt@lse.ac.uk, tel: 020 7955 6700

To request a copy of the data held about you please contact: glpd.info.rights@lse.ac.uk

Consent form for young peer researchers and parents/guardians

Project title: Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

PART A TO BE COMPLETED BY THE YOUNG PERSON

- I agree to participate as a peer researcher on this study ☐

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet provided for this study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. ☐

- I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without adverse consequences. ☐

- I understand that my participation involves (1) attending a training workshop on interviewing skills and research ethics, (2) conducting interviews with other young people who live in the local area, (3) regularly feeding back progress, and (4) attending a follow up data analysis session. ☐

- I understand that everything I say throughout the course of this study will remain confidential, unless I mention something causing me or another young person serious harm. In that case, the researcher (Rana Khazbak) has a duty to tell the responsible person at the London School of Economics. Rana will discuss with me the steps to be taken beforehand. ☐

Participant's Name (Printed): _____ Age _____
Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

PART B TO BE COMPLETED BY THE PARENT/GUARDIAN

I have read and understood the accompanying information sheet and give permission for the young person (named above) to participate in the study as a peer-researcher.

Name _____

Relationship to young person_____

Signature _____ Date: _____

Appendix G: Information sheet and consent form for adult interviews

Research Project Information Sheet
Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

You have been given this information sheet because you are being invited to take part in a research study. This information sheet describes the study and explains what will be involved if you decide to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?
The aim is to explore young people's views of their neighbourhood, how they spend time outside home, their social relationships with other groups in the local area, the facilities and resources available to the youths and how they use these resources. Ultimately the purpose is to understand how the neighbourhood affects young people's life and wellbeing. I will be conducting interviews with young people as well as key community actors and organisations to get a complete picture.

Who is conducting the study?
My name is Rana Khazbak and I am conducting this study as part of my PhD at the London School of Economics (LSE).

What will participating in this project involve?
If you agree to participate in the project, you will be invited to take part in a one-to-one interview. I will ask you about your views about the neighbourhood in terms of how it has changed over the past years, the mix of residents, community relations, resources available for young people, how they use these resources and the activities in which they engage.

Do I have to take part?
No, it's completely up to you whether or not you take part in the study. If you agree to take part, you are free to change your mind at any time without giving me a reason.

What will happen to any information I give?
Any information I have about you and everything you say during the discussion will be kept confidential. I will ask you if I can record the interview for the sake of data analysis but your name and contact details will not be included in the transcript. Any extracts from what you say that are quoted in the final report will be entirely anonymous. All electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer and any paper copies will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my office.

During data collection, all electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer and any paper copies will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my office. Conditional on your consent, after the end of the project I plan to deposit data collected throughout my PhD research to the UK Data Service online ReShare repository. The data will not contain your or other participants' names or any information than can reveal your identity. This would allow other users, with my permission, to access the data for research and learning purposes only and not commercial ones. Conditions also prohibit the further distribution of the data files and require users to 'preserve at all times the confidentiality of information pertaining to individuals, households or organisations in the data files where the information is not in the public domain'.

What will happen to the results of the project?
The results of this study will be mainly used for my PhD thesis and might be published in academic papers and presented in conferences or at other universities. I would be happy to send you a copy of the results if you wish.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
There will be no immediate benefits for you, but by taking part in this study, you can help us better understand how neighbourhoods affect young people's wellbeing.

Are there any risks?
No. There is no known risk if you take part in this study.

Contacts
I am the main contact for the study. If you have any questions about the project, please don't hesitate to ask. My contact details are:

Rana Khazbak
Email: r.khazbak@lse.ac.uk
Tel: 07853449044
Department of Social Policy, 2nd Floor, Old Building, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE

Should you have any complaints, you can contact the LSE Research Ethics Committee on research.ethics@lse.ac.uk, Or my PhD supervisor Professor Tania Burchardt t.burchatdt@lse.ac.uk, tel: 020 7955 6700

To request a copy of the data held about you please contact: glpd.info.rights@lse.ac.uk

Consent form for adult interviewees

Project title: Neighbourhoods and young people's wellbeing

☐ I agree to take part in an interview, part of this research study

☐ I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet provided for this study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐ I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason.

☐ I understand that everything I say will remain confidential.

☐ I understand that the interviews will be digitally recorded and then transcribed for the purpose of data analysis.

☐ I understand that anonymised information given in this interview may be used in future publications, reports or presentations.

☐ I understand that any personal data that could be used to identify me will be removed from the transcript of the interview and that I will not be identified in any publications, reports or presentations.

☐ I consent for *anonymised* data collected during this interview to be shared with and used by other researchers after the end of the project, through the UK Data Service

Participant's Name (Printed): _____

Participant's signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher's signature _____Rana Khazbak_____

Appendix H: letter of invitation to participate in the study

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am writing to ask you if you and your family would be willing to participate in a study about the regeneration in ****[50]. I am a PhD researcher at the London School of Economics and Political Science and I am interested in how families with young people (13-18 years) are impacted by the changes taking place in the neighbourhood.

If you are happy to take part, you and/or your teenage child/ren will take part in an interview that will last for about 45 minutes. You can choose to have the interview together or separately. As a thank you, your son/daughter will get a certificate of participation in the study from the London School of Economics and there will be an opportunity to go on a field visit to the university in central London where they will spend time on campus exploring the opportunities available in higher education and finding out about university life.

---

[50] Redacted name of the estate

This study is independent from your landlord or the local authority. Your participation is completely voluntary and everything you say will be confidential. Please see the enclosed document for more information about the study and the terms of your participation.

If you would like to participate or have any questions, you can reach me on r.khazbak@lse.ac.uk or 07853449044.

Appendix I: Peer researchers training workshop plan

1. **What is research and what is its purpose? (10mins) 8:50 – 9am**
   - Ask them what they think 'research' is? Write what they say on post-it notes and stick it on a flip chart (take only 3 suggestions for the interest of time)
   - differentiate from 'every day' research e.g. looking in books or on the Internet to find information

   > Research is a process by which a person: finds facts about a topic that no one knows about or (an) answer(s) to a question that no one yet knows; or (when existing facts or answers are not convincing) investigates them anew to see whether different facts or answers can be found

   - There are different types of research: make a map on the board with Research in the middle. What is the difference between social research and natural science research

   > ***Social research*** is research about the thoughts, feelings, behaviours and experiences of persons.
   >
   > ***Natural science research*** is research about the physical world including physical objects, natural phenomena and the laws of nature

   - Has anyone of you ever conducted a research project?
   - **The social research process**

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ **Identify what to investigate** - a topic   │
│ which can be in the form of a question        │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      ⬇
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ **Make a plan** about what to do in order to  │
│ invesitgate the topic (e.g. about whom to     │
│ collect data from and/or about, how to        │
│ collect and analyse the data, and with whom   │
│ and how to share the findings)                │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      ⬇
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ **Make (a) research tool(s)** to use to       │
│ collect the data                              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      ⬇
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ **Collect data**                              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      ⬇
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ **Analyse data**                              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      ⬇
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ Organise the findings from the analysis and   │
│ **decide the conclusion(s) or answers** in    │
│ response to the topic or question             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                      ⬇
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│ **Share** the findings with other people whom │
│ they may concern and **reflect** on the       │
│ research experience                           │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
```

- **What does it mean to be a researcher? → Three principles:**
    - **Be sceptical:** about information you see in news, rumours in school, etc.
    - **Be systematic:** have an overall research plan and carry it out in a step-by-step manner (i.e. one stage after another) and, within each stage, you will also be systematic in what you do.
    - **Be ethical:** being ethical means not harming your research participants in any way

2. **Ethical research (10mins) 9-9:10**
    - There are different ways of exposing research participants to possible harm → refer to examples of possible harm to research participants p.24.
        - Physical, emotional and financial → can you give an example of each one
        - Mention that my research had to be approved by a Research Ethics Committee at LSE.
        - There are 2 main things a researcher needs to do to ensure they are being ethical:

- Informed consent

> **Informed consent** entails providing participants with clear information about the
> - purpose of the study,
> - what their participation will involve and
> - how their data will be stored and used in the long-term.
>
> The informed consent process should stress that participation is **voluntary** and can be ended at any point during the research.

- Confidentiality
  - Anonymisation
  - Safeguarding

Handout 7: The rights of someone being interviewed

3. **Interviews as a data collection tool (20mins) 9:10am-9:30am**
   - Other data collection methods: focus groups, questionnaires, observations, visual methods (e.g. drawings, photographs, maps, etc.).
   - The uses, advantages and disadvantages of different data collection methods (with a focus on questionnaires, interviews and FGDs) → p.44 & 58
   - How do you decide?
     - The best method to answer your RQ
     - Feasibility in terms of
       - Resources (financial, time, human) and
       - accessibility to participants and data
   - Ask them what they think would be the best method/way to find out about young people's views and experiences of living in the area

> *- What are young people's views and experiences of living and spending time in a neighbourhood under regeneration?*
> *- What is important for them in life?*
> *- How living in this area affects the things that are important to them?*

- Designing interview questions
  - Interview structure → Handout 12
    - Introduction
    - Opening
    - Probing
    - Closing
    - Ending
  - Different types of questions: open, closed, probes & checking.

- Can you give an example of each type of question. Let's say you want to find out about young people's opinion of the 'regeneration' → Handout 9
  - Questions to avoid (handout 8): focus on leading, biased and prompting questions

- Interviewing code of conduct
  - **Exercise**: show them dialogue on Handout 20 and ask them to identify all the mistakes the interviewer makes.
  - Empathetic and non-judgemental listening
    - Do you have strong views about the issue?
    - Where do you think your viewpoints come from?
    - What has influenced you in these views?
    - How might personal beliefs influence the behaviour of someone involved in the research?
    - How could this affect the results of the research?
  - Handout 6: Interviewing code of conduct

  Tip: emphasise their role as researchers. They should respect differing opinions and strive to include all of these in their research even if it disagrees with their beliefs.

4. **Exercise (20mins) 9:30-9:50**
   - Ask them to suggest questions to ask for the current research.
   - Roleplay an interview schedule

5. **Sampling**
   - How will you access participants?

Appendix J: Peer interviews topic guides

Peer interviews topic guide 1:
Semi-structured Interview Schedule
Peer Research Study on Neighbourhoods and Young People's Wellbeing

Introduction

I am a member of the youth group conducting a research study about how young people are affected by the regeneration taking place in **** [51].

It is voluntary to participate in the study and everything you tell me will remain anonymous and confidential (i.e. I won't reveal your identity to the council or other members of the youth panel). I will ask you a few questions about your opinion of the local area.

- Would you like to take part in the study? Yes/No
- Do you mind if I record our conversation? It will only be for the purpose of taking good notes later of what you told me, but no one else will listen to the recording. Yes/No

Opening questions:

---

[51] Redacted name of the estate

- Do you live in *** ? Yes/No
  - **If Yes:** how long have you lived here?
  - **If No**: where do you live? Do you spend time in ***?
- How old are you?
- Gender: M / F / other

Main questions:

Question	Probing/follow up questions
1. What do you think about the area?	- What do you like about it? - What do you dislike about it?
2. What do you think about the regeneration?	Why?
3. How do you think the regeneration is affecting young people in the area?	- Are there good facilities and opportunities for young people in the area? - Do you think young people are benefiting from the regeneration? Why?
4. How would you describe the new people moving into the area?	- Do you think that you can act the same way with new neighbours? - How do you feel that young people are seen and treated in the community? How? Why?
5. Do you hang out in the area as much as you used to before the changes? Why?	- If you don't hang out here anymore, where do you go? Why? Why do you prefer there over (case study area)? -Are there places in the neighbourhood that you avoid going to? Why?
6. What are your aims in life in general?	For e.g. how you want your life to look like? What are the things that matter to you/ that you value? Things you want to achieve?
7. Do you think the changes in the area has had an impact on your aims in life?	- Have your aims changed because of the changes in the area? How? **- If yes,** how? **- If no**, why not?
8. Is it easier or harder to achieve these aims with the changes in the area? Why?	- Are there opportunities for you now to achieve your aims? If yes, what are they? - Are there barriers? Like what?

Closing questions:
- What would you change about ****?
- Do you have anything you would like to add?

Thank you very much for your time.

Peer interviews topic guide 2

Peer Research Study on Neighbourhoods and Young People's Wellbeing

Introduction

I am conducting a research study for my school about how young people are affected by the regeneration taking place in ****.

It is **voluntary** to participate in the study and everything you tell me will remain **anonymous** and **confidential** (i.e. I won't reveal your identity to the school, the local council or other members of the research project).

I will ask you a few questions about your opinion of the local area.
- o Would you like to take part in the study? Yes/No
- o Do you mind if I record our conversation? It will only be for the purpose of taking good notes later of what you told me, but no one else will listen to the recording. Yes/No

Opening questions:
- Do you live in ****? Yes/No
  - o **If Yes:** how long have you lived here?

Answer:

  - o **If No**: where do you live? Do you spend time in ****?

Answer:

- How old are you? ………..
- Gender: M / F / other

Main questions:

Question	Probing/follow up questions
1. What do you think about the area?	- What do you like about it? - What do you dislike about it?
2. Do you hang out in the area?	- If no, Why? - If yes, Where do you usually go? Are there places you avoid going to? Why?
3. Are there good facilities and opportunities for young people in the area?	- Are there good play areas and activities for young people?
4. Are you aware of the regeneration/changes in the area? Yes/No	- If no, explain that *regeneration is the redevelopment of the council estate by demolishing it*

	and building new blocks where there are both social and private housing in the same area
5. What do you think about the regeneration?	- What do you like and dislike about it - and Why?
6. How would you describe the new people moving into the area?	- Are they nice/ not nice? How? - can you give an example?
7. How do you think the regeneration is affecting you and other young people in the area?	- Are they benefiting from the regeneration? How? Why?
8. Is your family planning to stay in the area after the regeneration?	- Why? - How do you feel about that?
9. How do you feel young people are seen and treated in the community? How? Why?	- Are they respected? Why? By whom? - Can you give an example?
10. Do you feel safe in the area?	- If no, what makes it unsafe? - if yes, what makes it safe?
11. Do you think living in this area helps young people have a good life and future?	How? Why?
12. What would you change about ****?	How?

Closing questions:

- Do you have anything you would like to add?

Answer:

Thank you for your time

Appendix K: Interview topic guides

Topic guide: interviews with young people

- Introductions: how long they've lived in the area, where do they go to school, etc.
- General perceptions of the neighbourhood including the community, and facilities and resources available for young people
- Perceptions of the regeneration and how it has changed the area
- Theirs and other young people's valued beings and doings
- The freedom and opportunities they have to achieve these things
- The influence of the regeneration (opportunities and barriers) on their ability to achieve their valued beings and doings

Topic guide: interviews with regeneration organisations

- Introductions: how long they've worked on the regeneration, their role, etc.
- General perceptions of the neighbourhood
- Objectives of the regeneration: how does it benefit the community?
- Their role and goals in the regeneration
- Challenges they face in their roles
- How has the regeneration changed the area (physical, social and institutional changes)
- Impact of the change in socio-economic mix
- Implications of regeneration for young people in the area
- Available youth facilities
- Perceptions of youths and their activities in the area
- How they engage with young people
- Other issues brought up by young people during group sessions and individual interviews.

Topic guide: interviews with private service providers

- How long have you been open in the area?
- Motivations for opening in this neighbourhood
- Experiences in the area
- Perceptions about the area (services, safety, demographics, physical space, community, etc.)
- <u>For old facilities:</u> Perceptions about changes to the area and how they affected their business and customers, etc.
- Characteristics of their customers and how reflective they are of the people who live in this area
- Do young people (teenagers) use your shop/restaurant/gym regularly?
- Perceptions of young people
- Some young people complain that some shops/restaurants are expensive, would you say your prices are (un)affordable for people who have lived in this area for a long time?
- Some young people fell unwelcomed in some shops and restaurants in the area; why do you think that is so?
- Would you describe your shop as welcoming to young people? How/ why not?
- Suggestions for creating a welcoming environment for young people
- Other issues brought up by young people during group sessions and individual interviews.

Topic guide: interviews with public service providers

- Your role and services you offer to the community
- Your experiences: challenges, interactions with others
- Perceptions of the neighbourhood
- How the regeneration affected the area
- How it has affected you role/ services you offer
- Who accesses your service? Young people?

- Perceptions of opportunities and challenges for lower-income young people in the area
- How the regeneration affected young people and their opportunities
- What is being doing about this?
- Other issues brought up by young people during group sessions and individual interviews.

Topic guide: interviews with social housing residents

- General information about family type, how long you've lived in the area, etc.
- General perceptions about the area
- Views about the regeneration and how the area changed (physical, social and institutional changes)
    - Impact of changes on available services such as schools, amenities, health services, use of public space, safety, etc.
- Nature of community relations and of your relations with families/parents from other housing tenures
- How the changes have affected your family and children
- Perceptions of youth and their activities in the area
- Available resources for children and young people in the area and impact of regeneration on them
    - Who uses these resources? do their children use them? Why?
    - Are their barriers to using them? If yes, what are they?
- Other issues brought up by young people during group sessions and individual interviews.

Topic guide: interviews with private housing tenants

- General information about family type, how long you've lived in the area and reasons for choosing to move there
- General perceptions of the neighbourhood and your experience so far
- Views about the local services, facilities, safety, etc.
- Do you access the local spaces and services
- Nature of community relations and of your relations with families/parents from other housing tenures
- Perceptions of interactions with youth and their activities in the area
- Available resources for children and young people in the area and impact of regeneration on them
- Other issues brought up by young people during group sessions and individual interviews.
- Planes for staying in the area longer term

Appendix L: Capability approach coding frame

Code	Sub-code	Description	Example
Valued beings and doings		States of being and doings that matter to young people and which they value in life, at the present as well as in the future.	*I'd say most important to me, is our friends. So, what makes me most happy is true friends a good social life and good relationships (Eamon, 18)* *Mental health really. Without mental health I am not quite sure how I can properly function. It's like you need a balance physical and mental together you can't just leave one out cause it's not gonna work (Anna, 13)*
Resources	Neighbourhood resources	Services and facilities in the neighbourhood that can potentially be used by young people to help them achieve their valued beings and doings. Within this code, there can be lack of or abundance of a certain resource. This code includes different perceptions of the availability and quality of a resource including those of young people, adult key informants and my own observations.	*What we are building here is more than just homes. We have community centre, coffee shops, park. It's for the wider community (local authority regeneration project manager)* *It's a lot better than it was, improved the ambiance, new places, Sainsbury's, gym, more pleasant environment (housing decant manager, local authority)*
	Other resources	Resources that young people can potentially use from beyond the neighbourhood, which can help them achieve their valued beings and doings.	*Caroline, 13: yeah I've been there. Kidsmania, innit?* *Malik, 13: yeah. It's like a project next to Kidsmania (at a neighbouring area), they help you think about university, they help you get into university, they help you like you should go to university they talk about all the subjects* *Researcher: and is it a free service?* *Ta: yeah and they tell you about all the courses and if you keep going there when you're younger when you're older they can pay you some of it.*

Conversion factors	Barriers	Personal, social, institutional, or environmental factors within or outside the neighbourhood that restrict – either directly or indirectly - young people's freedom to make use of the resources available within and outside the neighbourhood	*I honestly feel like that because not only I'll be isolated around school because not many people would talk to me socialise with me sometimes, but I also feel isolated quite often at home because (the area) is quite a dangerous area when it comes to evenings; there are a lot of drug dealers and all of that which my father forbids me to go there unless if I have to walk my dog for like 5 minutes then sure I can quickly do that just run up and down and I'll be fine, but most likely very dangerous. If I go just outside my porch I will just get either shot or killed instantly (Anna, 13)*
	Opportunities	Personal, social, institutional, or environmental factors within or outside the neighbourhood that enable or facilitate – either directly or indirectly - young people's freedom to make use of the resources available within and outside the neighbourhood to help them achieve their valued beings and doings	*The youth club is a good place for young people to hang around. And if they want to go somewhere, like go somewhere after school, that's a safe place for people to go and enjoy themselves and they don't have to be like associated on the streets and stuff (Farah, 14)*
Agency		Actions that participants take that aim to influence the resources available to them and/or the freedoms they have to convert these resources into valued beings and doings.	*No, I think you see the old (area)?, I think that inspired people to become somebody in life. Because when you look around at the old (area), the old houses, you feel like you see yourself like, I don't want to end up here. I wanna do something with my life, I wanna become bigger, and you work really hard for it. And this neighbour I had before I moved houses, like down there she was really, really nice. And she had her mum just her and her mum and her little brother. And yeah, her mom was struggling a lot, but she was kind, they'd always babysit us,*

			she got a part time job babysitting and she worked really really hard and eventually she got what she wanted. she works in medication now (Nia, 15).

Appendix M: Reflexivity statement

Even though I tried to the best of my abilities to put young people at the centre of the research methodology, it is undeniable that my identity, positionality and previous experiences have shaped my ideas and perspectives, which in turn have influenced my research. It is through the lens of these subjectivities that I chose the topic for my PhD, designed the research study, made decisions about lines of enquiry to pursue during fieldwork, interpreted events I observed and what participants told me, and decided on how to code the data and interpret the findings. I start by describing the roles I assumed in the study, reflect on the assumptions, beliefs and biases I brought to the research setting, how these subjectivities could influence data collection, analysis and interpretation and finally the strategies I used to counter these potential biases.

My two main roles in this study are ultimately a researcher and a learner, but sometimes I was also a participant observer. I have been a researcher throughout my adult life, including all my previous work and academic experiences. This includes the two years when I was a journalist, where I specialised in writing longer investigative pieces that required a significant element of research work. And thus, being a researcher has become an integral part of my personal identity.

The contexts and focus of my previous experiences have shaped what type of researcher I am today. Often times they have positioned me to be in adversarial roles against powerful political and economic institutions, which have shaped my identity and who I am as a researcher. If there is one theme that runs through all my previous research capacities, it is a quest to investigate and expose social injustices and put a spotlight on the voices and experiences of marginalised groups. I grew up in Egypt and spent most of my life under an oppressive political regime. My political awareness developed while I was studying for my undergraduate degree in Cairo, at which point I made a decision that I will dedicate my life to changing the system. I switched from a degree in engineering to studying political science instead. By the time of my graduation, a revolution was underway in Egypt, in which I participated as a citizen asking for my rights as well as a journalist writing about stories of others calling for social, economic and political justice. Afterwards I undertook research roles where I explored class-based educational inequalities, youth unemployment, local service provision and democratic local governance. The revolution was squashed by an even more draconian military regime, and after a while it became very difficult to conduct rigorous research without running a risk of being prosecuted. At this point I decided to take my research to the UK in the hope that I can make a difference there.

My particular interest in geographical inequalities and neighbourhood disadvantage also stem from my personal background and experiences in Egypt. My journalistic and research work there opened my eyes to severe poverty in the slums of Cairo. As a city that experienced rapid urbanisation and increasing economic inequality in the past decades, Cairo is marked by stark segregation between affluent and disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This was an issue that personally resonated with me. I grew up in what can be considered a lower middle class family. My father spent his childhood in the country side and built a small business with my uncle selling cattle feed to farmers. My mother worked as an architect for the municipality of an industrial town for a few years until she left work to provide child care for me and my two siblings. I have not experienced poverty as a child, but my family's fortunes kept improving over time and we moved neighbourhoods accordingly. Thus, I experienced living in working class, middle class and more affluent neighbourhoods. I never felt like I belonged to the latter when we moved there in my 20s, and had a sense of guilt living there while knowing about the existing inequality. These experiences prompted my research into urban spatial inequalities more broadly and an interest in exploring young people's experiences in particular.

Besides the role of a researcher, I took on the role of a learner in my study too. Being a PhD student, Egyptian adult woman from an Arab ethnicity, I was conscious of the differences in identities and positions between myself and my primary research participants. They were lower-income teenagers, majority from black ethnicities and are growing up in London. I remember how nervous I felt the first day of volunteering at the youth club and when I gave a presentation about my research at a sports hall full of more than 100 secondary school students. I felt very unfamiliar with these environments and was worried I am not relatable and will not be accepted by young people. At this point I was, and felt like, a complete outsider. One of the first things young people usually asked me is 'where I am from'. Saying I am from Egypt was often met with a mix of surprise and fascination. It gave me the impression that they also saw me as an outsider. Hence, it was important to assume the learner role, hoping that young people can teach me about their perspectives, meanings and experiences.

My participant observer role only emerged a few months into fieldwork after spending extensive periods of time volunteering at the youth club and being involved with the wider community. In some occasions the line between my researcher and participant role did get blurred. As a member of the youth centre's staff, I built relationships with young people, they confided in me with their personal stories and struggles, and I helped them with their schoolwork, writing their CVs and applying for jobs. Thus, besides being a learner I was providing support for young people and they often expressed gratitude for this help. Moreover, I was a colleague to the other youth workers, and at times became occupied with daily management and challenges of running the youth centre. Likewise, the more I spent time in the area attending regeneration meetings, community events, etc., the more I was perceived by community members as an insider. Nine months into fieldwork, one of the community organisation's board members jokingly said that I should become a board member because I attend more meetings than actual board members. I was also perceived by the adult stakeholders as someone with expert knowledge on young people's views, to the point where I was on a few occasions treated

as a gate keeper to youths on the estate. Thus, my role there oscillated between an observer and a participant.

My fieldwork roles had implications for the power relations between myself and the participants. Being an adult and a PhD student at an elite university put me at a more powerful position compared to the young people. The power dynamics, however, interacted with the environment where the research activities took place. The school was a more disciplinary environment and power was clearly very skewed towards adults. The context at the youth club and community centre was slightly less formal and the relationships between staff and young people were not as uneven as they were at the school. Whether as a volunteer at the youth club or a guest researcher at the school or the community centre, my roles did put me in a position of power by virtue of the structures that exist at these places.

There are several ways my identities, positions, personal background and experiences could have biased the data collection and analysis for my thesis. Having read the literature and media debates surrounding mixed communities prior to embarking on my fieldwork, I did not have a favourable preconception about the way they are governed. Given my inclination to contest formal powerful institutions, these preconceptions posed a risk of losing my objectivity during fieldwork and data analysis. It could mean that I am more drawn towards critical opinions, which could bias my sampling strategies and data interpretation. It could also lead to participant reactivity, where they alter their views to fit mine. Moreover, being an outsider to the research setting could make it difficult to build trust with participants and/or lead to misinterpreting their meanings and experiences. Equally, the uneven power relations between myself and participants at the places where research activities took place had the potential to restrict participants' ability to express their views freely, especially if these views are critical of local institutions. In addition, one of the challenges that could arise from my participant observer role is losing the critical distance needed for maintaining objectivity and being alert to processes or issues that take place in the field.

To counter the potential effects of these biases, a number of strategies were built into the research design and undertaken during fieldwork and data analysis. To safeguard against the potential bias stemming from the negative preconception about the regeneration, I made sure to get the perspectives of the responsible organisations and local institutions. This was achieved through interviewing 36 local adult stakeholders and allocating an extensive amount of time to observe regeneration meetings and activities. Quotes from my interviews with members of the regeneration organisations are included throughout the reporting of the findings to ensure their voices are present. Completing a three-month placement at the neighbourhood housing office, where housing association and local authority staff are stationed, equally illuminated their perspectives and the challenges they encounter on a day-to-day basis. Additionally, I used a data analysis strategy recommended by other researchers (e.g. Patton 2014 and Wolcott 2004), where I searched for codes that run counter to the overall thematic results. For example, I had a major category titled 'positive views about the regeneration', where I coded for themes that diverged from the overwhelmingly more negative perceptions. This added nuance to the

findings particularly in terms of revealing personal conversion factors and the heterogeneous effects of the regeneration on young people's capabilities.

Furthermore, several steps were taken to offset participant reactivity and try to balance, at least to a certain extent, the uneven power relations in the field. Using a range of participatory activities with young people gave them space to express their views, away from the my direct intervention. It allowed some to highlight issues relevant to them independent of my specific research interests and questions asked. For example, despite having given participants general guidelines about what their photo-diaries could be about (i.e. their activities and things they like and/or dislike about the area), they took photos about things that are personally important to them. While some participants did highlight issues related to the regeneration in their photos, this was by no means the only topic they focused on. They also took photographs of things representing their safety, friendships, feelings of loneliness, life at school, among others. In fact, one participant only took pictures of the sky and tree leaves. When asked about what this represents to her, she said that it shows how green space and travel are important things for her. Similarly, in one of the sessions where participants were asked to draw a map of their neighbourhood and places they go to, one young person wrote instead one sentence on the sheet of paper that read "at the bottom of my road people get stabbed". His comment started a discussion about the impact of violence on young people's lives. This was what he wanted to talk about, and not the regeneration per se. These examples also highlight the benefit of allowing participants to work on the activities first individually before turning into the group discussions. It gave them the space to voice their own personal opinions without always feeling pressure to conform with their colleagues.

Another procedure I used to counter the disproportionate power relations was to formulate and agree with them on a number of ground rules that emphasised the voluntary nature of their participation and that our sessions are a safe space for them to express their views without any consequences (except where there are safeguarding issues). I also told them that they could stop the recorder or ask me to stop it anytime they wish to. My attempts to balance the power relations were undermined, however, when - as explained in chapter 3 - the participants' teacher attended one of the sessions I held at the school and scolded a young person for his 'inappropriate' behaviour. After the incident, I spoke with the head of the school year and asked that their direct teachers not be present in future sessions.

To deal with the problems associated with being an outsider to the research setting, I spent prolonged periods of time at the neighbourhood and waited about three months before asking young people to formally take part in research activities. As a result, I was able to build trusted relationships with the participants and familiarise myself with their living environment. While it was not possible to do the same with the groups of young people who participated at the school and community centre, meeting them regularly over a period of two months did help in building closer relationships with them. Overall, working with the same groups of participants over time allowed me to explore with them similar issues repeatedly from different angles and through different activities, thus developing a deeper understanding for their perspectives and meanings.

Assuming the role of a learner also allowed me to question commonsense meanings and experiences, which was valuable in building a better understanding of participants' world views and living environments. Sometimes I would ask them to explain something by saying that I did not grow up in the same context and that some of the issues are not familiar to me. On other occasions, they would automatically proceed to clarify some issues knowing I would not intuitively understand what they are talking about it. For example, during one of the sessions one young person told his friends they need to explain to me what they are discussing because I "probably don't know what they are going on about".

Moreover, to minimise researcher bias I organised two sessions with young people – one halfway through fieldwork and another at the end of it to check with them the emerging themes from a preliminary analysis of the data. I asked them if I understood some of the things they mentioned correctly and they clarified some issues I was not sure about. For example, during my earlier discussions with one of the youth groups, they told me that the area has places where they can have fun. But on a different occasion, they mentioned that it is not a place where young people hang out like they used to before. When I asked them to clarify what seemed to me like contradictory views, they explained that what they meant was that the neighbourhood has a new park and community centre which they can go to, but that these places are not designed in ways that facilitate for them to hang out with their friends for a long time. They also added that they do not feel welcomed in the new coffee shops. These checks were valuable in avoiding misinterpretation of participants' perspectives.

Finally, to caution against losing sight of emerging patterns in the field due to getting too immersed into the life of the community, I kept a journal where I recorded my thoughts and feelings. After five months, when I felt that I am getting too emotionally impacted by the personal problems of young people and other events in the community, I took a two-week break to reflect on the data I gathered thus far and regain perspective.

I believe these strategies helped minimise the subjectivities and biases I brought to the research setting, but they did not completely eliminate them. However, it is hoped that by being forthright about the positionalities, identities and experiences that shaped my research and how I dealt with them, it increases trust in the robustness of the thesis findings.