THE REGENERATION OF PERIPHERAL COUNCIL ESTATES - a case study in Sunderland

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ABSTRACT

Peripheral or outer estates were built by local authorities on the edges of large urban areas on what were, at the time, green field sites. The estates were a flagship of the Welfare State and functioned as dormitories for the working class employed mainly in traditional industries. The assumptions upon which the estates were based, full employment and social cohesion, no longer exist and circumstances on the estates have deteriorated. There is now widespread multiple deprivation and unemployment on the estates. Despite increasing problems the regeneration of peripheral estates has not been given a specific focus in either current research or practice.

This research considers the regeneration of peripheral estates within the context of shifts and trends in government policy, and suggests that three principal approaches to policy development, the delivery of services and to urban governance can be identified. These approaches are - the Welfare Approach of the post-war period, the Entrepreneurial or Privatism Approach of the later 1970s and 1980s, and the Community Based or Communitarian Approach, which although a theme in practice and thought, has not been developed on a systematic basis.

The principal method of investigation is a case study of Sunderland, which follows a literature review. Sunderland is a city in the North of England with a population of just under 300,000 and is typical in having had a local economy dependent on a cluster of traditional industries and in having built a large number of peripheral estates. The case study consists of three estate based investigations using a series of interviews with field work professionals, community activists and residents supported by the reading of appropriate documents. The estate based studies are embedded into a city wide framework established by reading policy documents and by a series of interviews with decision makers. The case study enabled a specific focus to be placed on peripheral estates and enabled the problems on the estates to be linked with policy responses at the regional, local authority wide and local scales.

The literature review and the case study were reinforced by visits to current regeneration projects. The evidence from these sources is used to establish a framework for regeneration which it is suggested should include all estates where there is evidence of widespread multiple deprivation and social exclusion rather than only the "worst" or "stigmatised" estates as at present. Mainstream service provision should be supplemented by community based projects which should be planned and delivered by community regeneration organisations and estate based partnerships. Projects should form part of a holistic small area approach to regeneration. It is also argued that a strategic context for regeneration is an essential in which regional development agencies or regional assemblies, local government, and local authority wide voluntary sector umbrella organisations all have a role to play.

Many of the ideas that emerge from the research can be associated with a Community Based or Communitarian Approach. There is an emphasis on community based projects and preventative action, and the framework incorporates the principles of subsidiarity, budget containment and inclusion. This framework for the regeneration of peripheral estates could be applied to inner city estates also although the greater prevalence of housing problems on flatted estates suggests that this would entail a substantial increase in expenditure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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PART I.

Introduction

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The Policy Context

Peripheral council estates in England and Wales have not been given a specific policy focus despite the strong evidence that multiple deprivation and poverty are widespread on many estates.[1] When the problems on specific estates have been such as to demand a response either existing area based policies have been "bent" to include them or, less often, one off "initiatives" have been devised. This lack of a specific focus is reflected in current research which tends to concentrate either on inner areas or on problematic public sector housing estates without a specific focus on peripheral estates. This thesis, and the study upon which it is based, is an attempt to fill the gap by concentrating on peripheral estates which it will be argued present a separate and clear agenda.

Peripheral Estates

There is no tight definition of "a peripheral estate". Local authority housing estates cannot be neatly categorised in terms of their location, design characteristics, and current circumstances. However "peripheral estates", or "outer estates"[2] as they are sometimes referred to, are usually taken to be the large[3] estates built by local authorities on the edges of large urban areas on what were, at the time, greenfield sites. These estates served a *suburban* or, more precisely, a *dormitory* role as it was assumed that those living on the estates would find employment, and, by and large, services also within the existing urban areas. This element of *detachment* differentiates peripheral estates from the smaller council estates built in smaller towns

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[1] The situation is different in Scotland. The 1988 White Paper "New Life for Urban Scotland" gave some Scottish peripheral estates a specific policy focus.

[2] "Peripheral" seems a more helpful word as it suggests that estates are an accretion. The word "outer" has wider meanings, for example, as in the expression "outer metropolitan area". Peter Hall (see Hall P. (1997). Policies for Peripheral Housing Estates: Inward- and Outward- looking Approaches. Urban Studies. Vol. 34. Nos. 5-6.) distinguishes between "peripheral" and "outer" estates but the difference is about definitions and is not substantive.

[3] There is no definition of "large". In this study "large" is taken to be over 500 homes. The figure is based on an analysis of Sunderland's estates where estates of over 500 houses appear to have the characteristics associated with the word "peripheral". However, in practice most peripheral estates in Sunderland and elsewhere tend to be larger, and often individual estates merge one into the other.

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and villages which are more closely integrated socially, economically, and physically with existing built up areas.

Peripheral estates need also to be clearly differentiated from other areas where multiple deprivation is to be found - principally inner city areas and inner city housing estates (a more detailed comparison between inner and outer estates is to be found in section 4.5). Peripheral estates have characteristics in common with inner city housing estates. These include -

- high levels of poverty and unemployment
- high crime rates
- poor environment
- local authority dominance in terms of housing management and land ownership.

But there are marked differences also which can be expressed in the following *generalisations* -

- peripheral estates have a predominantly "white" population and an absence of an ethnic minority presence; the population of inner city areas and inner city estates, in particular, may well have large ethnic minority representation

- a feature of peripheral estates is geographical isolation and surrounding areas are likely to be either green fields or other peripheral estates; inner city housing areas are close to city centres and sources of employment

- peripheral estates consist largely of a single land use - housing - rather than a mixture of uses; inner city housing estates are located in areas of mixed land use

- local neighbourhoods that contain peripheral estates are almost exclusively "working class"; inner city estates are part of wider communities, which although having a similar working class predominance, also often contain a significant mix of other classes and interests

- peripheral estates usually consist of low rise, low density housing; inner city housing estates are more often high rise and high density.[4]

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[4] The low densities of peripheral estates are an important presenting feature. Even where there are a number of high rise blocks - for example, the Castle Vale Estate in Birmingham (see section 7.3) where the Housing Action Trust is currently demolishing 34 high rise blocks - the development is a *mixture* of low and high rise with a preponderance of low rise development at an overall low density.

The lack of a specific policy focus on peripheral estates presents methodological problems for a study that places some reliance on a literature review of current research and practice because the literature often does not focus specifically on peripheral estates - for example, there might be a focus on inner city areas or on policy initiatives, which although not devised with peripheral estates in mind, have been applied to them. An eclectic approach has been adopted in this study to overcome this problem. Research and practice with a non- specific peripheral estates remit has been referred to and analysed where appropriate, as well as practice and research which has a specific peripheral estates remit.

Regeneration

Peripheral estates were built to function as single class housing estates for workers in traditional industries, and to some extent incoming light industry, which was located outside the estates. However, the decline of traditional industry and related changes in local labour markets have resulted in high levels of unemployment among those living on peripheral estates. Thus, peripheral estates are no longer able to fulfil the purpose for which they were built.

The assumptions about circumstances on peripheral estates that were made at the time of their construction are no longer valid either. Full employment and social cohesion are now noticeable for their absence from peripheral estates. Satisfactory standards of housing and environment cannot be assumed either. Circumstances have deteriorated and there has been an emergence of multiple deprivation.

Regeneration[5], therefore, in this study, is taken to mean not only the attempt to reduce or eliminate the incidence of multiple deprivation but also the search for a new role and function for peripheral estates. If they are no longer to serve as dormitories for the working class, what is their function to be?

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[5] One of the definitions of "regeneration" included in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, which is pertinent, is "generate again, bring into renewed use". The DoE definition, albeit in the context of the SRB Challenge Fund, as stated in the Bidding Guidance for Round 4 is "a short-hand term for sustainable regeneration, economic development and industrial competitiveness" (Department of the Environment (1997). SRB Challenge Fund Round Four - Bidding Guidance. London, DoE. p.1)

1.2. Research Themes

The regeneration of peripheral estates is considered in the context of broad themes which underpin the study. These are -

- **Shifts and trends in government policy.** There are three principal approaches to policy, to the delivery of services and to intervention generally, which will be analysed in the study - the post-war "welfare approach", the "entrepreneurial or privatism approach" of the later 1970s and 1980s, and the "community based or communitarian approach".

- **Institutions and Agencies.** As the broad direction of policy has changed the institutions and agencies that have played an active role in the delivery of both policy and services have also changed.

- **Urban Governance.** The study considers regeneration in the context of the governance of urban areas generally and peripheral estates in particular. Consideration is given to how agencies operate and co-ordinate their activities, and what role is played by the communities on the estates.

- **Service Delivery.** The services provided on estates, and the manner in which they are delivered, are a crucial component of any regeneration strategy.

- **Urban Policy.** Urban policy, and to a lesser extent, housing policy are the key policy areas which have encompassed the problems of peripheral estates on a spatial basis.

1.3. Aims and Objectives

The overall aim of this study is to consider the regeneration of peripheral estates using Sunderland in the North East of England as a case study.

The specific objectives of the study are -

1. To consider the development and subsequent history of peripheral estates in a social, economic, political and policy context.

2. To produce a comprehensive and up to date account of, and explanation for, the problems on peripheral estates.

3. To assess and evaluate the impact of policy, different modes of service delivery and differing patterns of urban governance on peripheral estates.

4. To draw conclusions about the principles that might guide the regeneration of peripheral estates in the future.

5. To make recommendations for any necessary changes in policy and practice, and any changes that might be required to the institutional framework in which the regeneration of peripheral estates takes place.

1.4. The Literature and Practice Review

A literature review is used to examine the relevant theoretical perspectives and explore current research and practice. The literature review is supported by a review of current practice based on a small number of visits to regeneration projects and is developed through a case study based on Sunderland's peripheral estates.

Although peripheral estates do not have a specific policy profile housing policy, estate regeneration, urban policy and the issues related to social exclusion all currently have a high research profile and are of some concern to the present government. This is resulting in a steady output of books, papers and documents.

In order to finish writing this thesis I decided to stop incorporating any further academic and professional comment into the literature review which came to hand after February 1998. In practice this means that most material published in the previous two to three months is not included either. However, the exclusion of this material does not undermine the main thrust of the arguments contained in this thesis and to try and ensure that the study remains abreast of developments in government policy an attempt was made to read all policy documents published up to August 1998.

1.5. The Case Study

Introduction

A case study approach offers the opportunity to concentrate on one situation and to focus on the interactive processes that link the problems on estates with policy responses at both the local authority wide and regional scales. Thus this study differs in its emphasis from many other studies because it examines several estates in their wider context rather than consider an individual estate as a separate entity.

In addition, a case study approach offers the opportunity to focus exclusively on peripheral estates thus helping to overcome some of the difficulties that arise because current research and practice do not tend to have this element of exclusivity. The case study is of Sunderland which is a city with a population of just under 300,000 in the North East of England.

The case study consists of two parts - three estate based investigations which are then "embedded" into a wider framework created by an investigation of the generic issues that emerged both from the estate based studies and the broad review of research and practice. The estates were chosen for study so as to reflect differences in their histories, policy profiles, and current circumstances.

The Choice of Sunderland

Sunderland offers an excellent opportunity for systematic investigation as there are a large number of peripheral estates and therefore a variety of estates can be studied. In particular a Sunderland case study enables research to focus on estates that are noteworthy for their "ordinariness". Much previous research and comment has tended to concentrate on high profile estates[6] such as the four partnership estates in Scotland. Sunderland's estates, with the possible exception of Pennywell, are not special or trendy; did not feature in Joseph Rowntree Foundation's Action on Estates research programme[7]; and do not get written about in Guardian Society.

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[6] An exception is the work of the Centre for Environmental Studies. The reference is - Centre for Environmental Studies Ltd. (1984). Outer Estates in Britain - Interim Report: Preliminary Comparison of Four Estates. CES Paper 23. London, CES.

[7] Power A. and Tunstall R. (1995). Swimming against the tide. Polarisation or Progress on 20 unpopular council estates 1980-1995. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Sunderland has features which are to be found in most, if not all, older industrial cities in the United Kingdom. These features are -

- Dependence until recently on a cluster of traditional industries which have declined or ceased

- A local tradition of working class and trade union dominated politics which is clearly reflected in the policies and attitudes of the local authority

- Weak private, voluntary and community based sectors

- Evidence of widespread social polarisation and poverty.

In addition there are some features of particular interest. These are -

- Sunderland has been perceived to be a "flagship" of government post-war housing and regeneration policies which have been the subject of previous research of national interest by Dennis[8] and Robson[9]

- Sunderland has been targeted by most of the important urban policy and housing regeneration initiatives since 1977

- Several area based policy initiatives have been adapted or "bent" to focus on one or more of Sunderland's peripheral estates

- Sunderland has had experience with the operation of a city wide partnership - the City of Sunderland Partnership.

Validity of the Case Study

Although the case study approach has some advantages the lack of comparable original research inevitably casts doubt on the validity of the material that has been obtained in the case study. However, Sunderland does have many features in common

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[8] Dennis, N. (1970). People and Planning. The Sociology of Housing in Sunderland. London, Faber and Faber.
[9] Robson, B. (1969). Urban Analysis. A Study of City Structure with special reference to Sunderland. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

with other older industrial areas and the findings from the case study are compared to experience and practice elsewhere as related in the literature and practice review.

A limited number of visits, with an emphasis on current mainstream practice, was undertaken to help compare the Sunderland experiences with that in other parts of the country. These visits were helpful in placing Sunderland's experience in perspective.

1.6. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is in four parts. This chapter is followed by a further introductory chapter which contains an account of the methods used in the research. Part II consists of a literature and practice review. It constructs a conceptual framework for the study using academic, professional and government writings and is supplemented by an analysis of current regeneration projects.

The case study makes up part III. The context for the case study is first established and this is followed by three estate based investigations on the Thorney Close, Pennywell and Town End Farm estates. The case study concludes with a summary and overview which draws on the evidence from the case studies and the investigation into the attitudes of decision makers in Sunderland.

Part IV is an analysis and discussion of the evidence from the review of practice and research integrated with the findings and observations that emerge from the case study. Chapter 13 seeks to establish a framework of policies and principles upon which the regeneration of peripheral estates could be based. The final chapter of the thesis sets the future regeneration of peripheral estates in the context of overall government policy.

PART I.

Introduction

2. THE RESEARCH

2.1. Introduction

The case study is an investigation of the socio-political culture of decision making in Sunderland in respect to the regeneration of its peripheral estates. This decision making culture exists both tangibly within the major agencies involved in urban regeneration such as the local authority and the city wide voluntary sector but also informally and latently on the estates in the networks consisting of professionals, local councillors and community activists that exist there. The complexity of decision making is a reflection both of the fragmentation of urban governance in the 1980s and also of a regeneration agenda in the period of "modified privatism" (see chapter 3 which follows) which places increasing emphasis on partnership, inter-agency working, holistic approaches and community involvement.

The research undertaken for this study emphasises a qualitative approach based on data obtained by a series of in-depth interviews. Qualitative approaches are well suited to detailed investigation involving relatively few people and for a study which is limited in its spatial scope. The approach adopted in this study is broadly in line with the ideas developed on "grounded theory" by Glaser and Strauss.[1] Thus, empirical field research (the interviews) and its analysis is used to consider concepts and develop ideas during the course of the study. The study might well, therefore, be described as being "a voyage of discovery".

Interviews, which are the principal method of investigation, are well suited to exploring insights, attitudes, concerns, preoccupations, prejudices and impressions rather than factual data.[2] Interviews are thus used to explore the roles, performances and inter-action of those involved in the complex networks that underlie the formulation and delivery of regeneration policies and programmes.

The interviews were semi-structured and a check list was used. Check lists allow for flexibility and can be adapted to the particular interview. Semi-structured interviews are in keeping with an approach to investigation which is designed to follow new leads, develop new perspectives and explore new avenues of inquiry. This type of interview, it can be argued, is well suited to an approach based on "grounded theory".

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[1] Glaser B., and Strauss A. (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Thousand Oaks, CA., Sage.
[2] Bell J. Doing Your Research Project. Buckingham, Open University Press. Chap. 8.

On the other hand, quantitative statistical data, and then only from secondary sources, plays a minor role in the study. Quantitative data is better suited to the regeneration agenda associated with the welfare approach where uni-functional programmes are suited to analysis in terms of quantitative inputs and outputs, and the key issues are efficiency and effectiveness, but then only if the emphasis is on the planning and management of programmes rather than on the evaluation of policy. Thus, for example, Dennis's study of Sunderland's post war slum clearance programme which concentrated on policy and implementation issues made considerable use of qualitative data collection methods.[3]

In practice, the use of quantitative data is restricted here to brief statistical descriptions and comparisons of key indicators of social and economic circumstances in Sunderland and on the three estates which were studied in greater depth. The paucity and poor quality of secondary information that is available on a disaggregated estate basis (section 2.4 below) helps to make a virtue out of necessity.

2.2. The Estate Based Studies

Introduction

The specific aims of each estate based study was as follows -

1. To describe the history and current circumstances on the estate.
2. To outline the changes that had taken place on the estate since its inception and to gain an understanding of the underlying reasons for these changes.
3. To consider and assess any relevant housing and urban policy initiatives that may have been targeted at the estate.
4. To consider the role played by the local community and estate based professionals in the delivery of services and the planning and running of specific projects; and
5. To evaluate the role played by politicians and professionals in local government, and by other agencies in the public, private and voluntary sectors.

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[3] Dennis N. (1970). People and Planning. The Sociology of Housing in Sunderland. London, Faber and Faber.

Each case study was based on a document search and a series of extended interviews with "front-line" professionals, local politicians, community activists and residents who were actively involved with the estate. Some readily available documents, such as Sunderland City Council documents, were read before the interviews. Other documents, for example, appraisal reports and annual reports were collected during the interviews and read afterwards. The present emphasis on short-term funding and the production of evaluation and monitoring reports meant that individual projects were documented albeit with variable quality.

A total of 73 interviews were carried out. At Town End Farm 15 interviews took place between 28. April and 14. July 1994 and the information was updated with a further 17 interviews between 14. May and 20. June 1996. 18 interviews took place at Thorney Close between 26. October 1995 and 20. January 1996. The main tranche of 16 interviews at Pennywell were conducted between 31. January and 7. June 1996. These were followed up by a further 7 interviews between 10. June and 15. June 1997 which updated the previous information after the inclusion of the Pennywell Estate in an SRB funded regeneration scheme. Lists of interviewees are to be found in Appendix A.

Interviewees were selected on the basis of recommendations made by those who had already been interviewed - a method of sampling which is sometimes referred to as "snowballing". However, the recommendations were not used to build up a sample of a particular size or one with particular characteristics and, in fact, the interviewing process was stopped when a saturation point was reached and little further insight of value was likely to be forthcoming.

The process of selection used in this study has been well described by Denscombe writing in general terms about qualitative approaches to research as follows -

> "Interviews with some informants might suggest that it would be useful to talk with other particular informants in order to shed light on a specific area, and it would have been impossible to predict such a pathway of investigation before having spoken to the first informants and the value of their information could not have been foreseen before the investigation had begun. Each new part of the investigation generates new areas of interest and new paths to follow. So in the spirit of 'grounded theory' it is neither feasible nor desirable for the research to identify prior to the start exactly who or what will be included in the sample".[4]

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[4] Denscombe M. (1998). The Good Research Guide for small-scale social research projects". Buckingham, OUP. p. 216.

The process was, therefore, opportunistic but had the most important advantage of "plugging in" to the network of community activists that exists on each estate - a feature of peripheral estates that is of some significance (section 13.4). A further advantage was that those selected for interview would be more likely to be forthcoming and articulate if chosen on the basis of a recommendation.

Conduct of the Interviews

The estate based interviews can be placed towards informality on a continuum which places interviews between formality at one end and informality at the other. Informality can be justified in terms of the overall approach of the research (section 2.1 above) but the adoption of an informal approach also reflects the need to encourage those that do not normally express their views on the matters covered in the interview to do so. Thus, the use of an interview schedule was discontinued after the first tranche of interviews which were carried out at Town End Farm as this practice was somewhat inflexible and tended to restrict both the flow and substance of the interviews. In particular, interviewees were intimidated by questions they could not answer.

A more loosely focused approach was adopted subsequently. In this way interviewees were encouraged to concentrate on those issues that were of particular interest to them and were able to introduce issues that they thought were important. Furthermore, estate based issues were often found to be complex and an "open" format encouraged issues to be explained and developed in detail.

Every effort was made to build up trust and confidence from the outset. The actual interview was preceded by a short explanation of the study and respondents were reassured about confidentiality. In practice, the start of the interview was negotiated - "What would you like to tell me about first?"

Interviewees were encouraged to develop their views and ideas - "That point was interesting. Please tell me more about it" or "Please could you repeat that interesting statement so that I can write it down word for word". At an appropriate moment the subject matter was changed - "Shall we move on? What about telling me about .... now?" The check list was helpful in insuring that all key issues were covered (material collected after about two hours became of little value as interviewer and interviewee tired).

Missing pages are unavailable

The following matters were covered at the end of each interview -

- Contingencies - "Is there anything else that you think would interest me and that we haven't already covered".
- Request for documents - "are there any papers that you think I could have a look at?" (the end of an interview when trust had been built up was a good time to ask).
- Further interviews - "who else do you think I should talk to?"
- Feedback - "Would you like me to let you have a look at what I have written about our conversation when the study is finished?"

Analysis and Follow-up

The analysis of the interview material was a multi-stage process as follows -

- Shortly after each interview the notes (sheets of A4) made during the interview were read and annotated in the margins using a different colour ink.
- After all the interviews had been undertaken the structure of each case study was divided into discrete sections which were each contained on separate sheets of A3.
- The annotated content of each interview was then broken up and transcribed onto the separate A3 sheets while at the same time being coded to ensure that material from the separate interviews could be clearly distinguished.
- The material on each sheet was assessed and written up noting both complementary and conflicting material - "patterns and processes, commonalities and differences"[5] - as it has been described.

Material from the interviews is included in the accounts of the estates on a non-attributable basis and quotes from the interviews are marked with double quotation marks. A description of each respondent is given in brackets after a quote. As those interviewed often fulfil more than one role, an individual respondent may be referred to by more than one description depending on the context in which that person is being quoted.

The extracts used in the accounts of the case studies tend to be brief. That is because they are intended to give a flavour, to illustrate the point, and to support analysis and

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[5] Miles M., and Huberman A. (1994). Qualitative Data Analysis. Thousand Oaks, CA., Sage.

argument made by the researcher. Extracts are not being used, therefore, as evidence by themselves. Sometimes the extracts are bunched together to demonstrate the extent of agreement among the respondents. Sometimes the extracts reveal disagreement - for example, between local councillors and community activists.

Interviewees were followed up by telephone and given the opportunity to comment on the written output. as a consequence a draft of the relevant estate based study was sent to some of the interviewees in the post and this in turn often resulted in a further meeting at which the draft was discussed. In fact, these "follow-up interviews" had an important role in refining the case studies.

2.3. The Framework Interviews

Introduction

The specific aims of the framework interviews were as follows -

(1)   To consider issues raised by the literature review in a Sunderland context.
(2)   To discuss the issues raised by the three estate based studies.
(3)   To integrate the evidence obtained from the literature review with that obtained from the three estate based studies.
(4)   To complete the Sunderland based case study.
(5)   To provide further evidence for analysis in the overall study.

19 interviews were conducted with policy makers in Sunderland. Interviewees were chosen partly on the basis of recommendation and partly because of the role that they and the agencies that they represented played in the regeneration process. The interviews were held between 17. July and 12. August 1997. A list of interviewees is contained in Appendix A.

Although the content and issues covered in the framework interviews was similar to that covered in the previous estate based interviews, the characteristics of the interviewees varied in some important aspects. The initial contact and the conduct of the interviews was modified to take account of these changed characteristics. The interviews covered personal, professional and often sensitive issues with respondents who "offered an insight that they have as people in a special position 'to know' ".[6]

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[6] op.cit. Denscombe M. (1998). p. 111.

The Initial Contact

The interviewees were busy people who were much used to being interviewed and to conceptualising the issues raised by their work situation. Taken as a whole they were cautious about agreeing to be interviewed and appeared to view academics and researchers with a little disdain as coming from "an ivory tower populated by out-of-touch researchers".[7]

Initial contact was made by telephone and where possible with the targeted interviewees themselves. The telephone call was intended to gain access and to reassure respondents; the purpose of the research was mentioned and its relevance to current practice was stressed; a reassurance was given about confidentiality - "I am sure we will be able to agree on that amicably when we meet" - and care was taken to mention the time factor - "we will only need about half an hour" - which was code for stating the intention to limit the time taken for the interview and not to overstay one's welcome.

Interviews were granted by all those contacted with three exceptions. These were (i) the Leader of the Council who suggested that I speak to the Chairman of the Housing Committee and the Director of Housing; (ii) the Director of Social Services, who had previously insisted on an application in writing, referred the matter to the regeneration team in the Chief Executive's Department; and (iii) the Director of Public Health who suggested an interview with her Consultant in Public Health. Quite apart from underlying personal factors the reluctance to be interviewed suggests that in those instances the regeneration of peripheral estates was not of key interest and that the subject matter was perceived to be primarily the concern of others in the organisation.

A briefing note was sent to each interviewee immediately after the telephone contact had been made (a copy of the briefing note is contained in Appendix C). This note subsequently appeared on the desks of those interviewed, had evidently been read, and its contents thought about. One interviewee exclaimed enthusiastically - "I am glad you have come. I have got things to tell you". But the important role of the briefing note was to reinforce the points made over the telephone which it appears to have achieved. The note helped establish the relevance of the research; the neutrality,

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[7] Imrie R. and Thomas H. (1995). Changes in local governance and their implications for urban policy research; in Hambleton R. and Thomas H. (eds.). Urban Policy Evaluation. Challenge and Change. London, Chapman. p. 136.

independence and credibility of the researcher; and the value of the research which, it was suggested, would result in prescriptive, relevant and applied findings and not merely regurgitate what was happening.

Conduct of the Interviews

Although the framework interviews were informal they were more structured than the interviews that had previously been conducted with fieldworkers and community activists. A checklist was prepared before each interview to help guide the interview but in practice the content of the interview was dictated by issues that arose and was sometimes instigated by the respondent in response to the briefing note. The slightly more formal structure was appropriate in circumstances where the interviewees were used to conceptualising issues and when the time for each interview was a little more limited.

Coulson has described the role of the evaluator as being "inquisitor, comrade or spy".[8] In this instance the achievement of an easy relationship was vital when talking with a small group of insiders who knew each other and worked together on regeneration issues. It was important to come across as a colleague and confidant - as a "comrade" rather than as an "inquisitor" or "spy". However, that does raise the need to balance the friendliness required to obtain open responses with the distance which is needed to avoid loosing the capacity to be critical.

A key issue that arose was that of confidentiality. It is a particularly sensitive issue not only because the respondents were known to each other but because the increasing competition and plurality in the delivery of urban policy tends to create inter-agency and inter-personal conflicts and disputes. In practice the issue was dealt with as it arose. The reply to "you are not writing *that* down are you? I wouldn't want to be quoted on that" was "don't worry; I won't write anything that could cause you any difficulty; you can trust me". That reassurance was quite sufficient and left the researcher with considerable discretion.

The need to concentrate both on the content and the inter-action with the respondent was stressful and placed a practical limit on the length of the interviews. These were often ended at the instigation of the researcher - "I think we have covered all the ground haven't we"? The interviews ended with a request from the researcher for

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[8] Coulson A. (1988). The evaluator: inquisitor, comrade or spy? Local Economy. Vol. 2. No. 4. pp. 229-36.

further contact - "May I ring you if I want to clarify any issues"? and sometimes a request from the respondent to be kept informed about the research - "I really would like to read about the conclusions you come to".

Analysis and Follow-up

The material from the framework interviews was analysed in the same way as that from the estate based interviews. The analysis was easier in this instance as the material was more tightly focused. Quotes are made mainly on a non-attributable basis and are marked with double quotation marks. Again a description of each respondent is given in brackets after the quote. However, where the value of the quote is enhanced by a knowledge of the source the particular respondent has been identified.

Confidentiality has, I hope, been handled by the application of tact both in the use of actual quotes from the interviews and in the written summary of what emerged from the interviews. Cognisance was taken of the need not to dilute or distort the arguments in any way. A draft of the relevant chapter (chapter 12) was subsequently shown to two of the respondents with whom continuing contact had been established. Comments were requested on the accuracy and the opinions expressed in the chapter together with a request that the chapter be checked for any possible sources of embarrassment or potential difficulty.

2.4. The Use of Quantitative Data

Reliance had to be placed on quantitative data either from published sources or that collected for purposes other than that of the current research. It was not feasible to collect primary quantitative data because the resource implications for the individual researcher are intimidating. The research, in fact, is mainly based on qualitative data - that is data geared to an evaluation of ideas, attitudes, opinions and inter-actions.

Reliance on secondary sources of quantitative data is fraught with difficulties which are well known.[9] The difficulties are compounded when the area of research interest - an individual housing estate - does not coincide with areas used in the Census and is not an area of administrative interest to any agency other than the local authority

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[9] For example, see Roberts M. (1974). An Introduction to Town Planning Techniques. London, Hutchinson. Chap. 4.

housing department. Further confusion arises because published information on an estate basis is often inaccurate and sometimes makes use of ward information from the Census as if it is coterminous with an individual estate.

However, much data is available but it is locked up in filing cabinets. It needs to be accessed and collated - a time consuming process. Access problems are intensified by circumstances that make such statistics as crime figures and housing management data "political" and therefore increases the reluctance to divulge the information. And to add to all these problems an additional handicap is experienced if the researcher is independent rather than being official or sponsored by the agencies under investigation. The comment made by Hambleton and Thomas that "researchers engaged on studies which are independent of agencies implementing urban policies may have especially little leverage when it comes to gaining access to relevant data, much of which may not be in the public domain"[10] was borne out in practice.

2.5. Response to the Research

Research that evaluates the role and performance of institutions and reflects on their professional and political leadership is prone to being adversely affected by the resistance of those being researched - an experience encountered, for example, by Imrie and Thomas in their ESRC funded evaluation of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation.[11] As Imrie and Thomas point out quoting Platt "good social science is potentially subversive to any status quo".[12]

In Sunderland not only was very little, if any, resistance encountered but those interviewed for the research co-operated with enthusiasm. Undoubtedly the success that Sunderland has had with what may now be called "traditional" urban regeneration created a helpful climate. So presumably was the widespread feeling that despite the success in regenerating and redirecting the Sunderland economy action was needed to deal with social exclusion, marginalisation and related problems. Furthermore, most policy makers in Sunderland seemed to be acutely aware of the recent change in government and the advent of New Labour (the framework interviews were conducted only a few weeks after the 1997 general election). This was likely to result not only in

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[10] Hambleton R. and Thomas H. (1995). Urban Policy Evaluation - The contours of the debate; in op.cit. Hambleton R. and Thomas H. (eds.).
[11] op.cit. Imrie R. and Thomas H. (1995).
[12] Platt J. (1987).The Contribution of Social Science; in Loney M. et.al. (eds.). The State and the Market: Policies and Welfare in Contemporary Britain. London, Sage, p. 142. quoted by op.cit. Imrie R. and Thomas H. (1995).

new policy initiatives but was already resulting in a more open and consultative approach to policy formulation and implementation. A more favourable context for the research could hardly have been envisaged.

The publication and presentation of research into urban policy can also be problematic. By definition the research findings are likely to be critical of powerful entrenched interests. For example, Loftman and Nevin encountered a strong controlling reaction from Birmingham City Council on the publication[13] of their findings into the City Council's regeneration strategy. It is premature to forecast the response to my own research but the subject matter and the current policy making atmosphere appear to be encouraging debate and discussion. However, it would be wrong to deny the need for care in how the research is written up particularly as certain key players in the regeneration process in Sunderland are noted for their sensitivity to criticism.

2.6 Conclusion

This research is based on a strategy which makes much use of case studies. It was contended in the previous chapter (section 1.5) that this strategy enabled the problems on estates to be linked with wider political, economic, social and cultural factors. The case study of Sunderland also enabled a holistic approach to be adopted towards the research - the scope of the research was holistic both in terms of the issues covered and in terms of the agencies investigated.

The emphasis of the research is qualitative. As mentioned in section 2.1 the paucity of adequate quantitative data on a disaggregated estate basis gives the researcher little choice. However, the research positively exploits the advantages associated with the adoption of a qualitative approach based on interview material. The research is grounded in the reality of Sunderland and the three estates studied in detail, deals with complex situations, and is able to handle and analyse contradictions and conflicts as well as agreement and consensus.

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[13] Loftman P. and Nevin B. (1994). Prestige Project Developments: Economic Renaissance or Economic Myth? A case study in Birmingham. Local Economy. Vol. 8. No. 4.

Part II.

Literature and Practice Review

3. THE CONTEXT

3.1. Introduction

The original construction of the peripheral estates, and the subsequent pattern of service delivery and policy intervention has been taking place within a changing decision making context. This context or background can be expressed in terms of "paradigms" - that is, any broadly based approach to political, social and economic problems and to their resolution. This chapter examines three such "approaches" or "paradigms"[1] none of which, it is suggested, are or were exclusive although one or other may have been dominant at any one time (a summary of the three approaches is to be found in table 3.1).

The "welfare", "welfarist" or "Fordist" approach is associated with the immediate post-war period. The "entrepreneurial", "privatism" or "Post-Fordist" approach tends to be linked with the emergence of the New Right in the 1980s and is sometimes referred to as "Thatcherism". A third approach - the "community based" or "communitarian" approach - has not been a conscious determinant of policy although it has featured in academic debate for sometime. This academic debate has intensified recently and the approach has been associated, to some extent anyway, with New Labour.[2]

As the direction and content of policy has shifted there have been parallel changes in the institutions and agencies responsible for governing urban areas. The development of policy and specific changes in governance and administration are then considered in the key areas of housing and urban policy. This chapter ends with a discussion about how changes in approach or paradigm occur. Consideration of the factors that bring about broad changes in perception are particularly important as these determine what changes in policy and practice may be feasible and helps to shape the mechanisms by which it might be possible to bring about change.

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[1] The three approaches examined broadly reflect academic comment but the relevant paradigms can be, and are, sometimes constructed differently. See, for example, Carley M. (1990). Housing and Neighbourhood Renewal. Britain's new urban challenge London, Policy Studies Institute.
[2] Burkitt B., and Ashton F. (1996). The birth of a stakeholder society. Critical Social Policy. Vol.16. Issue 49.

3.2. The Welfare Approach

The "welfare" or "welfarist" approach is associated with "the welfare state" that was established on a comprehensive basis after 1945 but that had its genesis over a considerably longer time. The welfare state is based on the premise that it is the responsibility of government to provide a comprehensive and inclusive system of welfare. Much welfare provision was delivered locally but within nationally established parameters.

The welfare state is associated with bureaucracy. Certainly both central and local government were organised on a bureaucratic basis. Governance based on bureaucracy was ideal for the delivery of standardised services and provision on a large scale which was both "rational" and efficient. The bureaucratic foundation of the welfare state has led academic commentators to draw the comparison with Fordist methods of mass production and mass consumption.[3] As Osborne and Gaebler have written - "bureaucracies brought the same logic to government that the assembly line brought to the factory."[4]

Government at central and, most pertinently, at local level has all the characteristics associated with bureaucracy as described in the writings of the principal proponent of bureaucracy - the German sociologist Max Weber. Government tended to apply fixed solutions to fixed problems, to be departmentalised along uni-functional service lines, to be organised on a professional or quasi-professional basis, to concentrate on in-puts rather than outputs, and to emanate "an aura of certainty".[5]

The welfare approach was predominant for well over twenty years. However, this predominance began to be undermined by a series of changes in circumstances from the mid-1960s onwards which became increasingly reinforcing towards the end of the 1970s. There was, for example, unmistakable evidence that the welfare state had not led to the eradication of poverty; that equality of access to social services had not been achieved; and that the incidence of multiple deprivation was increasing.

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[3] Burrows R. and Loader B. (eds.) (1994). Towards a Post-Fordist Welfare State? London, Longman.
[4] Osborne D., and Gaebler T. (1993). Reinventing Government. How the Entrepreneurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector. Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley.
[5] Stewart J. (1992). A Future for Local Authorities as Community Government. Chapter in Stewart J., and Stoker G. (eds.) Local Government in the 1990s. London, Longman.

Table 3.1. The Three Approaches or Paradigms - a summary

	Period	Principles	Characteristics	Delivery	Comment
The Welfare Approach	After 1945.	It is the responsibility of government to provide a comprehensive and inclusive system of welfare.	Bureaucratic organisation. Unifunctional service delivery. Professionalism. Emphasis on the built or physical environment. Allocation based on need.	Local government within nationally established parameters. Monopolistic role of local government.	Evidence that poverty and multiple deprivation have not been eliminated. Inability to deal with complex problems. Assumes increases in public expenditure.
The Entrepreneurial or Privatism Approach	After 1979.	The private sector is inherently more dynamic, productive and efficient.	Emphasis on the private sector at the expense of the public sector. Increased centralisation and government control. Emphasis on the physical or built environment. Allocation based on competition.	Plurality of provision including the public and private sectors. Fragmentation of urban governance.	Failure to reach disadvantaged areas and individuals. Increasing problems associated with inequality and social exclusion.
The Community Based or Communitarian Approach	After 1997?	The welfare state needs to be modified to encourage a combination of "top down" government initiatives and "bottom up" community based action.	Emphasises subsidiarity, prevention, community involvement and innovation.	Regional government, local government, and community based voluntary sector.	Could form the basis of an integrated and innovative approach. Budget containment.

The local state in particular found it difficult to respond to new and increasingly complex problems such as local economic decline, homelessness, and inner city problems. The welfare state was good at providing a standardised response to basic problems such as the clearance of slums, the construction of peripheral estates and so on - "when tasks were relatively straightforward the top down, command and control mentality got things done"[6] but serious shortcomings were revealed as more complex problems demanded new approaches for their resolution.

However, the greatest weakness of the welfare state began to be starkly revealed by the United Kingdom's increasing economic difficulties and the associated fiscal crisis of the late 1970s. The welfare state had been predicated on continuing growth - for example, local government's share of the gross domestic product increased from 9% in 1955 to 15% in 1975 - a threefold increase in real terms. This was partly due to increasing demands on the welfare state but also, as Hoggett suggests,[7] the failure of state run bureaucracies to control the spending plans of their professionalised workforces. The basic assumption that the welfare state could be underpinned by an ever increasing public sector budget was becoming difficult to sustain.

To these difficulties and inadequacies could be added charges of paternalism and inefficiency. The welfare state was also felt by some to create "a dependency culture" on the part of its recipients which helped explain the continuing increase of welfare and was one of the factors that made it difficult to reduce the welfare budget.

3.3. The Entrepreneurial or Privatism Approach

The entrepreneurial or privatism approach is based on a number of premises. The key premise is that the private sector is inherently more dynamic, productive and efficient, and there is an inherent "confidence that market efficiency is the appropriate criterion of social performance in virtually all spheres of community activity."[8] There is also the corollary, namely that government is too big, too expensive, too bureaucratic and creates welfare dependency. In addition privatism has a strong social agenda. It places emphasis on individuals rather than on society as a whole, believes that competition rather than co-operation should guide all aspects of life both public and private, that the nuclear family is preferable to other domestic arrangements, and that the private

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[6] op.cit. Osborne D., and Gaebler T. (1993). pp.14-15.
[7] Hoggett P. (1994). The Politics of the modernisation of the UK welfare system; chapter in op.cit. Burrows R., and Loader B. eds. (1994).
[8] Barnekov T., Boyle R., and Rich D. (1989). Privatism and Urban Policy in Britain and the United States. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

purchase of services within a commercial context is better than collective provision through the state.[9] The origins of the approach are both ideological and pragmatic. Financial difficulties in the late 1970s indicated the need to try out new and more effective responses.

The privatism approach is linked to government actions and attitudes after the change of government in 1979 - hence the terms "The New Right" and "Thatcherism". In practice it involved the promotion of the private sector at the expense of the public sector; the down-grading of local government and increasingly stringent fiscal and legislative controls over it; the introduction of competition and internal markets within the public sector - the "purchaser/provider split"; and the creation of devolved agencies - "quangos" - to implement policy and deliver services directly on behalf of central government. The approach, therefore, contains a contradiction. There is both a strong element of centralisation and an increase in government control, and, at the same time, the monopoly role of local government was replaced by plurality, devolution, and fragmentation of governance at the local level.[10]

The approach is open to a number of criticisms that are best listed - (i) it can be said that by removing power from local government "a democratic deficit" has been produced; (ii) competition as one of the criteria for the allocation of welfare means that priorities for welfare expenditure are no longer solely determined by need; (iii) the emphasis on profitability means that projects are vulnerable to short-term market fluctuations: and (iv) the private sector is not interested in education, training, housing or transportation and, therefore, has a limited agenda.[11]

Most importantly, the privatism approach has produced a two tier welfare system in which those "without any capacity to exercise effective choice within a more market oriented and pluralistic system"[12] are increasingly excluded from primary provision and increasingly dependent on provision of a "residual" nature. Those that are "socially excluded" in this way are also becoming increasingly concentrated on public sector housing estates both in the inner city and on peripheral estates. A process of

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[9] Benington J. (1996). New Paradigms and Practices for Local Government: Capacity Building Within Civic Society; in Kraemer S., and Roberts J. (eds.). The Politics of Attachment. Towards a Secure Society. London, Free Association Books.

[10] Two examples of the government's approach are contained in the Education Reform Act 1988 which devolved power to parents and school governors, and the National Health Service and Community Care Act 1990 which formally introduced plurality into community care.

[11] Lawless P. (1996). The Inner Cities. Towards a new agenda. Town Planning Review. Vol. 67. No. 1.

[12] Hoggett P. (1994). The politics of the modernisation of the UK welfare system"; chap. in op.cit. Burrows R., and Loader B.

"spatial apartheid" might be claimed as an inevitable consequence of government policy. The result has been the creation of a "dual city".[13]

3.4. The Community Based or Communitarian Approach

Introduction

"Communitarianism" is a concept developed in the United States and is principally associated with Amitai Etzioni and in particular with his seminal work - "The Spirit of Community" published in 1994.[14] However, it is not possible to distinguish clearly between the writing of Etzioni and those that consciously propound a communitarian philosophy, with views which propound the advantages of community based approaches in general. In fact, the two terms "communitarianism" and "community" often seem to be used synonymously.

It is quite possible to find common threads in both American and British ideas on communitarianism and community that can form the basis of a paradigm. Such a paradigm offers an alternative analysis for urban problems and could underpin changes in policy and practice.

Communitarianism

The concept of communitarianism is sufficiently broad to appeal to both the right and the left and has, therefore, given rise to a number of variants.[15] On the right it has been used by academics such as Charles Murray[16] in the United States and Norman Dennis[17] in the United Kingdom to focus on the breakdown of traditional family structures as an explanation for urban problems in general and especially criminal behaviour and to suggest and support policies which aim to overcome this perceived "parenting deficit". Hughes has described this perspective as "moral authoritarian communitarianism".[18]

But, much writing has focused on aspects of communitarianism that appeals to "the left" - the emphasis on mutual help and trust, collective action, the importance of

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[13] op.cit. Lawless P. (1996).

[14] Etzioni A. (1994). The Spirit of Community: the Reinvention of American Society. New York, Crown. British Edition - Etzioni A. (1995). The Spirit of Community. London, Fontana.

[15] Hughes G. (1996). Communitarianism and law and order. Critical Social Policy. Vol.16. Issue 49.

[16] Murray C. (1990). The Emerging British Underclass. London, IEA Health and Welfare Unit.

[17] Dennis N. (1993). Rising Crime and the Dismembered Family London, IEA.

[18] op.cit. Hughes G. (1996).

social cohesion and social relationships, and so on - "radical communitarian egalitarianism".[19] In this way community based action can be allied to "inclusive" policies which aim to reduce inequality. Some academic writing has embraced communitarianism on this basis. Dick Atkinson's[20] and Bob Holman's[21] writings present good examples of this approach.

The British Experience

A community based approach to the delivery of services has been promoted by community activists and academics since the 1960s. The approach has also been advocated in some government sponsored reports. The motivation has been partly a protest against post-war comprehensive redevelopment - "demolition mad redevelopment"[22] - which was the context for the emergence of the Community Architecture Movement in the 1980s.

Another principal source of motivation has been the inability of "bureaucratic approaches" to eradicate the persistent incidence of poverty and multiple deprivation - such was the motivation behind the setting up in 1969 of 12 Community Development Projects in areas of multiple deprivation. Continuing and increasing social problems it was suggested lay behind the Brixton riots in 1981 and led Lord Scarman to comment in his subsequent report to the government -

> "A 'top-down' approach to regeneration does not seem to have worked. Local communities must be fully and effectively involved in planning, in the provision of local services, and in the managing and financing of specific projects....It is essential that people are encouraged to secure a stake in, feel a pride in, and have a sense of responsibility for their own area."[23]

Despite such exhortations, there has been no systematic application of a community based approach. There have been, nonetheless, hundreds of one-off community based initiatives covering a wide range of activity. These schemes have had their vigorous advocates of whom David Donnison has been, perhaps, the most persistent and notable. Donnison has suggested that "community action projects have often been

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[19] ibid.
[20] Atkinson D. (1994). The Common Sense of Community. Demos Paper No.11. London, Demos.
[21] Holman B. (1997). FARE Dealing. London, Community Development Foundation.
[22] Wates N., and Knevitt C. (1987). Community Architecture - How People are Creating Their Own Environment. Harmondsworth, Penguin. p. 51.
[23] Scarman, Lord. (1981). The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981. The Scarman Inquiry. London, HMSO. pp. 16-17.

more creative and adaptable than any bureaucracy could be"[24] and that they offer an alternative to both public and private sector provision - "things have been achieved which neither the state or the market were ever likely to bring about".[25]

The Components of a Community Based Approach

From American and British literature and practice it is possible to pull out recurrent themes which are promoted by "communitarians" and those advocating a community based approach. These themes include "subsidiarity", "prevention", "community involvement" and "reinventing government". There is also a concern with budget containment - the belief that solutions to problems do not necessarily lie in increases in public expenditure. These themes could form the ingredients of an alternative approach to regeneration and the delivery of services.

The term "subsidiarity" is not just about the relationship of supra national bodies to member states but has broader implications - "subsidiarity is ultimately about a new relationship between governors and the governed".[26] Subsidiarity contains the notion of action at all levels; a combination of "top down" and "bottom up". Thus action at the grass roots takes place within a strategic context - "city strategies are not a substitute for, or alternative to, neighbourhood and community action: they are a pre-requisite for empowerment at community level" (Ward).[27]

Communitarianism stresses "prevention" - "we spend enormous amounts of time treating symptoms while prevention strategies go begging";[28] "nobody puts up money to reduce dog bites: they put up money to stitch up dog bites".[29] The explanation put for the lack of interest is that bureaucracies do not want to know about prevention. The *leitmotif* of bureaucracy is to provide services and not to solve problems. A "preventative neighbourhood" based on voluntary effort can make an enormous contribution to help avoid children going into care, prevent crime, keep families together, and to reduce drug abuse.[30]

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[24] Donnison D. (1991). A Radical Agenda. After the New Right and the Old Left. London, New Oram Press. p. 110.
[25] ibid.
[26] Spencer K (1992) The Reform of Social Housing; chap. in op.cit. Stewart J., and Stoker G. p. 205.
[27] Ward M. (1995). Rethinking Urban Policy: City Strategies for the global economy. Manchester, Centre for Local Economic Strategies.
[28] op.cit. Osborne D., and Gaebler T. (1993). p. 220.
[29] ibid. quoting an American academic. p. 67.
[30] See the writing of Bob Holman. Apart from op.cit. Holman B. (1997) two other books are relevant viz.(i) Holman B. (1988). Putting Families First. Prevention and Child Abuse. London, Macmillan Education, and (ii) Holman B (1993). A New Deal for Social Welfare. Oxford, Lion.

Community or neighbourhood projects firmly based in local communities, which exploit feelings of solidarity and encourage mutual and self help, are seen by their proponents to have a number of advantages. Such projects lead to services which are innovative and sensitive to local need. But also, less tangibly, they are viewed as leading to more confident and self aware local communities. Thus, it is argued neighbourhood development is a vital element of any regeneration policy based on communitarian principles.

In addition to subsidiarity, prevention, and community involvement, communitarians stress the importance of family. Although much of the discussion has centred around the family as an element of social control, those supporting community based approaches have emphasised the desirability for local services to reflect the needs of the family and for strategies to develop personal confidence and self reliance around the family. Thus, improvements in child care, youth work, community care, drug and alcohol counselling services, training for the long term unemployed, crime prevention are all stressed and should be provided and owned by the community based voluntary sector. The content and the means of service provision would be considerably extended as a consequence.

Summary

The communitarian approach can be summed up as a response to the current inadequacies of the welfare state as modified by the privatism approach of the 1980s. Proponents of the communitarian or community based approach have high expectations of it. The approach might result in a new service pattern built on fresh ideas, it might lead to the empowerment of local people, the incidence of poverty and social exclusion might be reduced if not eliminated, and this might all be achieved without adding to the tax burden.

The communitarian debate is clearly relevant. It emphasises urban problems and because it is concerned with family and individual problems it, by definition, focuses on those areas, including peripheral estates, where these problems are concentrated -

"While neither Murray or Etzioni is directly concerned with urban problems and urban policy their work clearly has important implications in this field. Their concern about welfare dependency, young criminals and single parents....clearly leads to a focus on those areas where welfare dependants and single parents are most concentrated" (Wilks-Heeg).[31]

3.5. Urban Policy

Post-war Reconstruction

The emphasis in the post-war period was on rebuilding and extending urban areas. Planning, housing and redevelopment were an integral part of post-war reconstruction and the establishment of the welfare state. The replacement of older urban areas, and slum clearance in particular, and the addition of peripheral development including housing was a public sector responsibility and was part of a package of policies including industrial location policy and the whole gamut of welfare policies.

Post-war reconstruction was not only necessitated by the neglect and damage caused by the war but also had a strong underlying idealism. There was a belief that "a *melange* of progressive land, housing, employment and welfare planning would implant a civilising touch to the later twentieth century".[32]

The focus on the physical environment - "the bricks and mortar" - can be traced back to ideas for social reform emanating from the Victorian period and is perhaps most firmly associated with the Garden City Movement. There was a strong element of environmental or physical determinism underlying urban policy in the immediate post-war period - a belief that physical or environmental improvements result in improvements in social and economic circumstances. Although such a theory of social action may now be viewed as being somewhat simplistic and deterministic it is these very qualities that ensured the predominance of the approach for so long - "the attraction of environmentally determined solutions to urban problems remains strong because they are simple and appear to offer direct solutions to complex problems".[33]

In the later 1960s increasing evidence became available that indicated that the welfare state and the related urban renewal programme had not eliminated social and

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[31] Wilks-Heeg S. (1996). Urban Experiments Limited Revisited: Urban Policy Comes Full Circle? Urban Studies. Vol. 33. No. 8. p. 1277.

[32] Cherry G. (1984). Britain and the Metropolis: Urban Change and Planning in Perspective. Town Planning Review. Vol. 55. pp. 5-33.

[33] op.cit. Carley M. (1990).

economic problems - "poverty was rediscovered". The government introduced a number of initiatives, some on a clearly experimental basis, as a response - the Community Development Projects, the Comprehensive Community Programme, Educational Priority Areas, the Inner Area Studies and so on. These initiatives reflected the perspective of the originating government department but all the initiatives involve area based positive discrimination and with that the idea that targeted public sector led intervention would deal with the problems. These initiatives, although important in the development of urban policy, were modest in scale. The dominance of the familiar "bricks and mortar" approach continued.

The Urban Programme

The 1977 White Paper - "Policy for the Inner Cities"[34] - pulled the various programmes together in the form of a revamped urban programme which was targeted at the inner areas of 57 urban authorities. The Urban Programme, which was terminated in 1991, funded a wide range of social, economic and environmental projects. Although targeted at inner areas the evidence of multiple deprivation on peripheral estates meant that a few of these estates were included in the inner areas as originally designated in 1978. Some further estates were added in the 1980s as publication of the 1981 Census highlighted increasing problems on the estates (see section 8.4 for an account of the extension of Sunderland's designated inner area).

The Urban Programme, although resulting in worthwhile projects, has left little lasting impact on the estates. Relatively few estates were eligible, there was an inevitable "peppering" effect despite attempts to target, and the Urban Programme contained no exit strategy - local authorities were left to pick up the bills.

Privatism and Urban Policy

Although the 1977 White Paper represents an element of continuity and consolidation in the form of the Urban Programme it also marks a distinct shift in urban policy - "(it) first signalled the move away from welfare based policies to those premised on economic regeneration."[35] The White Paper was a response to the increasing economic problems of urban areas which became most apparent during the severe recession of the later 1970s.

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[34] H.M.Government. (1977). Policy for the Inner Cities. White Paper. Cmnd. 2838. London, HMSO.
[35] Edwards J., and Deakin N. (1992). Privatism and Partnership in Urban Regeneration. Public Administration. Vol. 70. Autumn. pp. 359-368.

Throughout the 1980s the government believed that the root cause of urban problems was the collapse of economic infrastructure. The designation of Urban Development Corporations and Enterprise Zones, and the application of regional policy - Regional Selective Assistance - supplemented by promotion, marketing and land assembly activity, formed a cohesive "macro" approach to local economic development which had an emphasis on property development. The aims of the policy are set out in the "Action for Cities" policy document and are "to encourage enterprise and new businesses, and help existing businesses grow stronger: improve people's job prospects, their motivation and skills; make areas attractive to residents and businesses: and make inner cities safe and attractive places to live".[36]

Criticism of Privatism.

The benefits which would arise from the recovery of local economies would, it was hoped, filter down to the unemployed and those most marginalised in the labour market.[37] These were concentrated in disadvantaged inner city neighbourhoods and on the peripheral estates. "Thatcherism has focused on areas of economic potential to the comparative neglect of the poorest localities" (Gaffikin and Morrisey).[38] Thus urban policy had failed to deal with extensive areas of social and economic disadvantage.

But in addition there were other criticisms. Urban policy was too narrowly on a limited number of local authorities; had an undue inner city bias; had resulted in little, if any, change in service delivery; local communities had not been involved; co-ordination remained a problem; and, finally, schemes were devised on an ad hoc basis without an adequate strategic framework.[39]

"Modified Privatism"?

In 1988 there was an important development in urban policy in Scotland.[40] The Scottish Office introduced regeneration schemes based on partnership for four large

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[36] H.M.Government. (1988). Action for Cities. London, HMSO.
[37] See, for example, (i) House of Commons Employment Committee (1988). Third Report: The Employment Aspects of the Urban Development Corporations. London, HMSO; and (ii) Hambleton R. (1991). The Regeneration of United States and British Cities. Local Government Studies. No. 17.
[38] Gaffikin F., and Morrisey M. 91994). In pursuit of the holy grail: combating local poverty in an unequal society. Local economy. Vol. 9. No. 2. p. 112.
[39] op.cit. Lawless P. (1996).
[40] Scottish Office (1988). New Life for Urban Scotland. White Paper. Edinburgh, Scottish Office.

peripheral estates. In England and Wales there were two significant developments in urban policy. City Challenge, a competition open to the 57 urban programme authorities was introduced in 1991. It was replaced by the Single Regeneration Budget (The SRB) - an amalgamation of 20 existing programmes and included a Challenge Fund component available for regeneration purposes including area based schemes. The SRB was accompanied by two significant structural changes - namely, the establishment of 10 integrated government regional offices and the setting up of a ministerial committee - the Ministerial Committee for Economic Development and Regeneration - to integrate and co-ordinate policy.

The changes, as they are outlined, for example in the Bidding Guidance Notes[41], are a clear response to criticism levelled at urban policy in the 1980s. Attempts were made to address the problems of poorer communities and to involve them in the regeneration process; attempts were again made to co-ordinate policy more effectively and to provide a strategic framework; an integrated approach to service delivery was adopted; and, finally, there is now considerable flexibility in the location and size of areas that are eligible for funding. At the same time, a new element into policy formulation was introduced - competition. Funds under the City Challenge and SRB grant regimes are allocated after a competitive bidding process.[42]

Despite these changes, academic studies and the DoE Database show that economic and wealth creation issues are continuing to dominate the regeneration agenda - "the importance of social regeneration was acknowledged but this was rarely translated into specific projects".[43] Research also shows that the voluntary and community sectors are being marginalised.[44] The situation has led Colenutt and Cutten to comment that "neither City Challenge nor the SRB are designed to empower local communities to any significant extent but to keep local communities 'on side' as far as possible".[45] In practice, the government maintained a market orientation albeit with

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[41] (i) Department of the Environment. (1992) City Challenge. Bidding Guidance 1993-94. London, DoE; and (ii) Department of the Environment (1997) Bidding Guidance. SRB Challenge Fund (Round 4). London, DoE..

[42] Competition has not been a feature of recent urban policy initiatives in Scotland. The recent re-organisation of the Urban Programme which still continues in Scotland, does not, for example, involve a competitive element. See Scottish Office (1995). Programme for Partnership: Announcement of the Scottish Office Review of Urban Policy. Edinburgh, Scottish Office.

[43] Mawson J. et.al. (1995). The Single Regeneration Budget: The Stocktake. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies. University of Birmingham. p. 89.

[44] For City Challenge see Joseph Rowntree Foundation. (1994). Community Involvement in City Challenge. Housing Research Findings. No. 105. York, JRF; and for the SRB see op.cit. Mawson J. et.al. (1995).

[45] Colenutt B., and Cutten A. (1994). Community Empowerment in Vogue or Vain? Local Economy. Vol. 9. No. 3.

"subtle changes in emphasis....although the policy is firmly on developing economic competitiveness there is now a growing awareness of the cost in both human and economic terms of social exclusion and the need to integrate elements of our urban communities".[46]

In practice, urban policy as it emerged up to the 1997 general election can best be described as "modified privatism". It focused, to some extent anyway, on peripheral housing estates and it had a holistic agenda but the failure to engage local communities and the continuing focus on local economic development, as it has traditionally been interpreted, meant that no radical change in policy outcome occurred.

3 .6. The Regeneration of Housing Estates

Introduction

Reports to the Department of the Environment in the later 1970s and early 1980s highlighted the problems of difficult-to-let estates.[47] These were estates that were unpopular, prone to vandalism and where there was a high incidence of anti-social behaviour. These estates were often referred to as "sink" estates or "dumping" estates. The total number of housing units involved was about 300,000 of which 75% were flats in the form of inner city high rise developments. Also included were a smaller number of houses in inter-war estates - what were called "cottage estates".

Housing Regeneration in the 1980s

The government responded to the situation by focusing its attention steadfastly on the "worst" estates via a number of initiatives (see table 3.2).[48] It can be argued that this approach reflected a similar emphasis in urban policy which was to discriminate positively in favour of those small areas which had the greatest concentration of problems.

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[46] Burfitt A., et.al. (1997). A New Approach to Urban Policy: An Agenda for Local Regeneration School of Public Policy, University of Birmingham. Occasional Paper 8. Birmingham. p. 5.
[47] Power A. (1987). Property Before People. The Management of Twentieth Century Housing. London, Unwin and Allen. Chap. 5.
[48] A helpful summary of the initiatives is to be found in Zipfel T., et.al. (1995). On Target. Extending partnership to tackle problem estates. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

The Priority Estates Project introduced in 1979 was an advisory and consultative arm of the Department of the Environment based on three pilot projects. The approach was local housing authority led and placed emphasis on estate based management and maintenance together with efforts to involve tenants. The Priority Estates Project was put on a firmer basis by Estate Action - a scheme for additional loan sanction to finance local authority led estate regeneration. Estate Action combined the principles of the Priority Estates Project with physical redevelopment and improvement. Estate Action was modified in 1988 to include an element of economic development and training.[49]

The theme of targeting resources on a large scale at the worst estates was continued in the Housing Action Trust initiative of 1988 (Housing Act 1988) although action was under the control of a quango or a trust rather than by local housing authorities. The Stockbridge Village Trust initiative[50] of 1982 to regenerate and improve a large peripheral estate of over 3,000 houses - Cantril Farm in Knowsley, Merseyside and subsequently renamed Stockbridge Village - was an initiative in a similar vein to the HATs but with a more predominant involvement by the private sector.

These housing regeneration initiatives of the 1980s were determined by a housing agenda and as the worst conditions were to be found in inner city flatted developments the emphasis was on physical improvements and management improvements on inner city housing estates. Thus, for example, thus only 17 out of 140 Estate Action schemes for the year 1993/94 were targeted at peripheral estates.[51]

Summary.

The schemes have, by and large, had an inner city focus. They have also, again as a generalisation, failed to turn around the estates at which they were targeted. Power and Tunstall, both in their review of the progress, or lack of it, on 20 unpopular estates,[52] and in their later study[53] of the estates which had experienced serious urban

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[49] Department of the Environment (1989). Estate Action: Ministerial Guidelines for Local Housing Authorities. London, DoE.
[50] See, for example, (i) Penn R (1989/90). Stockbridge Village Trust. Housing and Town Planning Review. Dec/Jan; and (ii) Brindley T., et.al. (1988). Remaking Planning: the politics of urban change in the Thatcher years. London, Unwin and Hyman. Chap. 8.
[51] Announcement by the Minister of Housing of the Estate Action budget for the forthcoming year. See Young G. (1992). Speech by Sir George Young to the Peripheral Estates Conference on 26. November 1992. London, DoE.
[52] Power A., and Tunstall R. (1995). Swimming against the tide. Polarisation or progress on 20 unpopular council estates 1980-1995. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

disturbances and riots in 1991 and 1992 found a depressing picture of repeated policy failure. Despite the efforts to target little sustainable progress has been achieved.

However, throughout this period there were a number of one-off initiatives which had a different emphasis - on community development, on crime prevention and reduction, and on combating social exclusion (table 3.2). Included are the EC Poverty 3 programme action projects on two peripheral estates at Brownlow in Northern Ireland[54] and Pilton in Edinburgh[55] which adopted a multi-dimensional approach to estate regeneration; the NACRO sponsored schemes of the late 1970s and early 1980s; and other one-off schemes such as the scheme for the Plas Madoc estate in Wrexham[56] and for the Penrhys estate in South Wales.[57] These schemes although focused on housing estates did not reflect a predominantly housing agenda - an important point if the regeneration of peripheral estates is perceived to be as much, if not more, about social and economic issues as being about housing or "bricks and mortar".

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[53] Power A., and Tunstall R. (1997). Dangerous Disorder. Riots and violent disturbances in 13 areas of Britain, 1991-92. York, York Publishing Services.
[54] See (i) Mc.Donough R. (1993). Brownlow Community Trust. Town and Country Planning. June; and (ii) Bailey N. (1995). Partnership Agencies in British Urban Policy. London, UCL Press. Chap. 5.
[55] Erskine A., and Breitenbach E. (1994). The Pilton Partnership: bringing together the social and economic to combat poverty. Local Economy. Vol. 9. No. 2. pp. 117-33.
[56] Ellis S. (189/90). Not just a housing problem. Housing and Planning Review. Vol. 42. No. 6.
[57] Wallis L. (1997). Sweet valley high? The Guardian. 5. March.

Table 3.2. Estate Based Regeneration Initiatives

Initiative	Period	Content	Spatial Coverage and Targeting	Agencies and Partnerships	Funding	Comment
Priority Estates Project	1979-1985.	House and estate improvement with an emphasis on estate based management.	3 pilot projects followed by local authority schemes. Inner city estates and "cottage" estates.	Priority Estates Project as consultant and advisor. Local authority led.	Limited additional funding. Mainstream local authority housing funds.	Housing driven. Intensive estate based management.
Estate Action	1985- 1994.	House and estate improvement with an emphasis on estate based management, diversification of tenure, estate based enterprise initiatives, and tenant involvement.	Over 500 worst estates including peripheral estates.	Local housing authorities.	Loan sanction to local housing authorities limited to 3 year period. Competitive bidding.	Housing driven initiative. Emphasis on physical improvements to housing stock and the environment. Importance attached to tenure diversification.
Housing Action Trusts	1988 onwards. Limited life.	House and estate improvement with an emphasis on estate based management, diversification of tenure, estate based enterprise initiatives, and tenant involvement.	6 HATs including 2 on peripheral estates- The North Hull HAT and the Castle Vale HAT.	Trusts directly responsible to central government.	Funded by the Treasury. Limited life - about 10 years.	Housing driven. Emphasis on physical improvements to housing stock and the environment. Some valuable innovative practice in fields of training and community development.
Stockbridge Village Trust	1982.	Improvements to houses, layout and other capital projects.	One large peripheral estate on Merseyside.	Multi-agency trust with dominant private sector involvement.	Private sector monies plus public sector leverage. Urban Programme.	Reliance on physical improvement by private sector. Not sustained and taken over by local authority.
City Challenge	1992-1998.	Holistic and integrated programmes.	31 Urban Programme authorities. Type of area not specified but some (for example, North Tyneside, Middlesbrough, Sunderland and Bradford) include peripheral estates.	Local authority led multi-agency partnerships.	Top sliced from existing regeneration programmes. £37.5 million over 5 years. Last schemes end in 1998.	Lack of effective community and voluntary sector involvement. Stress on physical type outputs rather than social and economic improvement.
Single Regeneration Budget	1994 onwards.	Holistic and integrated programmes. (7 strategic objectives)	All local authority districts are eligible. Peripheral estates targeted by some schemes.	Partnerships.	Amalgamation of 20 funding regimes. SRB Challenge Fund is £1.3 billion for 1998/9. Annual competitive bidding process.	Developing current programme. Reduction of money on housing stock improvement but possible increased targeting of integrated programmes on local authority housing estates
Scottish Partnerships	1988-1998.	Holistic and integrated programmes.	4 large peripheral estates- Ferguslie Park, Paisley; Whitfield, Dundee; Wester Hailes, Edinburgh; Castlemilk, Glasgow.	Scottish Office led partnerships.	Limited additional funding for administration costs.. Relies on the targeting of mainstream budgets. Limited 10 year life from 1988 onwards.	Emphasis on physical improvement. Some achievement n reducing unemployment. Problematic voluntary and community sector involvement.
European Community Poverty 3 Programme	1989-1994.	Holistic integrated programmes with an emphasis on innovative and preventative action.	4 projects. 2 are on peripheral estates - West Pilton, Edinburgh; Brownlow at Craigavon, Northern Ireland.	Partnership. The Brownlow Partnership is community based.	£1 million additional funding towards administrative costs. Supported by dedicated Urban Aid..	Focus on multi-dimensional approach to alleviating poverty. Brownlow scheme adopted a community development strategy.
Community Development Approaches	various.	Varied but often house and estate improvement plus community based actions.	Several schemes including Cunningham Road, Widnes in late 1980s; Plas Madoc, Wrexham in early 1980s; Penrhys, South Wales in early 1990s.	Led or assisted by external community development agencies.	Limited additional funding.	Community development approach. Favourable outcomes based on community involvement.

3.7. Urban Governance

The Post-war Period

Local government played a key role in the organisation of the welfare state. It delivered a wide range of services with an emphasis on "professionalised" services - education, personal social services, housing and town planning on behalf of central government. The dominance of local government was such that local government can well be described as "a monopolist of power" during this period.

Local authorities were organised into uni-functional departments organised on bureaucratic lines which were answerable to the equivalent department in Whitehall. The departments of local government were dominated by professional experts who were responsible for the planning and provision of services for their *clients* Although there were important debates about secondary education, housing finance and about the delivery of social services, as a generalisation, it can be stated that throughout the period - from the 1950s, through the 1960s, and into the 1970s - there was a broad professional and political consensus about the aims and operation of local government. Any debate tended to be of a technical nature - about speed, about how to expand services, and how to improve efficiency.

However, criticism of a fundamental nature did begin to develop in the 1970s. The "rediscovery of poverty" and the various discriminatory initiatives that were instigated in response implied criticism and were an acknowledgement that local government had not delivered as effectively as had been hoped. In the 1970s there was also a sequence of academic studies by Jon Davies,[58] Norman Dennis[59] and James Simmie[60] among others, that were scathing about "bureaucracy". These writers propounded the view that professionally led action via the institutions of local government far from being socially progressive was harming the interests of those it had wished to help. The devastating impact of the slum clearance programme came in for particular criticism. To add to the criticism the cost of local government continued to rise

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[58] Davies J. (1972). The Evangelistic Bureaucrat. London, Tavistock.
[59] Dennis N. (1970). People and Planning: The Sociology of Housing in Sunderland. London, Faber and Faber.
[60] Simmie J. (1974). Citizens in Conflict: the sociology of town planning. London, Hutchinson.

inexorably - budget maximisation being in the interests of both local professionals and local politicians.[61] Thus, in the words of Benington -

> "For too many people local government is now part of the problem rather than part of the solution. Local authorities are often experienced as oppressive, unresponsive, and inefficient bureaucracies, rather than as the protectors of the local community, the promoters of lively local democracy and the providers of high quality services."[62]

"Fragmentation" in the 1980s

The predominance of local government was removed in the 1980s by a process that is often referred to as the "fragmentation" of urban governance. Central government's increasing involvement in local economic development gave rise to a series of changes that gave power to newly created quangos and to teams of civil servants - what the Audit Commission in its report of 1989 on local economic development referred to as "a patchwork quilt of complexity and idiosyncrasy".[63]

During the same period the functions and organisation of local government have also been "fragmented". Power has been devolved to individual schools, changes have been made to the organisation of social services, and "provider-purchaser" splits have been created as a basis for organising service provision.. As a result local government's monopoly role has been replaced by a plurality of provision and "local government (now) is only part of the wider network of relations which currently constitutes the welfare state".[64] The term "welfare regimes" is perhaps a more apt description of the current pattern of welfare provision.

Partnership emerged in the 1980s partly as a response to the process of fragmentation and, therefore, the need to co-ordinate action, but also more specifically in order to obtain benefit from collaborative working between the public and private sectors in developing and implementing local economic development strategies.[65] More recently the concept of partnership has been extended to the delivery of all major urban policy initiatives. The characteristics of these partnerships can be described in general terms

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[61] Blackman T. (1995). Urban Policy in Practice. London, Routledge. Chap. 2.

[62] op.cit. Benington J. (1996). p. 152.

[63] Audit Commission on Local Government in England and Wales (1989). Urban Regeneration and Economic Development - The Local Government Dimension. London, HMSO.

[64] Cochrane A. (1994). Restructuring the Welfare State; chap. in op.cit. Burrows R., and Loader B. (eds.)

[65] There are several accounts of the initial development of the partnership principle in British urban policy. A helpful synoptic account has been written by Law. The full reference is - Law C. (1988). Public-Private Partnership in Urban Revitalisation in Britain. Regional Studies. October. pp. 446-51.

as being corporatist, managerialist and competitive in orientation - "corporatist localism" as it has been described.[66]

A further consequence of the changes in governance in this period has been the removal of a strategic input to policy. The period witnessed the abolition of a complete tier of governance at the regional level. The list of institutions that were abolished is long. It includes the metropolitan counties and the regional economic planning councils in England, and across the border the Scottish Regions and the Scottish Development Agency. The creation of the Integrated Regional Government Offices in England and Wales in 1994 has not filled the gap (section 6.6).

Summary and Issues.

The recent changes in urban governance have been viewed with concern - "the credibility of democratic governance is at stake".[67] By those advocating a "communitarian" or community based approach these changes are viewed as offering the opportunity to "pull ownership out of the bureaucracy into the community".[68] The break-up of the public services bureaucratic model has enhanced the scope for greater multi-sector and multi-agency involvement at all scales of urban governance from the city wide scale downwards.

The division of service delivery organisations into "providers" and "purchasers" has produced networks of field workers within local government, local schools, and within the locally based voluntary sector. This network may have the potential to form the basis of a grassroots neighbourhood based tier of governance. Dick Atkinson, for example, sums up the development that could occur in the following words -

> "In place of the old models of a local authority as a monopolist of power, we can build up networks and clusters of institutions ....that can help communities cohere, and give them fresh purpose and pride".[69]

The debate on urban governance has resulted in suggestions that have at times been quite radical. Hirst, for example, has advocated "associative democracy"[70] and wants a framework of voluntary and democratic self-governing organisations to be set up with

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[66] op.cit. Wilks-Heeg S. (1996).

[67] Hambleton R. (1997). Clinton, Blair and the new urban agenda. Town and Country Planning Summer School Proceedings. p. 41.

[68] op.cit. Osborne D., and Gaebler T. (1993). p. 52.

[69] op.cit. Atkinson D. (1994).p. 2.

[70] Hirst P. (1994). Associative Democracy. New Forms of Economic and Social Governance. Cambridge, Polity Press.

state funding and subject to state regulation. Possible changes in urban governance are discussed in chapters 6 (sections 6.4 and 6.5) and 13.

3.8. Changes in Policy and Practice

Current discussion about how broad changes in policy and practice come about is dominated by the "Fordist - Post-Fordist" debate.[71] Parallels are drawn between changes in industrial production methods within the private sector, and welfare policy and practice within the public sector. Thus, the post-war period is dominated by centralised, large scale "Fordist" production methods in both the private and public sectors. Later, from the 1960s onwards, decentralised flexible modes of production of both industrial products and welfare have become increasingly more prevalent This is what has been described as "post-Fordism".

Whether a "neo-Marxist" perspective is adopted which stresses the role of the public sector in fulfilling the needs of industry or a "technocratic" approach which explains changes in the public sector as being the product of the transference of management practice from industry to the public sector, the Fordist - post-Fordist analytical framework is open to severe criticism. It precludes consideration of the wider social and political factors that help to fashion change. In particular, it underrates the capacity for "independent" political change - "throughout its history, British social policy has been shaped as much by political pressure, electoral or otherwise, as by the 'needs of the economy' ".[72]

An analysis of policy changes suggests that these take place when the solutions on offer no longer solve the problems that have been arising. When the mismatch between action and problems becomes large a policy "vacuum" or "crisis" occurs to which there is a political response. This results in a change in outlook and policy - "a paradigm shift" - as it might be described.

As the inadequacies and shortcomings of the welfare approach - in the face of continuing poverty, increasing expense, and increasing economic problems and unemployment - became more apparent in the 1970s a shift took place in favour of an approach based on "privatism" or "entrepreneurialism". The election of an

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[71] A comprehensive review of the Fordist - post-Fordist debate can be found in op.cit. Burrows R., and Loader B. (eds.) (1994).
[72] Pierson C. (1994). Continuity and discontinuity in the emergence of the 'post-Fordist' welfare state; in op.cit. Burrows R., and Loader B. (eds.). p. 111

ideologically driven government of "The New Right" in 1979 boosted and accelerated changes that were already beginning to occur in response to a complex mix of social and economic developments.

Structural analyses tend to exaggerate the extent of change - "British social policy is marked as much by long-term continuity as by radical change".[73] Although the prevailing consensus has changed - the left now accepts tight budgetary controls, that selectivity should replace universalism, and that the market has a role[74] - there remains strong support for the Welfare State. Social spending has remained remarkably resilient and there is strong support for the welfare state and its institutions. The policy and related institutional developments of the last twenty years or so represent a *shift* rather than a *break* in approach.

3.9. Conclusion

If it can be shown that both the welfare approach and the privatisism approach do not adequately address current problems a further shift in approach would be required - possibly incorporating communitarian ideas. At the national level the present government has begun to change policy in response to the shortcomings of the welfare state and its critique of privatism which it associates with increases in inequality and a reduction in social cohesion. It has stated its intention to restructure expenditure on welfare in response to increasing costs and to evidence that expenditure is not succeeding in eliminating poverty. The government has also signalled a wish to adapt policies to combat poverty and social exclusion.[75] The Welfare to Work Programme[76] adopts a strategy of local economic development targeted at particular groups; there has been a renewed emphasis on public health in response to health inequalities; and concern has been expressed to tackle issues new on the policy agenda such as anti-social behaviour and truancy.

The policy stances beginning to be adopted by New Labour stress communitarian principles - community, devolved and decentralised governance, individual and

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[73] ibid. p. 108.

[74] These ideas have been adopted by New Labour. A comprehensive analysis of social policy with the same perspective is to be found in - Borrie G. (1994). Social Justice - strategies for national renewal. The Report of the Commission on Social Justice. London, Vintage.

[75] A comprehensive account of government attitudes summarised by the Social Exclusion Unit and the Cabinet Office can be found on the inter-net - http://www.open.gov.uk//co/seu/more.html.

[76] For a brief description of the Welfare to Work Programme see - Department for Education and Employment (1997). The New Deal. Briefing Note. London, DfEE.

family responsibility, and budget containment. What is missing is a considered role for intermediate institutions at a tier below local government.[77]

This study will show (chapter 4) that the problems associated with poverty and social exclusion are prevalent on peripheral estates. It will also be demonstrated that current patterns of local service delivery (chapter 5) and current regeneration policies (chapter 6) are inadequate to the task of regenerating peripheral estates. Recommendations will be made about the changes in policy and institutions, which it will be suggested, are needed.

If a case can be made out for changes in policy and in institutions, how is this case to be translated into political action? "Urban policy making ....is the product of a continuous interaction of intellectual process and institutional response"(Carley).[78] The painstaking construction of a consensus to support change is the realistic means by which the necessary political processes will be influenced. But the current policy framework is encouraging. A new paradigm may be in the process of evolving in which local change as recommended in this study can reinforce changes at the national level.

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[77] Driver S., and Martell L. (1997). New Labour's communitarianisms. Critical Social Policy. Vol. 17. pp. 27-46.
[78] op.cit. Carley M. (1990). p. 23.

4. THE PERIPHERAL ESTATE PROBLEM

4.1. Development of Peripheral Estates

Introduction.

Peripheral estates were an integral component of the United Kingdom's public sector house building programme - they can be described as being "a flagship" of the British welfare state. Although peripheral estates were built in all parts of the United Kingdom they are a particular feature of larger towns and cities in the older industrial areas because these areas had the largest house building and related slum clearance programmes. Peripheral estates have become a key element of the urban morphology of the United Kingdom's major urban areas. In fact, it has been estimated that about two million people live on peripheral estates.[1] Between 20 and 40% of the population of most large cities live on such estates. Thus any problems on peripheral estates raise policy issues which directly effect a lot of people.

Development of the Peripheral estates.

The public sector house building programme was the product of the failure of the private sector to provide housing of an adequate standard at affordable rents for working class people. Successive Housing Acts gave comprehensive housing powers to local authorities and after 1919 local authorities were given substantial power to build housing for rent. Britain's response to its housing problems is well summed up by Cole and Furbey -

> "Since the advent of industrialisation Britain has followed a unique path amongst developed capitalist countries by launching mass building programmes in the public sector, with dwellings owned and maintained by local authorities".[2]

The housing programme accelerated after the second world war. A total of four and a half million homes were built from 1945 to the mid 1970s. Despite the resumption of the slum clearance programme in 1953 and the development of inner city housing *in-*

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[1] CES Ltd. (1984). <u>Outer Estates in Britain - Interim Report: Preliminary Comparison of Four Estates</u>. CES Paper 23. London, CES.
[2] Cole I., and Furbey R. (1994). <u>The Eclipse of Council Housing</u>. London, Routledge. p.1.

situ, most local authority housing of this period was in the form of peripheral accretions to existing urban areas.

Estates continued to consist of semi-detached and terraced housing but from 1953 onwards there was an increasing reliance on low rise flats as the subsidy arrangements were also changed. These low rise flats were to cause severe management problems due to noise, unconventional internal layouts and the prevalence of "anonymous" space around the flats themselves (see, for example, the problems caused by the flats on the Town End Farm Estate - chapter 11).

Peripheral estates and "the welfare approach"

The development of the peripheral estates are very much a reflection of "the welfare approach". The emphasis on scale and "mass provision" is striking. The local authority house building programme represents a process of dispersal and suburbanisation of working class people on a vast scale. People were moved from crowded inner city areas to new residential districts on the outskirts -

> "The local authorities' housing policies ....institutionalised for the working classes the process of suburbanisation which the middle classes had followed since at least the middle of the nineteenth century" (Burnett).[3]

Not only was the overall scale of movement large but right from the outset some of the early estates were themselves often on a large scale - "mass suburbs". For example, the LCC's Becontree Estate in East London built between 1921 and 1934 had a population of 90,000.

The peripheral estates are a product of the uni-functional mode of operation of local authority bureaucracies. The layout of the estates and the design of the housing units reflect a pre-occupation with a narrow perception of the environment in terms of "bricks and mortar". The reliance on facilities within the existing urban cores; the seeming lack of concern with distance as estates were built further and further from existing town and city centres; and the dependence on public transport for access to jobs, services, and community facilities are all symptoms of the approach.

Assumptions about the economic and social circumstances that were to prevail on the peripheral estates are equally indicative of key assumptions that underlay the welfare state. The estates were conceived as residential districts, or "dormitories", for working

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[3] Burnett J. (1986). A Social History of Housing. 1815-1985. London, Methuen.

class people the majority of whom it was assumed would continue to find employment in the traditional industries or in the newer industries located on the peripherally located industrial estates built in the 1950s and 1960s. Full employment was an unchallenged assumption.

The social fabric of the estates reflected the employment pattern. It relied on the nuclear family with the male as the sole or principal wage earner. Thus, the estates were built with few community facilities. There was, in fact, no or little attempt at "social engineering"[4] - that is, there was little recognition of the social effects of wholesale relocation and the need to rebuild communities In the process, as some commentators observed, the three generational "vertical" social structures to be found in traditional working class communities, and in the slums in particular, were destroyed.[5] Local authorities were not concerned and would have found it difficult to respond if they had been.

Overview

The local authority house building programme made an enormous impact. It provided affordable housing for working class people despite the occasional rhetoric about a mixed class function. However, the programme was not entirely homogeneous and there were significant variations both in function and on a geographical basis. In the 1920s and again in the later 1940s council housing provided for "general purposes" - in practice for "the respectable working class". At other times, namely in the 1930s and from 1953 onwards there was a greater emphasis on the role of council housing to cater for those displaced by slum clearance schemes.

These changes of emphasis are reflected in a polarisation between local authorities.[6] Smaller local authorities, representing small towns or rural and semi-rural areas, usually without a slum clearance programme, built smaller less conspicuous estates which although located on green fields were geographically closely linked with the existing town or village. Larger local authorities, on the other hand, which had an industrial base, a legacy of Victorian inner city housing, and considerable slum clearance programmes, built bigger estates further away on the periphery often with a

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[4] Cullingworth J. (1973). Problems of an Urban Society. Vol. 2: The Social Content of Planning. London, Allen and Unwin.

[5] There are several texts including - Young M., and Wilmott P. (1962). Family and Kinship in East London. Penguin, Harmondsworth.

[6] Power A. and Tunstall R. (1995). Swimming against the tide. Polarisation or Progress on 20 unpopular council estates. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

relatively high percentage of flats and with a greater emphasis on rehousing those from the slum clearance areas. Peripheral estates, therefore, are "a big town" phenomenon.

4.2. Emerging Issues and Problems

Introduction

Although the estates represented a real improvement in working class housing conditions and they were often well received, there was evidence of problems on some peripheral estates from their inception. Since the 1930s there have been incidents of anti-social behaviour, reports indicating adverse social and economic circumstances, and criticisms of the environments that had been created. Since the late 1960s and increasingly in the 1970s and 1980s there has been evidence of increases in the incidence of poverty, multiple deprivation and related social problems on peripheral estates. In fact, the majority of the 28 areas which had violent disturbances or riots between 1991 and 1995 were peripheral estates.[7]

Early Problems

A series of studies in the 1930s about life on the new estates - for example, Terence Young's study about Becontree and Dagenham and Ruth Durant's study of the Watling Estate in North London - indicate that the fortunes and feelings of those living on the new estates were mixed. The studies demonstrate tenant satisfaction and that the majority were well paid manual workers with families.[8]

These studies also show that problems had been created by a wide range of circumstances - high travelling costs, the lack of social facilities, the lack of community based structures and networks - certainly at the beginning, expensive heating systems, the higher prices in suburban shopping parades, and there were concerns about the monotonous and regimented appearance of the estates. Many families encountered real hardship. Anne Power refers to a study undertaken at Stockton-on -Tees that suggested that the death rate actually rose as families moved out to the new estates because the higher living costs left less money for food.[9]

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[7] Power A., and Tunstall R. (1997). <u>Dangerous Disorder. Riots and violent disturbances in 13 areas of Britain, 1991-92.</u> York, York Publishing Services.

[8] A brief summary of the studies on inter war estates can be found in op.cit. Burnett J. (1986).

[9] Power A. (1993). <u>Hovels to high rise. State housing in Europe since 1850</u>. London, Routledge. Chap. 18.

These circumstances, plus the mixed function of council housing to house both working class people in employment and those displaced from the slums, and often unemployed, were responsible for tension between "respectable tenants" or "careful housewives", and "slovenly tenants" or "the poor". Without doubt social problems were an early feature of life on the estates -

> "There were reports of growing delinquency and social breakdown, and high levels of unemployment and poverty in the giant cottage estates outside London, Manchester and Liverpool" (Anne Power).[10]

These problems became a continuing feature of life on the large estates. Andrew Blowers' study of the North Kenton estate in Newcastle highlighted these symptoms of social malaise forty years after the first estates had been constructed -

> "Its (the North Kenton estate's) appearance provided the harshest comments. Broken windows, dismembered telephones, litter and trees stripped bare were the work of a villainous minority and drunkenness, rowdyism and street fighting kept the police busy and the estate in the news".[11]

The Emergence of Peripheral Estates as an Issue

There was evidence in the late 1960s that there was increasing and widespread poverty and multiple deprivation on some large peripheral estates, especially those on the fringes of industrial areas - on the peripheries of the conurbations and other large towns and cities. A report, for example, by Liverpool City Council in 1968 entitled "Social Malaise in Liverpool" identified three peripheral outliers of poverty.[12] In 1977 The Liverpool Inner Area Study suggested that the number of outlying areas displaying the characteristics associated with multiple deprivation had increased to five.[13]

Analysis of the 1971 Census indicated that there was a distinct spatial entity, labelled an "outer area", which was prone to suffer from multiple deprivation. The cluster of indicators varied somewhat from the inner city and placed stress on unemployment, a low skilled workforce and local authority housing tenure. Unlike the inner city the

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[10] ibid. p.182.

[11] Blowers A. (1970). Council Housing: the Social Implications of Layout and Design in an Urban Fringe Estate. Town Planning Review. Vol. 42. pp. 80-92.

[12] Liverpool City Council (1968). Social Malaise in Liverpool. Interim Report on Social Problems and their Distribution. Liverpool, Liverpool City Council. referred to in Sim D. (1980). Beginning to Tackle the Outer City. The Planner. March.

[13] Department of the Environment (1977). Change or Decay. Report of the Liverpool Inner Area Study. London, HMSO.

population was predominantly white and there were few if any ethnic minorities living in these areas. The 1981 Census confirmed this phenomenon but suggested that the problem had become more widespread and that conditions had deteriorated relative to other areas with the increase of unemployment in the late 1970s.[14]

The report "Faith in the City" published in 1985, confirmed that there was a high incidence of multiple deprivation on the peripheral estates - "it is now the large housing estates on the edge of cities that present the most pressing problems".[15] And the report suggested that the peripheral estates represented "a different Britain whose population is prevented from entering fully into the mainstream of British life."[16]

A more specific analysis of peripheral estates and their characteristics was contained in the CES Study of four outer estates in 1984. That study emphasised the size of the estates - "they were often as large as new towns".[17] It also stressed their isolation, their single land use which was in the sole ownership of the local authority, and the implications for income levels - "no one commutes into the outer estates to do office jobs or shop, as they do into city centres. There is little trickling down of income from more affluent suburbs".[18] And the implications of these circumstances were far reaching - "these communities are sinking into a kind of subsistence level where there is little demand for consumer goods and little competition between shops".[19]

Overview

Although I have described peripheral estates as a flagship of the welfare state, life on some of them was problematic from the outset. Problems caused by poor quality housing, as subsidies were reduced in the 1920s and 1930s, and higher than average incidence of anti-social behaviour and unemployment, can be associated with the role that council housing had of housing those displaced by slum clearance programmes. As such these problems are not unique to peripheral estates. Other problems, however, are the product of the peripherality and distance from existing town and city centres, and the development solutions adopted at the time of construction which emphasised large estates consisting of a predominantly single housing land use.

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[14] op.cit. CES Ltd. (1984).
[15] Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas. (1985). Faith in the City: A Call for Action by Church and Nation. London, Church House.
[16] op.cit. Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority areas. (1985).
[17] Broadbent A. (1985) Estates of Another Realm. New Society. 14 June. p.410.
[18] ibid.
[19] ibid. p.411.

The increase in problems on the estates from the later 1960s onwards can be related to economic change which hit those living on peripheral estates in particular. Economic change was later accompanied by housing policy changes in the 1980s. This changing context is discussed in the next section.

4.3. The Changing Context

Introduction

There have been major changes in the context in which peripheral estates function. Some of these changes can be traced back over a long period but the last twenty years have been a period of intense and varied change. There have been cutbacks in public expenditure and in the public sector housing programme, in particular; the government has favoured owner-occupation at the expense of local authority housing; change has affected the economic structure of the United Kingdom; and the period has been one of significant demographic and social change. All these changes have had an adverse effect on peripheral estates and have intensified problems that may have already existed.

The Housing Policy Context

From 1979 to 1997 the government's housing policy focused on encouraging owner-occupation and reducing the role of local housing authorities. The most significant single change aimed at encouraging owner occupation has been the "Right to Buy" provision contained in the Housing Act 1980 which has resulted in the sale of 1.5 million council houses to sitting tenants - "the march of the privately owned carriage lamp"[20] as the consequences have been described. These sales have been highly selective - houses rather than flats have been sold, and the purchasers have consisted of the skilled working class in employment.[21] Those tenants dependent on benefits have continued to rent their houses. Although sales have been selective houses have been bought on all peripheral estates. Even on the most stigmatised estates at least 15% of the housing stock has been sold.[22]

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[20] Dean M. (1997). Tipping the balance. Search 27. Spring.
[21] Forest R., and Murie A. (1990). The Privatisation of the Welfare State. Second Edition. London, Routledge.
[22] For example, on Sunderland's most stigmatised estate, Pennywell, 19% of the housing stock has been sold (see table 9.1).

At the same time a major redistribution of spending on housing has taken place - rather than subsidise "bricks and mortar" subsidies now go increasingly to individual tenants. Rents have gone up and a universal benefit system has been introduced under which Housing Benefit pays the rent of those tenants dependent on welfare support.

The consequences of this subsidy shift are far reaching. One consequence has been to encourage local housing authorities to increase council house rents in the full awareness that the poorest tenants would be shielded from the impact. Thus, rents went up by 50% more than inflation in the period from 1977 to 1986. Rental income which had constituted 48% of local housing authority income in 1980/1 contributed 68% in 1987/8.[23] Steady rent increases gave further encouragement to those tenants who could afford to do so, to transfer to owner occupation.

The profile of the average council tenant has been changing as the better off have transferred to owner occupation leaving poorer tenants to rely on the local authority for housing. This trend has been reinforced by demographic and social changes - for example, the increase in single parent households, the growth in the numbers of old people, and the closure of long stay large mental hospitals. The groups effected are all prone to poverty and their classification as "priority homeless" ensures that local authorities find them accommodation. As a result council tenants have been becoming poorer. For example, in 1979 43% of the lowest fifth of the population by income were local authority tenants but by 1985 that figure that figure had increased to 57%.[24] Or, to put it another way, the percentage of economically inactive households living in council houses rose from 41% in 1979 to 60% in 1988.[25]

The impact overall has been to change the role of local authority housing. It now increasingly fulfils a "residual" role; it is becoming the "welfare tenure". For example, recent research sponsored by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation found that 60% of incomers to the social housing sector had previously been homeless.[26] Residualisation is of crucial importance. Not only does it effect estates as a whole, it effects the poor "whose residential segregation, in many cases, compounds social and economic inequality".[27]

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[23] ibid. tables 2.7 and 2.8.
[24] op.cit. Power A. (1993). Table 23.11.
[25] ibid. Chap.23.
[26] op.cit. Dean M. (1997).
[27] Malpass P., and Means R. (eds.). (1993). Implementing Housing Policy. Buckingham, Open University Press. p.35.

Residualisation is a phenomenon which affects the *tenant mix on all council estates.* A related and equally important change has been occurring which affects the *resident mix almost exclusively on peripheral estates* rather than on high density inner city estates. Residents on peripheral estates are becoming polarised between owner-occupiers and tenants, and between the economically successful and those who have fallen on hard times often living next door to each other - a point confirmed in Meegan's study of Liverpool's outer council estates.[28] This change emerges clearly from the estate based studies considered in the case study (see, for example, Town End Farm - chapter 11) and has significant implications for life on peripheral estates and for the regeneration of these estates.

Economic Change and its Implications

The British economy has been undergoing structural change over a long period. There has been a decline in traditional manufacturing industry. This decline has been accompanied by recent growth in those parts of the manufacturing sector which rely on micro-electronics or on developments in information technology, and by growth in service sector jobs such as banking, insurance, and the leisure and entertainment industries. Although there is now a relatively rapid increase in the number of new jobs being created, for cities such as Sunderland which had a traditional industrial base the upheaval has been traumatic. The resultant changes in local labour markets have had a devastating affect on the inhabitants of peripheral estates who had relied heavily on employment in the traditional industries.

The effects of uneven growth and decline were first experienced by the older industrial areas in the inter-war period, and despite redistributional regional polices throughout the post-war period there have been regional imbalances in economic performance. But it is really the more recent recession and associated "shake out" of manufacturing industry from the later 1970s that has had the most serious impact. The Census of Employment shows, for example, that two million jobs were lost in the manufacturing sector in the period from 1979 to 1986. During this same period only 860,000 additional service jobs were created and then for those with different skills living in different places.[29] The rapidity and suddenness of these recent changes have compounded the difficulties. It is almost as if entire estates were made redundant at the same time.

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[28] Meegan R. (1989). Paradise Postponed: the Growth and Decline of Merseyside's Outer Estates, in Cooke P. (ed.). Localities: the Changing Face of Britain. London, Unwin Hyman.
[29] Balchin P. (1990). Regional Policy in Britain: The North-South Divide. London, Chapman. Chap.2.

These economic changes have had an uneven distribution of advantage and disadvantage. Regional imbalances have been created - "The North - South Divide" - but it is the differentially negative impact on the conurbations and on large towns and cities, with their economic emphasis on manufacturing industry, which is more relevant in the present context. The towns that developed most rapidly in the nineteenth century, and that were dependent on traditional manufacturing industries, have been least able to diversify their local economies and have been hardest hit as a consequence. It is these very towns and cities, such as Sunderland, that had large slum clearance programmes and built large numbers of peripheral estates in the post-war period.

The government response to these problems, which has already been referred to in section 3.5 above, was to concentrate on local economic development. The Urban Programme was refocused, regional policy became selective and more carefully targeted, and property led regeneration was focused on small areas driven forward by Urban Development Corporations and by the designation of Enterprise Zones.

Although these projects have produced new jobs, a number of reports have shown that they have not, by and large, enhanced the job prospects of those living in poorer neighbourhoods such as the peripheral estates. The Northern Region's economy, for example, is being regenerated and recast but spatially concentrated poverty has been a by-product. Thus Robinson felt able to comment that -

> "A Great North co-exists with an impoverished and redundant north, and the separation of these two worlds within one region helps to maintain the separation and strength of the two interpretations. The "comfortable" Northerner can literally by-pass the West End of Newcastle and not see the hopelessness, fear and destruction; he or she may never enter the redundant pit villages of east Durham and can easily be oblivious to the massive council estates where much of the region's poor are now concentrated and 'residualised' ".[30]

The consequences for peripheral estates, in particular, have been severe because the peripheral estates are the urban areas where those who used to work in the traditional industries are most concentrated. They have become "the graveyards for workers we no longer need" (Angela Phillips).[31] And to quote again -

> "Until the 1980s....outer estates worked - just about. They worked because the quality of most of the brick housing was good and the stock had not yet deteriorated. But they

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[30] Robinson F. (1992). The Northern Region in Townroe P., and Martin R. (eds.). Regional Development in the 1990s. The British Isles in Transition. Jessica Kingsley and Regional Studies Association.

[31] Phillips A. (1990). Giro Land. Weekend Guardian. 27-8 October.

worked primarily because there was work. In Nottingham, people would leave the estates together on the same buses, often go to the same factories and pits - Raleigh, Players, Babbington Colliery and so on. There was also some expectation, among sons and daughters that the boredom of being a teenager on an outer estate would eventually be broken by work. But they are not working now, nor are the estates"(Chairman of the Nottingham Housing Committee)[32].

It is these areas that have not benefited from restructured local labour markets and thus on the estates there are relatively large numbers of long term unemployed people. Policy now needs to focus on redirecting and adapting the skills and perceptions of the long term unemployed to enable them to reconnect with the local labour market.

Overview

The impact of changes in housing policy and the impacts of industrial restructuring have been mutually reinforcing on council estates. The changing economic function of estates has been reinforced by the increasing function of estates in a "residual" housing capacity. Peripheral estates are typically poor neighbourhoods which Thake and Staubach have observed exist in other European countries in both inner and outer locations.[33] Lee and Murie's more recent study of the relationship between poverty, housing tenure and social exclusion in five local authority areas in Britain also shows the widespread presence of poor neighbourhoods including peripheral estates and that the conditions on them are deteriorating relative to better off areas.[34]

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[32] Chapman G. (1994). They are not working now. The Guardian. 23 November.
[33] Thake S. and Staubach R. (1993). Investing in People. Rescuing communities from the margin. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
[34] Lee P., and Murie A. (1997). Poverty, housing tenure and social exclusion. Bristol, Policy Press.

4.4. Poverty, Multiple Deprivation and Social Exclusion

Introduction

There is a plethora of evidence to indicate that poverty has been increasing.[35] For example, the number of people eligible for supplementary benefit and income support increased from 3.17 million in 1979 to 4.35 million in 1989.[36] The proportion of children living in low income families (defined as being those families where income levels are 50% or more below the average income adjusted for household size and after housing costs have been removed) increased from 1 in 10 in 1979 to 1 in 3 in 1994.[37]

Poverty is increasing and at the same time, because of the processes of "residualisation" and industrial change discussed in the previous section, it is becoming increasingly prevalent on council housing estates. The prevalence of poverty, and multiple deprivation and social exclusion which are related with it, are therefore characteristics of peripheral estates.

Poverty

Unemployment is no doubt the single most important cause for the increase in poverty. For example, in 1973 10% of the poorest families had an unemployed head but by 1987 this figure had increased to 34%.[38] Unemployment has been concentrated in particular neighbourhoods and localities. Power and Tunstall found that 19 of the 20 unpopular estates that they studied had an unemployment rate over 20% - the figure for seven of these was over 35%.[39] In subsequent work on the estates that had experienced urban disturbances in 1991 and 1992 Power and Tunstall stress the

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[35] A summary of the evidence can be obtained from a number of sources. These include -
(i) Townsend P. (1994). Introduction, in Phillimore P. and Beattie A. Health and Inequality in the Northern Region 1981-91. Department of Social Policy. University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
(ii) Barclay P. (chair) (1995). Joseph Rowntree Foundation Inquiry into Income and Wealth. Vol.1. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
(iii) Borrie G. (chair) (1994). Social Justice - Strategies for National Renewal. The Report of the Social Justice Commission. Vintage, London. Chap.1.
[36] Gaffikin F. and Morrissey M. (1994). In Pursuit of the Holy Grail: Combating Poverty in an Unequal Society. Local Economy. Vol.9. No.2. pp.100-116.
[37] op.cit. Borrie G. (chair) (1994).
[38] Donnison D. et.al. (1991). Urban Poverty, the Economy and Public Policy. Combat Poverty Agency, Dublin.
[39] op.cit. Power A. and Tunstall R. (1995).

unemployment problem again but with an emphasis on youth unemployment. They found that on the estates studied over 50% of those aged under 24 were unemployed.[40]

Youth unemployment and inter-generational unemployment have both increased. This is due to a lack of motivation and demoralisation on the part of young people but it is also due to a lack of knowledge of opportunities that now exist in the job market and a prejudice on the part of young males against "soft" - a characteristic of new jobs in the service sector - jobs which do not involve physical effort.

Economic restructuring has also resulted in an increase in low paid, part-time, female labour and this trend would be expected to have alleviated the consequences of unemployment. The reverse has been the case. Unemployed families have been deterred by the potential loss of means tested benefits from taking advantage of these opportunities. Thus 60% of employed men have a female partner who is in work while 80% of unemployed men have a partner who is not in work. The impact of unemployment has been reinforced by a division into "work-rich" and "work-poor" families".[41]

The increasing concentration of poverty on peripheral estates adds a spatial dimension to poverty which further disadvantages the poor families living on the estates. This has led some writers to suggest that poverty is, in fact, not so much about income but more about where one lives -

> "The squashing of our poorest into islands of neglect has transformed the experience of poverty. It is one thing to live on benefits in a decent area with little crime, a well-equipped GP surgery and good school, quite another to live in fear of a mugging, knowing the chances of your son and daughter getting a GCSE are almost nil. Poverty is not about how much or how little money people have - it is about where they live".[42]

The impact of poverty is crucial. Poor people live, more and more, in poor neighbourhoods - increasingly on peripheral estates - where they experience a consequent series of disadvantages because of where they live. As Gaffikin and Morrisey have commented -

> "The concept of space becomes central to poverty. The poor are not simply those with inadequate standards of income or consumption, but the inhabitants of certain spaces which are insulated from the more prosperous areas of the city".[43]

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[40] op.cit. Power A. and Tunstall R. (1997).
[41] op.cit. Borrie G. (chair) (1994). p.38.
[42] Thomas R. (1996). Little comfort for poor in Blair's blanket approach. The Guardian. 10 April.
[43] op.cit. Gaffikin F. and Morrisey M. (1994). p. 105.

Policies are needed which aim to overcome the spatial disadvantages of being poor and living in a poor area - "instead of redistributing to poor people, we should redistribute to poor places".[44]

Multiple Deprivation

Poverty and multiple deprivation are closely related. As poverty increasingly becomes a spatially based phenomenon so does multiple deprivation. The CES study on peripheral estates contained an account of multiple deprivation likely to be found on these estates. The components of multiple deprivation measured by the Census included - unemployment, poverty, dependency on benefits, an unbalanced social mix with a low proportion of professionals and non-manual groups, high child densities, large proportions of single parents and overcrowding. Indicators not measured directly by the Census might include - poor environment, poor design and unpopularity, a lack of community and private services and crime with an emphasis on vandalism against public property. [45]

No comprehensive study of peripheral estates has been carried out since. However, Power and Tunstall's more recent examination of 20 unpopular estates found that there had been a deterioration in social conditions on the estates studied in the 1980s. The figures in the 1991 Census were worse than those in the 1981 Census. Not only had conditions deteriorated but there was firm evidence of social polarisation between council housing estates and other areas. Thus the percentage of lone parent families had increased nationally from 3% in 1981 to 4% in 1991 but on the 20 estates the percentage had almost doubled from 9% to 17%. Among the other indicators of multiple deprivation Power and Tunstall highlight the poor performance of the comprehensive schools serving the estates. In the schools in question the percentage of children obtaining over 5 GCSE passes with grades A to C was less than half the national average.[46]

Evidence of multiple deprivation also comes from studies of particular issues. The Report of the Commission on Social Justice found that poverty and unemployment, for example, are linked to poor health. Neighbourhoods where poverty is prevalent are also neighbourhoods with a higher than average incidence of infant mortality, children killed in traffic accidents and long term sickness.[47] This set of inter-

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[44] ibid.
[45] op.cit. CES Ltd. (1984). pp.1-2.
[46] op.cit. Power A. and Tunstall R. (1995).
[47] op.cit. Borrie G. (chair) (1995). Chap.1.

relationships was also highlighted by Phillimore and Beattie's study of health in the Northern Region. It showed that wards containing peripheral estates are among those with the poorest health record in the region.[48]

The British Crime Survey indicated that a link can be shown to exist between poverty, concentrations of families with children and crime rates. Peripheral estates tend to have high child populations. Children who are brought up in families subject to poverty, unemployment and family break-up. They are areas with a youthful population and a high incidence of anti-social behaviour and vandalism - "one third of young people commit a crime before the age of 18 and half of all recorded crimes are committed by persons under 21".[49]

Social Exclusion

Recent comment has focused not so much on the specific indicators of multiple deprivation but on the negative processes that are likely to be the product of neighbourhood based poverty and multiple deprivation - processes which are often described in terms of "social exclusion". Thake and Staubach in their comparative study of poor neighbourhoods in the United Kingdom and Germany stress the "psycho-social characteristics of disintegration"- these include depression, smoking, and alcohol and drug abuse.[50] Power and Tunstall stress the relationship between the loss of an estate's economic role and the impact on the collective self-confidence and morale of whole estates -

> "The failure of some sections of the white, indigenous population to make the transition from traditional, industrial, manual employment to post-industrial jobs, often part-time, short-term and non-manual, appears to undermine the self-confidence of whole communities and the whole younger generation, creating in them a strong and destructive sense of alienation, frustration and rejection".[51]

Other commentators, including Beatrix Campbell, have described and analysed a process of "community disintegration" whereby the nuclear family is breaking down in response to economic change and male unemployment. A clear indication of this process is the partial replacement of the nuclear family by one parent families and roaming single males who indulge in criminal activity.[52] However, a much larger

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[48] op.cit. Phillimore P. and Beattie A. (1994).
[49] op.cit. Power A. and Tunstall R. (1995) quoting Mayhew P. et.al. (1993). The 1992 British Crime Survey. Home Office Research Study No.132. London, HMSO.
[50] op.cit. Thake S. and Staubach R. (1993). p. 19.
[51] op.cit. Power A. and Tunstall R. (1997). p. 11.
[52] Campbell B.(1993). Reflections on the Riots. Northern Economic Review. Spring. No.20.

number of families are having to come to terms with change as family structures built around male, full time, unionised labour become families in which women earning relatively low wages are the main providers.

The poor in deprived areas not only suffer the consequences of insufficient income and unemployment but, in addition, poor housing, education and access to services. The services that poorer people depend on are inadequate, may well have been adversely effected by cut backs in public expenditure, and are likely to be of poorer quality than in more prosperous areas. Residents on peripheral estates are, therefore, further disadvantaged in any attempt to ameliorate their circumstances.

Poverty and unemployment and the consequences are severe problems but, it has to be stressed, not all people living on the estates are directly effected. Others, who are in employment, have been able to adapt and are likely, for example, to have bought their own house, own a car, and be able to access and choose from a wider range of services. Thus one of the features of life on peripheral estates, as has already been mentioned in section 4.3 above, is increasing polarisation between the successful and the unsuccessful working class or between those that are renting their home and those that are likely to have bought or are in the process of buying a former council house.

"Community disintegration" and "social exclusion" are valid terms to be used when describing and analysing the problems on peripheral estates. However, life on peripheral estates also has positive features. There is a strong element of social cohesion usually present and a sense of community identity. Three to four generations of many families live on the same estate or close by. Time has provided the opportunity for the informal family support networks and the strong feelings of identification with locality, lost at the time the estates were built and usually associated with the original slum clearance areas, to be rebuilt.

Meegan suggests, for example, that although a polarisation has taken place between owner occupiers and those who continue to rent from the local authority, strong bonds connected with belonging to the working class undoubtedly exist on the estates on Merseyside. He found that no stigma attached to being unemployed and no distancing had occurred because of differences in life opportunities.[53] Working class solidarity and community identification are firm features that have positive implications for the design and implementation of regeneration programmes.

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[53] op.cit. Meegan R. (1989).

Overview

Any regeneration agenda, if it is to lead to success, will need to take account of the multiple and inter-connected nature of the problems on peripheral estates. Most peripheral estates have been given little attention by policy makers; they have been allowed to decline - that point is borne out by many of Sunderland's peripheral estates and by the Bentilees Estate in Stoke-on-Trent a description of which is included in section 7.4.

There are two lessons to be learned upon which to base regeneration policies for peripheral estates. The first is that an integrated and holistic approach is needed that reflects the inter-related and dynamic nature of the problems. The second is that a policy of targeting on the worst estates, which has been a feature of housing regeneration policies and more recently City Challenge and the SRB (section 3.6) fails to reach the many estates where poverty and social exclusion are endemic.

4.5. Comparison with Inner City Housing Estates

Public sector housing estates are increasingly the home for poor people regardless of location. The processes of social polarisation apply equally to council estates, whether located peripherally or in the inner city. Estates in both locations will, therefore, have populations experiencing high levels of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion. Both make up "poor neighbourhoods" or "neighbourhoods of disadvantage".[54] However, this is a *generalisation* and relatively privileged estates are to be found in both inner and outer locations.

There are likely to be significant demographic differences. Peripheral estates have a predominantly "white" population even in local authority areas which have a large ethnic minority population - for example, the Castle Vale Estate in Birmingham an account of which is contained in section 7.3. The residents on inner city estates may well contain a large percentage of people with an ethnic minority background. The presence of a number of owner-occupiers on peripheral estates means that the population on peripheral estates might well be more varied in economic terms.

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[54] The expression "neighbourhoods of disadvantage" is used by Lee and Murie in their study. See op.cit. Lee P., and Murie A.(1997).

Both outer and inner city housing estates represent what may be described as "poor neighbourhoods" and both have had a change in their tenant mix because of the increasing use of social housing as the residual or welfare tenure. However, because of the selective nature of council house sales (section 4.3 above) inner city estates, especially those consisting of flats, tend to remain firmly in local authority ownership while all peripheral estates now contain a sizeable number of owner occupiers. The resident mix, therefore, on outer and inner estates is different.

The density and massing of public sector housing estates reflect the requirements of the Development Plans operative at the time of their construction. The layout of peripheral estates reflect the relatively low density stipulations of Development Plans. Although blocks of flats were built in large numbers on peripheral estates they tend to be between two and five storeys in height and there are few tower blocks (there are exceptions particularly in areas where the local authority pushed high rise development - for example, in Birmingham - again see the Castle Vale Estate in section 7.3). Peripheral estates are essentially low rise low density neighbourhoods. The corollary also applies - namely, inner city housing estates tend to be high rise, high density housing areas.

Significantly Alice Coleman's study of the link between design and crime focused almost exclusively on inner city estates.[55] Although there are problematic layouts based on Radburn (The Town End Farm Estate in Sunderland is a good example - see chapter 11) and there are smaller scale problems associated with the "anonymous" open space that surrounds blocks of flats, the large scale disasters which have sometimes occurred on inner city estates have not occurred on peripheral estates. Housing problems on peripheral estates tend to be less widespread and are concentrated on relatively small groups of difficult-to-let houses and flats. As a whole, housing problems on peripheral estates require less drastic solutions as they tend to be associated with management issues focusing around unpopularity rather than requiring physical improvement on a large scale.

Unlike inner estates there is no or very little economic activity in areas surrounding peripheral estates because they tend to be bordered either by other estates or by green fields. There are reduced opportunities, therefore, to participate in the black economy. The CES study of 1985 noted the economic isolation of peripheral estate residents and referred to "subsistence level economies" that are a feature of the estates.[56] The

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[55] Coleman A. (1988). Utopia on Trial. London, Shipman.
[56] op.cit. Broadbent A. (1985).

dominance of housing as the sole land-use, whereas inner estates are located within areas of mixed land-use, creates a location which is not amenable to the attraction of new and incoming small businesses which depend on linkages with other uses, especially those that provide services.

Isolation has consequences also for the provision of services. Inner area residents have ready access to facilities in surrounding areas and do not have to travel considerable distances. Inner city residents are able to exercise choice where that is available - for example, for schools and shops. Only more "successful" residents of peripheral estates who own cars can in practice exercise that choice also.

4.6. Conclusion

The Need for Regeneration

Peripheral estates are a product of the welfare state's public sector house building programme; a local authority led bureaucratically driven programme with an almost entirely exclusive emphasis on "bricks and mortar". The economic and social function of the estates was to provide good quality "suburban" housing for a heterogeneous white working class. Full employment, principally in traditional heavy and manufacturing industries, was assumed. The social norm was assumed to be the nuclear family with the male acting as principal wage earner.

Peripheral estates have become poor neighbourhoods where there is a concentration of unemployment, poverty and multiple deprivation. Social exclusion is a salient fact for many living on peripheral estates. For a majority of the estates the assumptions upon which the peripheral estates were based no longer apply.

The regeneration of peripheral estates involves finding a new role and function for the estates. It may be that estates will continue as working class communities but with an acceptance that a degree of polarisation of circumstance and life chances among residents is an inevitable reality. An alternative outcome might be that estates loose their distinctive social characteristics and become like other suburbs where there is full employment and there are high rates of car ownership.

The Lack of Policy Concern

It is striking that until recently there has not been an acknowledgement of the "peripheral estate problem". This lack of concern is surprising given the number of people that live on the estates; the major role played by local authorities; the "public or private outbursts of violence or despair"[57] that gave rise to major disturbances on some peripheral in the early 1990s; and the fact that researchers and writers have been commenting on the problem since the mid-1980s.

Peripheral estates have no one to plead their cause. Local housing authorities focus on housing issues and their dominance in terms of estate management and land ownership inhibits other local authority departments from becoming involved. Besides the mainstream interests of departments other than housing lie elsewhere. Thus, local authorities find it difficult to incorporate "new" approaches to the "new" problem that peripheral estates now present.

The previous government relied on an approach based on "privatism" which stressed the importance of local economic development in dealing with urban issues. It was hoped that the benefits of such an approach would "trickle down" to deprived neighbourhoods such as peripheral estates. The political and social exclusion of the estates by the government, if not deliberate, would appear to have been acceptable to it.

A structural analysis based on the Fordist / post-Fordist dichotomy could be used to reinforce that point. Peripheral estates, it could be suggested, now fulfil the function of housing a social layer that is excluded from the labour market. The social polarisation on peripheral estates reflects the polarisation of the labour market in post-Fordist society.[58]

Lack of concern is reinforced by the isolation and segregation of peripheral estates. Nobody ever goes to peripheral estates unless they live there. "For them (ministers and decision makers) outer estates are areas you drive past on arterial roads on the way home to the suburbs or the dormitory village" (Chairman of the Nottingham Housing Committee).[59]

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[57] opcit. Thake S. and Staubach R. (1993). p. 20.

[58] Hoggett P. (1994). The Politics of the Modernisation of the UK Welfare System; chap. in Burrows R. and Loader B. Eds. Towards a Post-Fordist Welfare State? Longman, London.

[59] op.cit. Chapman G. (1994).

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In response to increasing problems government policy shifted somewhat. In Scotland the 1988 White Paper "New Life for Urban Scotland"[60] focused on the problems of Scotland's peripheral estates. In England and Wales there has been no specific response by the government but City Challenge and the Single Regeneration Budget demonstrate that perspectives on area based multiple deprivation have expanded from an almost exclusive concern with the inner city to encompass a wider concern with poor neighbourhoods in general which has included peripheral estates. Thus, in Sunderland, for example, City Challenge and SRB funded regeneration schemes have been targeted at peripheral estates (see the case study in part III and section 12.4 in particular).

Modification of the Welfare State and the Role of Urban Policy

The regeneration agenda is determined by the need to tackle multiple deprivation and the problems associated with social exclusion. Many of these problems need to be addressed by national macro policy - for example, by a recasting of the welfare state both in terms of modifying the structure of benefits and subsidies, and by specific policy changes in such areas as education, targeted local economic development and crime prevention. The government appears to be aware of the need to make these changes as illustrated by the setting up of The Social Exclusion Unit and other policy initiatives (see the previous chapter). However, it is not so certain whether the government has realised the full implications for urban policy.

The emergence of spatially based poverty and multiple deprivation suggest changes to urban policy. The role of urban policy is to focus on local initiatives, the co-ordination of delivery of macro policy at the neighbourhood level, and the refinement and improvement of local service delivery. It is because of these considerations that urban policy has had a strong emphasis on intervention on a small area basis. "Focusing on small areas has been a remarkably tenacious component of urban and economic development issues for much of this century" (Fordham).[61]

Any change in policy would have lessons for the regeneration of all poor areas and neighbourhoods whether located in inner city or peripheral housing estates or, for that matter, in declining urban fringe areas such as the former coalfield areas. But any policy initiative would need to be sensitive to the particular circumstances to be found

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[60] Scottish Office (1988). New Life for Urban Scotland. White Paper. Edinburgh, Scottish Office.
[61] Fordham G. (1995). Made to last. Creating sustainable neighbourhood and estate regeneration. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation. p. 6.

on peripheral estates - their isolation, the dominance of housing as a land use and its corollary - the dominance of local housing authorities as land owners and housing managers.

Lessons will need to be learned from previous urban policy initiatives and from the short-comings of conventional service delivery. Practice is notable for a record of repeated policy failure - and equally by the inability of the traditional uni-functional pattern of service delivery to adequately meet the needs of those living on peripheral estates.

A Change in Approach?

The climate is conducive to a new policy initiative. New Labour has shown concern about poverty and social exclusion and a willingness to give these issues policy priority. The problems are sufficiently intense to warrant a high profile urban policy initiative whether that is based on pragmatism or a desire for social justice. Two broad issues now arise. First, how helpful would an area based approach be? And second, on what principles should it be based? Given the failure and shortcomings of previous approaches should any new initiative be based on communitarian principles as outlined in chapter three?

5. ISSUES, SERVICES and PRACTICE

5.1. Introduction

The increasing incidence of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion on peripheral estates indicates a failure to maintain stable working class communities in peripheral or suburban locations. More specifically the adverse circumstances indicate a failure of the public sector to tackle the problems on peripheral estates and to provide services which fulfil the needs of those living on them. As Stewart and Taylor have pointed out - "there is a long history of the failure of employment and welfare services to meet adequately the needs of residents of estates with high unemployment and poverty".[1] This failure represents the failure of welfare services based on professionalised agencies and departments of local government all operating on the basis of universality and on a "strong and almost universal assumption of self-sufficiency".[2]

The principle of universality has been breached since the late 1960s by a series of area based discriminatory initiatives which have been targeted principally at inner city areas but not entirely so, particularly in Scotland (section 3.5). Changes were also made to services on a nation-wide basis in the 1980s when the government adopted entrepreneurial or privatism principles to service provision. Internal markets were applied to public sector provision, attempts were made to increase the sensitivity of service provision to consumer preferences, and a plurality of providers replaced monopoly provision. Further changes in approach have been made in the post-Thatcher period - "modified privatism" as the approach was referred to in chapter 3 - when stress was given to tackling multiple deprivation on an integrated basis.

Despite these changes in mainstream provision and a series of one-off initiatives poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion are widespread on peripheral estates (sections 4.2 and 4.4). This chapter critically examines why there has been a failure to tackle these problems and considers those features of practice that may result in effective action.

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[1] Stewart M., and Taylor M. (1995). Empowerment and Estate Regeneration. Bristol, Policy Press. p. 34.
[2] Davis H. (1996). The Fragmentation of Community Government; chapter in Leach S., Davis H., and Associates. Enabling or Disabling Local Government. Choices for the Future. Buckingham, Open University Press. p. 10.

5.2. Economic Development and Training

Introduction

High levels of unemployment are a feature of peripheral estates. The two studies by Power and Tunstall[3] (section 4.4) indicate a concentration of unemployment on council estates. In particular, the second study[4] stresses the significance of long term youth unemployment and its destructive consequences for social cohesion on the estates.

Local Economic Development Policy

Local economic development has focused on both the demand and supply sides of local economies. Efforts have been made to encourage inward investment and help existing businesses. At the same time action has been taken to improve the supply of premises, land and labour. Local economic development can also be described as having both a "macro" component - policies designed to improve the demand side of local labour markets generally - and "micro" policies which focus on job creation in specific localised areas of high unemployment.

The designation of Urban Development Corporations and Enterprise Zones, and the use of Selective Regional Assistance supplemented by promotion, marketing and land assembly activity epitomise the macro approach. The evidence is that the benefits of such actions, although creating jobs and improving degraded industrial environments, have not filtered down to those most disadvantaged in the labour market.

In addition to the local economic development activity described above the government has encouraged smaller scale schemes and projects - advice and support for small businesses, managed workspace schemes, co-operatives and community businesses - which have been targeted at areas of high unemployment and at those who are most disadvantaged in the labour market.[5] There has also been a wide range of activities of an economic nature in which other objectives such as the improvement

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[3] The references are - (i) Power A. and Tunstall R. (1995). <u>Swimming against the tide. Polarisation or progress on 20 unpopular council estates 1980-1995</u>. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation; and (ii) Power A., and Tunstall R. (1997). <u>Dangerous disorder. Riots and violent disturbances in 13 areas of Britain, 1991-92.</u>. York, York Publishing Services.

[4] Power A., and Tunstall R. (1997). <u>Dangerous Disorder. Riots and violent disturbances in 13 areas of Britain, 1991-92</u>. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

[5] Turok I., and Wannop U. (1990). <u>Targeting Urban Employment Initiatives</u>. DoE Inner Cities Directorate. London, HMSO.

of local services; the need to recycle and retain the existing money and income that comes into an estate; or the wish to support the informal economy, have been more important than notions of profitability and commercial viability. These wider objectives have stimulated a whole plethora of different schemes - for example, furniture and clothes recycling projects, food co-operatives, Credit Unions, communal allotment schemes, community launderettes, and so on.

The experience with such initiatives is problematic. A number of studies highlight that although such projects target the most disadvantaged effectively there are high failure rates and projects have a tendency to collapse often after a relatively short time.[6] There have, in fact, been some well documented failures. For example, Mc.Arthur has analysed the failure of the Barrowfield Community Business in Glasgow after a promising start. He suggests that quite apart from the intrinsic difficulties associated with establishing a business in a disadvantaged area where conventional private enterprise would not venture, that there were specific lessons to be learned - namely, that community businesses require good quality management, clearly focused support from a specialist development agency, and strategic support and advocacy from local government.[7]

Training

At present the principal responsibility for the provision of training in urban areas rests with the Training and Enterprise Councils. The TECs have a restricted remit and work under increasingly tight financial constraints. They are not geared to helping the most disadvantaged because "they are relatively costly to train and because they tend to under-perform on crudely defined output measures" .[8]

The failure of the TECs to ensure that adequate training is provided is recognised by the unemployed themselves. Wilkinson's investigation into youth drop out rates on two peripheral estates (Ford and Pennywell) in Sunderland found that training

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[6] For general evaluations see (i) Donnison et.al. (1991). Urban poverty, the economy and public policy. Dublin, Combat Poverty Agency. Chap. 3; (ii) Lawless and Ramsden P. (1992). Managed Workspaces: Aspects of Evaluation. Local Government Studies. Vol. 18. No. 1; and (iii) McGregor A., and McArthur A. (1993). An Evaluation of Community Business In Scotland. Edinburgh, Scottish Office..

[7] Mc.Arthur A. (1993). Community Partnership - A Formula for Neighbourhood Regeneration in the 1990s? Community Development Journal. Vol. 28. No. 4. pp. 305-315.

[8] Peck J. and Emmerich M. (1993). Training and Enterprise Councils: Time for Change. Local Economy. Vol.18. No.1.

programmes had "an ethos of negativity".[9] Young people were ignorant of what was available, displayed dissatisfaction with the quality of training provided, thought it was irrelevant to their aspirations, was "slave labour", and there was no real prospect of "proper" jobs at the end. There is no reason to question this perspective based on the views of the unemployed themselves.

Integrated Approaches

The failure of local economic development and training initiatives to reach the unemployed on peripheral estates is a consequence of not perceiving localised unemployment as a multi-faceted problem. Unemployment is connected with a lack of basic educational, communication and work oriented skills; an inability on the part of the unemployed to adapt to new work opportunities; an inadequate provision of child care; and a variety of attitude problems both by the unemployed and potential employers. If progress is to be made in resolving the unemployment problem the lack of self-confidence, motivation and poor self-esteem of the unemployed which inhibits the capacity to access available jobs needs to be overcome.[10]

The multi-faceted nature of the unemployment problem together with the unconducive environment for estate based job creation on peripheral estates suggests that a flexible and varied approach is required with an emphasis on linking the unemployed to jobs outside the estates rather than bringing jobs into the area. The evidence is that a mixture of approaches including customised training, pre-employment training, employment counselling, and support and training during the early stages of employment are essential if jobs are to be accessed.

For example, Hayton reviewed 14 such projects, which include some of these components for the Department of the Environment in 1990. He found that the schemes taken as a whole were a success. Between 34% and 94% of the participants subsequently went into jobs or further education or training. In addition he noted the low costs of the schemes which varied between £150 and £4,000 per positive outcome.[11]

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[9] Wilkinson C. (1995). The Drop Out Society. Leicester, Youth Work Press. p.66.
[10] Campbell M. (1993). Local Policies to Beat Long Term Unemployment. Local Government Studies. Vol. 19. No. 4.
[11] Hayton K. (1990). Getting People into Jobs - Case Studies of Good Practice in Urban Regeneration. Report prepared for the Department of the Environment. London, HMSO.

A specific development of an integrated approach is the initiatives that combine employment and training with the provision of community based services in deprived neighbourhoods. The Wise Group in Glasgow has pioneered an intermediate labour market initiative in Glasgow and Newham which involves local unemployed people in environmental improvement and house insulation programmes. An evaluation of the initiative found that the cost per job (£14,000) created was relatively low and that 67% of former trainees subsequently found jobs.[12]

The key issue that arises, as it does with all such approaches, is the need to achieve partnership. In the case of training and employment initiatives between the Employment Service, the Training and Enterprise Councils, the local authority, the Careers Service, and community and voluntary organisations.[13] The government's Welfare to Work Programme with its emphasis on linking counselling, employment and training in a variety of settings over a period raises the same issues.[14]

Overview

The unemployment problem on peripheral estates has a local dimension which suggests that a localised approach which makes use of local facilities thereby encouraging participation by those lacking confidence in programmes that reflect their particular needs is essential. An integrated and local approach therefore requires a small area approach to partnership and a willingness for the agencies involved to work together on a flexible basis in partnership.

Training and unemployment are not single issues. Wilkinson found that those who had a negative attitude towards training may well have had a problematic family background and previously displayed negative attitudes towards schooling - "disruption in one area is often associated with disruption in another area".[15] Training and employment initiatives, therefore, need to be an integral part of a holistic approach to estate regeneration.

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[12] Mc.Gregor A. et.al. (1997). Bridging the Gap: An evaluation of the Wise Group and the intermediate labour market. York, York Publishing Services/Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
[13] Department of the Environment (1996a). Ways into Work. Volume 1. Report prepared by EDAW and the Planning Exchange. London, DoE.
[14] For a brief description of the Welfare to Work Programme see - Department for Education and Employment (1997). The New Deal. Briefing Note. London, DfEE.
[15] op.cit. Wilkinson C. (1995). p.66.

5.3. Crime and Crime Prevention

Introduction

The incidence of crime has a marked spatial dimension. Crime is concentrated in inner urban areas and on large public sector housing estates. On high crime estates one in five households is a victim of burglary each year and one in ten households contain a victim of crime each year. Unskilled workers are twice as likely to be a victim of crime as professional workers.[16]

A fear of crime is associated with high crime areas also and this presents problems in its own right principally because fear leads to "avoidance behaviour" - "fear of crime causes those who can to move away from what are seen as crime prone areas and those who cannot to retreat into their own homes".[17] Criminologists have stressed that the process of "withdrawal" from community life which is a characteristic of high crime areas further adds to a possible downward spiral of unpopularity, stigmatisation and what has been described as "neighbourhood deterioration".[18]

Clear evidence that peripheral estates are particularly high crime areas is that of the 13 areas that experienced serious urban disturbances in the summers of 1991 and 1992 nine were peripheral estates in places as diverse North Tyneside, Carlisle, Stockton, and Huddersfield.[19] These estates were not the inner city areas that had experience of rioting in the 1980s.

> "None of these estates were in the cosmopolitan inner cities. None conformed to the germinal "design causes crime" texts: Oscar Newman's *Defensible Space*, and Alice Coleman's English adaptation, *Utopia on Trial*. These places did not display the aggressive architecture of towers and decks that gave public housing a bad name. These estates were proto-typically suburban" (Beatrix Campbell).[20]

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[16] National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders. (1989). Crime Prevention and Community safety - a practical guide for local authorities. London, NACRO.

[17] ibid. p.2.

[18] Hope T. and Shaw M. (eds.) (1988). Communities and Crime Reduction. Home Office Research and Planning Unit. London, HMSO.

[19] Ford R. (1992). Police query media role in street violence. The Times. 24 July.

[20] Campbell B. (1993). Reflections on the Riots. Northern Economic Review. Spring. No.20.

The Causes of Crime

A series of studies have indicated that crime has multiple causes.[21] Among the causes can be included poor parenting, disturbed family backgrounds, a family history of criminality, and peer group pressure. Most importantly, crime can be related to the growth in unemployment, poverty and the incidence of social exclusion. Not surprisingly, therefore, sole reliance cannot be placed on the criminal justice system as a response to these problems particularly as traditional law enforcement is hampered by intimidation and an unwillingness to report crime.

Crime has increased; only 4% of reported crime results in a conviction or caution; and besides much of the disturbing behaviour on council estates involves comparatively young children, family based abuse and violence, neighbour disputes, and anti-social behaviour generally, all of which are by and large not strictly criminal and with which the criminal justice system is ill equipped to cope.[22]

Approaches to Crime Prevention

There have been a number of approaches to tackling crime in high crime areas.[23] The police have targeted some high crime areas where there has been an effort to increase patrols and improve response times to reported incidents. The police have also, together with local authorities, targeted schemes aimed at reducing the opportunities for crime. For example, the Kirkholt scheme in Rochdale in the late 1980s focused on security measures to houses which had already been burgled and were, therefore, liable to experience "repeat victimisation" - a distinct feature of crime on council estates. The Kirkholt project led to an 80% reduction in burglaries which it is claimed had been sustained over a subsequent 18 month period.[24]

Coleman has made specific suggestions for "designing out crime" based on the concept of "defensible space".[25] Although her research and ideas on crime prevention are more applicable to high rise inner city housing schemes, the notion of "defensible space" has been incorporated into some regeneration schemes on peripheral estates

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[21] For a succinct summary of the research see - op.cit. Power A. and Tunstall R. (1997). Chap. 4.

[22] See Loveday B. (1994). The Competing Role of Central and Local Agencies in Crime Prevention Strategies. Local Government Studies. Vol.2. No.3. for a general review of the problem.

[23] A comprehensive summary of the various initiatives is to be found in Department of the Environment/Safer Neighbourhoods Unit (1993). Crime Prevention on Council Estates. London, HMSO.

[24] Bottoms A. (1990). Crime Prevention in the 1990s. Policing and Society. Vol. 1. pp. 3-22.

[25] Coleman A. (1988). Utopia on Trial. London, Shipman.

including, notably, the Stockbridge Village estate, formerly Cantril Farm (section 3.6) in Knowsley which has a layout based on Radburn principles.

There have been a number of estate based local housing management initiatives - principally those promoted under the aegis of the Priority Estates Project since 1979 (section 3.6). These have concentrated on intense housing management but have been supported by improved service delivery generally including beat policing. In the late 1970s and early 1980s NACRO led a number of estate based schemes (section 3.6) - notably the Cunningham Road Anti-Vandalism Project in 1976 on a small peripheral estate in Widnes - which consisted of a package of house modernisation, home security, environmental improvements and community activities. The underlying belief was that "crime reductions (would) flow from the injection of structure and communality into run down estates".[26]

Certainly some schemes have resulted in reductions in burglary and anti-social behaviour for a time anyway. The assessment by the DoE/Safer Neighbourhoods Unit of crime prevention activity on council estates[27] was unable to come to any firm conclusions about the various schemes but it was felt that those schemes which were broadly based and did not rely on traditional policing methods alone were more likely to have had a favourable outcome.

"Community Safety"

For some time now it has been conventional wisdom that a multi-objective multi-agency approach should be adopted towards crime prevention. The expression "community safety" being used rather than "crime prevention" to emphasise that it was not simply a matter for the police alone. The approach is comprehensive in its content. Crime prevention is taken to include a mix of security measures, design modifications, diversionary activity for children and young people, and improved housing management. The approach also is supportive of a wide range of actions to support families, to improve training and to reduce unemployment.

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[26] Rock P. (1988). Crime reduction initiatives on problem estates, p.106, in op.cit. Hope T. and Shaw M. (eds.)

[27] op.cit. Department of the Environment/Safer Neighbourhoods Unit (1993).

Research from America suggests that the concept of community safety should be further widened.[28] American experience highlights the importance of programmes for family support and pre-school nursery education in helping to reduce delinquency. The research stresses "the pivotal importance of multi-disciplinary working between agencies in the field"[29] in the delivery of multi-faceted community based programmes.

However, progress towards adopting an approach based on these principles has been slow if not non-existent. A report of the Home Office Standing Conference on Crime Prevention ("The Morgan Report") in 1991 was most critical. It noted the ad hoc and uncoordinated approach to crime prevention and criticised the confusion caused by the plethora of central government funded initiatives, the lack of long-term resources, and summed up the lack of progress in a telling phrase - "the case for the partnership approach stands virtually unchallenged but hardly tested".[30]

A crucial difficulty is that crime prevention falls through the bureaucratic net. A National Audit Office Report suggested that the police failed to develop crime prevention strategies because they were perceived to be of low status because the police have traditionally focused on law enforcement.[31] But the police are not unique. The Morgan Report summed up the situation as follows - "At present crime prevention is a peripheral concern for all the agencies involved and a truly core activity for none of them". [32] A clear case emerges for a multi-faceted and multi-agency approach to crime prevention which overcomes "bureaucratic" problems.

Overview

With the increase in criminality, which has been concentrated on council estates including peripheral estates, crime prevention has become a key issue. It has become important to adopt preventative strategies because of the proven shortcomings of conventional law enforcement measures.

Criminality is related to a host of other problems - unemployment, poverty, housing and layout design, the lack of recreational and leisure facilities, family breakdown and

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[28] Utting D (1996). Tough on the Causes of Crime? Social Bonding and Delinquency Prevention; chap. in Kraemer S., and Roberts J. (eds.). The Politics of Attachment. Towards a Secure Society. London, Free Association Books.
[29] ibid. p. 83.
[30] ibid. para. 3.4.
[31] op.cit. Loveday B. (1994).
[32] Home Office (1991). Safer Communities. The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention through the Partnership Approach. Home Office Standing Conference on Crime Prevention. London, Home Office.

so on. An inter-related problem indicates that a holistic approach which tackles all the key issues as part of an integrated strategy is required if criminality is to be reduced.

A multi-faceted approach requires inter-agency and partnership working for its implementation and in order for this to be achieved considerable obstacles have to be overcome. Crime prevention is new on the policy agenda and it is not of paramount importance to any one agency. At present crime prevention tends to be viewed as a necessary means to the achievement of other, and more important, agency goals. For example, housing professionals become concerned about vandalism when it threatens to utterly destroy an entire housing area. Many of the components of a crime prevention strategy will be innovative and unfamiliar to mainstream agencies.

In addition to an inter-agency approach and partnership working there needs to be a firm input from the community. A report prepared jointly by the Institute of Housing and Royal Institute of British Architects on the establishment of a tenant co-operative in Glasgow which resulted in a marked reduction in crime came to the conclusion that -

> "When there is a strong community commitment to improve an area, crime can be reduced rapidly. The resources and support that the local authority and others have provided are essential, but only the community itself could have involved the local criminal fraternity to the extent that they desist from their activities within the community area." [33]

5.4. Housing Management

Introduction

Housing management is the most important single function carried out by local authorities on council estates. Even where a substantial number of houses have been sold the majority of those living on peripheral estates remain council tenants and are, therefore, affected by the quality of housing management.

The delivery of housing management has been criticised by central government and by others not simply as part of an overall critique of the role played by local housing authorities but quite specifically for being inefficient, bureaucratic, paternalistic, and for not allowing tenants an adequate say in their housing. For example, a report by the

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[33] Institute of Housing and the Royal Institute of British Architects (1989). Safety and Security in Housing Design - A Guide for Action; quoted in op.cit. Department of the Environment/Safer Neighbourhoods Unit (1988). p.62.

Audit Commission in 1986 contained a typically critical comment that "the standard of housing management gives cause for concern in a number of authorities where money is being spent on growing bureaucracy, rather than on better services for tenants."[34]

However valid this type of criticism may have been local authorities have been under considerable pressure to improve the standard of housing management as measured by a number of key "performance indicators" - rapid allocations, minimising empty properties, reducing rent arrears, and containing and controlling neighbour disputes. The evidence is that performance has improved. A survey of 139 English local authorities by Maclennan in 1989 found that local authorities performed well, that tenants were satisfied, and came to the conclusion that there was "something less than a crisis in social housing management".[35] The initial unpopularity of Housing Action Trusts and the failure of "tenants choice" to result in any substantial moves away from local authority management is confirmatory evidence that housing departments are reasonably popular with their tenants (see section 11.3 for an account of the aborted Sunderland HAT).[36]

Intensive Estate Based Management.

Intensive estate based management whereby all housing management functions are devolved to an estate based team has been promoted through the Priority Estates Project as a response to particularly "intractable" estates. The projects usually entail a permanent estate based office, full time estate officers working small patches, the devolution to these offices of all housing management functions including repairs, close working with tenants, and the adoption of a generic approach to housing management which one associates historically with the work of Octavia Hill.

Proponents of intensive estate based management, and Anne Power in particular, claim that such an approach to management leads to reductions in the rate of annual turnover of tenancies, the percentage of empty properties, rent arrears - in fact, improvements in all key performance indicators.[37] Although the role of intensive

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[34] Audit Commission (1986). Managing the Crisis in Council Housing. London, HMSO.
[35] Maclennan D. (1989). The Nature and Effectiveness of Housing Management in England: Summary Report and Conclusions. London, HMSO.
[36] For an account of the development of Housing Action Trusts see Karn V. (1993). Remodelling a Housing Action Trust: the implementation of the Housing Action Trust legislation in 1987-1992, in Malpass P. and Means R. (eds.). Implementing Housing Policy Buckingham, Open University Press.
[37] Power A. (1987). Property before People - The Management of Twentieth Century Housing. London, Unwin and Allen.

estate based management is probably proven for particularly vulnerable estates the cost of this approach - Tunstall and Power calculate that an additional *overt* 21% management cost is involved - makes a general application of it impracticable.[38]

But the real shortcoming of estate based management is that it is a housing management approach led by housing professionals. It does not address the problems of unemployment, poverty, criminality, poor health, family change, lone parenthood or any of the other problems caused by the residualisation of local authority housing stock and which lead to social exclusion. Proponents of the approach themselves accept that - "local housing management is only a small beginning to a much larger process that will be essential in the survival of estates under threat of disintegration at the extreme edges of society".[39]

Unlike some inner city estates housing management problems on peripheral estates are usually confined to particular types or groups of housing (section 4.5). Therefore intensive estate based management as defined by the Priority Estates Project cannot be viewed as playing an important role in the overall regeneration of peripheral estates.

Tenant Involvement

The government has been pushing for tenants to have a greater role in housing management. Stipulations that local housing authorities must consult their tenants have been included in more than one Housing Act. The funding regime for Estate Action and, now, the Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund requires tenant involvement as a precondition for funding for estate improvement schemes.

In response practice has changed. A review of tenant involvement in management found that local housing authorities tend to consult in order to secure funding and to legitimise their intended actions - for example, local authorities consult carefully when carrying out house modernisation schemes.[40] Most large local housing authorities have appointed Tenant Liaison Officers in order to achieve a localised tenant sensitive service. But little has been done by housing departments to support independent tenant organisations.[41] Progress up the Sherry Arnstein ladder of

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[38] op.cit. Power A. and Tunstall R. (1995).
[39] ibid.
[40] Institute of Housing/Tenant Participation Advisory Service (1989)). Tenant Participation in Housing Management. London, Institute of Housing Publications.
[41] This statement applies in *general* terms to England and Wales. There are certainly exceptions particularly in Scotland.

participation[42] has been restricted to "information" and "consultation"; what might be described as "a public relations approach" has been adopted.[43]

Local Housing Authorities have been resistant for a number of reasons. Moves towards empowering tenants are expensive and labour intensive, require changes in professional attitudes, and encounter resistance from local councillors who see their role as being democratically elected representatives who are there to "look after their own". But tenants are no more enthusiastic. Estate Management Boards entail taking on onerous responsibilities and have not taken off. Whole conurbations are without a tenant management organisation.[44] Tenants prefer to be independent and critical.

Overview

In general local housing authorities, certainly the larger ones such as Sunderland, deliver an efficient management service.[45] Although intensive housing management has a role to play on those peripheral estates that have pockets of unpopular housing the principal lessons of the Priority Estates Project approach to regeneration is that housing led initiatives are unlikely to result in sustainable regeneration because the departmental and professional hold prevents genuine inter-disciplinarity and multi-agency working.

The real issue that emerges for local housing authorities is not *directly* concerned with housing management. It is how they can work in an inter-agency manner with others to respond to the problems created by residualisation and social exclusion. For example, anti-social behaviour and vandalism have an *indirect* effect on the housing management function both tangibly in terms of escalating costs and somewhat more intangibly by reducing the popularity of estates and thus reinforcing processes of residualisation.

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[42] Arnstein S. (1969). A ladder of participation in the USA. Journal of the American Institute of Planners. July.

[43] See Taylor M. (1995). Unleashing the potential. Bringing residents to the centre of regeneration. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, chap.5. Reference is made to an updated version of Arnstein's ladder of participation - Wilcox D. (1994). The Guide to Effective Participation. Brighton, Partnership Books.

[44] Smith J. (1992). Community Development and Tenant Action. London, The National Coalition of Neighbourhoods/Community Development Foundation.

[45] This is one of the more important findings to emerge from the Sunderland Case Study (part III). See section 12.3.

5.5. Services

Introduction

Residents on peripheral estates are dependent on a wide range of services that have traditionally been provided by public sector agencies operating on a large scale. Most, but not all, services have been provided by local authorities which apart from their housing management function provide important services including education, social services, and youth and leisure services. Minor roles, almost residual in nature, have been played by the voluntary and community based sector and by the private sector.

This degree of dominance is increasingly questionable as the public sector comes under increasing financial and legislative pressure which inhibits its capacity to react to the increasing scale and complexity of the problems on peripheral estates. Changing circumstances demand a re-examination of the public sector as an all embracing provider of services based on a uni-functional delivery pattern.

Education

The strengths and shortcomings of the schools serving peripheral estates are a reflection of the strengths and weaknesses of mainstream education provision and have features in common with schools serving poorer neighbourhoods generally. Schools are characterised by good relations between pupils and teachers, by orderly behaviour, and provide a positive and supportive atmosphere. The evaluation of inner city schools conducted for the Inner City Task Force, for example, noted that inner city schools had these characteristics.[46]

The problem is that mainstream provision neglects the needs of children from disadvantaged backgrounds. Schools serving peripheral estates have intakes which contain a large number of children from disadvantaged backgrounds where there is a prevalence of poverty and low parenting skills. Thus the schools are also characterised by under achievement, low employability of school-leavers, and extensive truancy. Educational achievement is, therefore, not only dependent on the quality of formal classroom activity but on effective remedial action to help children overcome their disadvantages.

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[46] Department of the Environment (1996b). Raising Educational Attainment. Lessons from Inner City Task Force Experience. Good Practice Guide 2. London, DoE.

Schemes to improve social skills, levels of literacy, combat bullying, and which provide additional family support are thus a crucial adjunct to formal educational provision. Time limited programmes such as the one provided by the Grants for Educational Support and Training (GEST) funding regime can give rise to small scale but really worthwhile projects which have aimed to overcome educational disadvantage. Both the local authority education and social service departments have been able to build up some experience of innovative and compensatory practice albeit on a somewhat precarious basis.

The possibilities for innovation have been enhanced by the introduction of local management of schools in 1988 which gave considerable impetus for schools "to go community".[47] Governors, with power, are drawn from parents and from the local neighbourhood. Often they are active elsewhere in the community and they are inclined towards the use of schools as a base for helping children outside school hours, giving support to mothers and young children, and as a resource base to provide confidence building, education and pre-employment training activities for parents.

If schools and local education authorities are to develop discriminatory programmes not only will funding be required but a suitable enabling framework will be needed which will encourage innovation and the linking of these programmes with crime prevention, child care and other local initiatives.

Social and Family Services

The prevalence of extensive social problems on peripheral estates dictates a pronounced presence by social workers. Local authority social services departments have concentrated on crisis oriented case-work dictated, increasingly, by statute, despite being urged to adopt an additional community based dimension to their work. The 1968 Seebohm Report, and particularly the Barclay Report of 1982, advocated preventative social work whereby social workers would work more closely with voluntary groups to prevent family breakdown and child abuse.[48]

For a number of reasons Social Services Departments have been reluctant to move in this direction. The concern with child abuse since the 1980s, and the cutbacks in

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[47] For a discussion on the community use of schools see Atkinson D. (1994). The Common Sense of Community. Demos Paper No.11. London, Demos.

[48] An account of the history of community based social work is to be found in Holman B. (1988). Putting Families First. Prevention and Child Abuse. London, Macmillan Education.

public expenditure - "the pressure of work" - have been cited as reasons for not adopting a wider approach. Perhaps the most formidable obstacles have been created by professionalised departments which have adopted an elitist attitude towards their "clients" thus inhibiting community based work on a more equal footing.

The cornerstone of community based social work are family centres providing a flexible variety of provision including day care for the under five's, drop-in facilities for parents and toy libraries. Holman has cited his experience in Easterhouse in Glasgow as demonstrating the advantages of family centres run by the voluntary community based sector.[49] Family centres can be run both by the voluntary sector and by the statutory sector but local authority run centres have been undergoing change. Rather than perform an "open" neighbourhood function they are increasingly becoming client-focused with the emphasis on "need" because of increased pressures of demand at a time when resources are restricted. Thus family centres are becoming stigmatised and loosing the vitality that results from community participation.

The case for community based social work is a strong one and its adoption on a wider scale would benefit residents on peripheral estates. The general failure of local authorities to extend their social services provision to include community based preventative work strengthens the case for such provision to be made by the voluntary sector. The voluntary sector and the statutory sector would need to work in partnership to provide a comprehensive range of social work activity and so be able to take advantage of the relative strengths of each.

Health

There is considerable evidence of a direct relationship between poor health, and unemployment and poverty.[50] In fact, the majority of diseases, injuries and causes of premature death are strongly associated with the incidence of social deprivation. As social deprivation is spatially concentrated it is to be expected, and is in fact the case, that poor neighbourhoods such as peripheral estates have a poor health record. Poor areas are also areas which have high levels of cancer, suicide, accidents and heart disease. A review of these inequalities was the subject of the Black Report in 1980.[51] There is much evidence of these inequalities including Phillimore and

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[49] Holman B. (1997). FARE Dealings. London, Community Development Foundation.
[50] Wilson S., and Walker G. (1993). Unemployment and Health: A Review. Public Health. Vol. 107. pp. 153-162.
[51] For a helpful account of health problems from an urban policy perspective see - Blackman T. (1995). Urban Policy in Practice. London, Routledge. Chap. 10. The reference of the Black Report is -

Beattie's study of health patterns in the North of England which shows that a positive correlation exists on a ward by ward basis between the incidence of multiple deprivation and poor health records.[52]

The curative medical treatment model pursued by the National Health Service has been unable to reduce the incidence of diseases that present a growing problem, involve increasing cost, are largely preventable, and are a source of growing inequality. The response to inequalities in health has been to advocate improved primary health care and to encourage health promotion. The Black Report advocated a holistic approach to the problem and the government emphasised disease prevention and health promotion in its 1992 White Paper entitled "The Health of the Nation".[53]

To achieve progress there is a need for "effective community action in the setting of priorities, making decisions, planning strategies and implementing them to achieve better health" (Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion).[54] Primary health care facilities are needed which would provide a wide range of preventative health care in addition to conventional health care. Such facilities could provide the location for a range of other community based services on the basis of partnership including a strong in-put from the community in all aspects of primary care.

In practice little has been achieved. Interdisciplinary community based projects have been far and few. The action taken has been grossly inadequate given the scale of the problem and the amounts of money being spent by the National Health Service on conventional treatment in hospitals and by general practitioners. A redirection in practice is hampered by the dominant tradition of clinical intervention by medical practitioners. There needs to be a shift in approach which, as Calman has suggested, must be a component of a multi-faceted and targeted attack on poverty, inequalities in education, and on unemployment.[55]

Department of Health and Social Security (1980). Inequalities in Health. Report of a research working group chaired by Sir Douglas Black. London, DHSS.

[52] Phillimore P., and Beattie A. (1994). Health and Inequality in the Northern Region. Department of Social Policy. University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

[53] Department of Health (1992). Health of the Nation. White Paper. London, HMSO,

[54] World Health Organisation (1986). Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion. Ottawa, Canadian Public Health Association; quoted in Davies J., and Kelly M. (eds.) (1993). Healthy Cities - research and Practice. London, Sage.

[55] Calman K. (1997). Equity, poverty and health for all. British Medical Journal. Vol. 314. pp. 1187-91.

Overview

Local authorities and other public sector agencies such as the National Health Service and the police, although running efficient and much needed mainstream services, are proving themselves unable, for a number of reasons, to adopt new approaches to the multiple problems of deprived areas. Innovations in practice only occur where effective inter-agency working has been achieved or where the community based voluntary sector has been able to make a contribution. The failure to promote change is not because there is a lack of ideas about what is needed but because no effective enabling framework exists at present which could assist in bringing about changes in practice.

5.6. Conclusion

The Shortcomings of the Welfare Approach

Those living on peripheral estates are dependent on mainstream services organised, of necessity, by public sector bureaucracies operating on a large scale. These services are run efficiently, are much needed, and make an invaluable contribution to the quality of life for those living on the estates. But the real problem is not about mainstream service provision, as such, but about the fact that the public sector bureaucracies have been unable to react and to modify and adapt their activities to cope with the problems that have arisen from the increasing incidence of multiple deprivation and social exclusion.

The failure to respond effectively is demonstrated by the number of examples of repeated policy failure - the failure to deal with high profile problems on problem estates despite repeated efforts to do so. The estates, for example, on which serious disturbances occurred in 1991 and 1992 are indicative of the failure.[56] Intervention has been costly and ineffective. The welfare approach to problems is to throw money at the problem and that is shown, quite demonstrably, not to work.

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[56] op.cit. Power A., and Tunstall R. (1997).

Multi-agency Working and Partnership

The failure to tackle multiple deprivation and social exclusion raises fundamental issues about service delivery. Significant changes will need to occur if public sector agencies are to work together and with the voluntary and community based sector at local and neighbourhood level. Public sector agencies will need to continue to operate on a uni-functional professionalised and bureaucratic basis to provide services but at the same time there is an imperative need to adapt so that a crucial additional and innovative element based on multi-agency working can be provided as an essential complement to mainstream provision.

Changes in urban governance through the 1980s (section 3.7) may well prove to be helpful. Rigid line management structures and monopolistic working methods within the public sector have been modified as a consequence of such changes as the decentralisation of housing management, the devolution of power to individual schools, and the creation of plurality of provision in community care and social services. In the process networks of field workers and community activists have been, if not created, certainly strengthened.

Local networks have the potential to form the basis of local partnerships which could help achieve multi-agency working at the local level. With hindsight the preoccupation of central government with co-ordinating the existing pattern of largely uni-functional departments in both Whitehall and in the town halls now appears to have been somewhat misplaced. The crucial issue continues to be concerned with the achievement of a co-ordinated, innovative and preventative approach at the local neighbourhood level.

The Community Dimension

There is a clear case for community involvement both in the delivery of services by public sector agencies and in devising and managing services under community based ownership within the community based and voluntary sector. Commentators such as Donnison[57], Atkinson[58] and Holman[59] among others have stressed the contribution that can be made by the community in providing services of an innovative and preventative nature which fill gaps and respond to inadequacies in current provision.

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[57] Donnison D. (1989). Social Policy and the Community; in Bulmer M. et.al.(eds.) The Goals of Social Policy. London, Unwin, Hyman.
[58] op.cit. Atkinson D. (1994).
[59] op.cit. Holman B. (1994).

Such projects are seen as helping to overcome the limitations and often narrow focus of statutory services and welfare provision. Official reports and documents reflect the same sentiments and examples from practice, if somewhat patchy, reinforce the message.

Community involvement is especially important in poor areas such as peripheral estates where additional services are needed that are not restricted in their scope and mode of operation by the traditions of departmentalism and compartmentalism that one associates with the public sector. This is important in a situation where many of the problems encountered are inter-related and responses, therefore, cannot be tidily pigeon-holed. Community involvement not only offers the prospect of bringing about change in the pattern of service delivery but also has advantages for those that get involved. They may gain in confidence, wish to be trained and then find permanent employment.

Furthermore, involvement not only benefits residents who feel marginalised but leads to a build up of the communities' capacity to help itself. Wilkinson in his book featuring peripheral estates in Sunderland sums up the process as follows -

> "Local people .... have great skills, and these need to be recognised and harnessed, rather than ignored and marginalised by the 'professionals'. Where local skills are used, a learning web develops, as people who are trained locally in turn train other local people. In this way solutions emerge from within the community. There is an urgent need for resources to be directed at local communities so that they can find local, and therefore effective and lasting solutions to their problems".[60]

The potential for involvement is promising if the right enabling mechanisms were to be developed. Quite apart from the potential for involvement brought about by recent changes in service delivery the population of peripheral estates has certain characteristics that could be harnessed towards effective community action. These characteristics include - a firm element of population stability reinforced by the presence of owner occupiers in houses that have been sold, kin living in the area, people working (or have worked) in the same local industries, homogeneity of social class, and a sense of geographical isolation.[61]

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[60] Wilkinson C. (1995). The Drop Out Society Leicester, National Youth Agency.
[61] See (i) Wilmott P. (1989). Community Initiatives - Patterns and Prospects. Shaftesbury, Blackmore Press. Chap.2; and (ii) Meegan R. (1989). Paradise Postponed: the Growth and Decline of Merseyside's Outer Estates; in Cooke P. (ed.) Localities: The Changing Face of Britain. London, Unwin Hyman.

A Community Based or Communitarian Approach?

Although it is accepted that conventional welfare services run on conventional lines will remain essential it has been suggested in this chapter that extensions and innovations in practice are needed. The principles underlying required changes in practice that emerge from this chapter include multi-agency working, local estate based partnership, community and voluntary sector involvement, and prevention and innovation. These principles or components can all be connected with a "community based or communitarian approach". The next chapter considers what institutional and policy changes could be made in order to bring about a change or modification in approach or paradigm towards service delivery and the regeneration of peripheral estates.

6. REGENERATION -
POLICIES and PRINCIPLES

6.1. Introduction

As discussed in chapter 4 peripheral estates are areas which tend to experience high concentrations of unemployment, poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion. If one single issue is to be highlighted it is the concentration of alienated young people - those that have been described as "a lost generation - the disenfranchised urban youth of the 1980s and the 1990s".[1] An effective regeneration strategy will need to address and tackle these issues. A strategy targeted at peripheral estates will, in practice, be delivering a response at a micro level to the problem of social exclusion which is of concern to the government in general and which underlies the government's emerging policy towards social exclusion and the launch of its Social Exclusion Unit.[2]

The previous chapter considered the changes which were required in service delivery and practice to combat social exclusion. It was suggested that there was a need to complement the mainstream provision of services with an additional and innovative element based on a multi-agency approach. It was further suggested that community involvement and participation was essential. This chapter considers the policy and institutional framework needed to facilitate, encourage, and help bring about the changes that are necessary to achieve a co-ordinated and preventative approach at the local and neighbourhood level.

6.2. The Spatial Dimension

Urban policy has had a strong emphasis on intervention on a small area basis ever since the various "experiments" of the 1970s - the Community Development Projects, the Educational Priority Areas and Housing Action Areas to name a few (section 3.5). The current SRB Challenge Fund Bidding Guidance is flexible in its approach but

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[1] Burfitt A., et.al. (1997). A New Approach to Urban Policy: An Agenda for Local Regeneration. Occasional Paper 8. School for Public Policy, University of Birmingham. p. 4.
[2] Mandelson P. (1997). Labour's Next Steps: Tackling Social Exclusion. Fabian Pamphlet 581. London, Fabian Society.

also encourages a small area approach. Thus it supports the idea of "a comprehensive strategy which is concentrated on a relatively small area"[3] which it suggests might cover one or more housing estates and contain a population of under 25,000. "Focusing on small areas has been a remarkably tenacious component of urban and economic development policies for much of this century" (Fordham).[4]

The case for a small area approach is a strong one. Perhaps the most important argument in favour is that the problems of social exclusion need to be tackled on a family and individual basis and that a small area approach is best suited to facilitate and co-ordinate the required action needed to increase confidence, to improve employment skills, to provide supportive networks and to create opportunities for social integration.[5] Another argument is that local action is absolutely necessary because external agencies, especially local government, cannot maintain a permanent commitment to any one area.[6] In fact, positive discrimination on a spatial basis runs counter to the principle of uniform provision which is one of the key precepts of the welfare approach.

In addition, as Geddes[7] has pointed out, small area approaches can take advantage of networks of community activists which exist on peripheral estates. These networks have the potential to develop into a key component of any regeneration strategy which stresses community based innovative and integrated action.

Evidence from practice also indicates the advantages to be derived from a small area approach. For example, a key lesson of the European Communities' Third Poverty Programme's area based "model" actions as exemplified by the community based initiative in Brownlow, a large peripheral estate at Craigavon in Northern Ireland, is that much can be achieved by local action based on an understanding of the specific dynamics and characteristics of poverty in a particular area.[8]

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[3] Department of the Environment (1997a). SRB Challenge Fund Round Four - Bidding Guidance. London, DoE. para. 7.
[4] Fordham G. (1995). Made to last. Creating sustainable neighbourhood and estate regeneration. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation. p. 6.
[5] Carley M. (1990). Housing and Neighbourhood Renewal. Britain's new urban challenge. London, Policy Studies Institute. Chap. 5.
[6] Thake S. (1995). Staying the Course. The role and structures of community regeneration organisations. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
[7] Geddes M. (1993). Local Strategies for Peripheral Estates: Review of Issues and Initiatives on Four estates. Research Paper 21. Local Government Centre, University of Warwick.
[8] Mc.Donough R. (1993). Brownlow Community Trust. Town and Country Planning. June.

The actual size of area which could be adopted as the basis for regeneration is open to discussion. Thake and Staubach have suggested, as a consequence of their study of poor neighbourhoods in the United Kingdom and Germany, that a population size between 8,000 and 12,000 would be appropriate. Areas of over 20,000 they suggested "frequently consist of several distinct communities (which) are too diffuse to permit the formation of effective coalitions"[9] but, on the other hand, areas with populations of less than 6,000, they continued, "are too small to support significant employment initiatives and can be socially and physically isolated".[10] The Social Justice Commission, set up by the Labour Party, came to a similar conclusion - "small and local initiatives, based on a partnership of public, private and voluntary sectors are the essential foundation of lasting empowerment"[11] and recommended a population size of 10,000 as the basis for action.

After school clubs, play provision, family centres, and crime prevention initiatives, for example, could all form part of estate regeneration strategies. Action within a strategic framework could ensure that certain projects that require a larger catchment area - intermediate labour market initiatives or educational initiatives, for example - would not form part of every estate based regeneration programme. Where territorial loyalties exist at a sub-estate level estate based programmes could be devised to take account of these very local considerations where necessary.

6.3. The Content of Regeneration

Although the emphasis has varied, regeneration since the Inner City White Paper of 1977[12] has consisted of what might be described as a twin track approach. Local economic development aimed at strengthening city and district wide economies has been supplemented by specific action targeted at areas displaying the most serious housing, economic and social problems. The failure of local economic development strategies to reach the most disadvantaged in the labour market was discussed in the previous chapter but other targeted policy initiatives, such as the Urban Programme and Estate Action, to select a couple, have hardly been more successful in this respect.

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9 Thake S., and Staubach R. (1993). Investing in People. Rescuing communities from the margin. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation. p. 41.
10 ibid.
11 Borrie G. (1994). Social Justice - strategies for national renewal. The Report of the Commission on Social Justice. London, Vintage Books. p. 310.
12 Her Majesty's Government (1977). Policy for the Inner Cities. Cmnd. 6845. London, HMSO.

Most targeted action has focused on the physical or built environment. Physical responses are viewed as being able to "quickly deliver visible results" (Hall)[13] and offer solutions to urban problems which appear "to offer direct solutions to complex problems" (Carley).[14] The majority of housing initiatives have taken place under the aegis of the Estate Action grant regime. These have failed to make any substantial or sustained impact on peripheral estates. This is partly because they have been targeted at inner city estates reflecting the inner city housing agenda (section 3.6) but a more fundamental problem was that, although the Estate Action Ministerial Guidelines were adjusted in 1985 to "develop innovatory approaches to the problems on rundown council estates"[15] Estate Action schemes reflected housing policy priorities.

Not unexpectedly, the outcome has been problematic. In general these initiatives exemplify repeated policy failure. At best the estates have remained vulnerable because the problems associated with poverty, marginalisation and exclusion have not been addressed. At worst the failure to deal with such underlying problems as criminality has had dire consequences.

The evidence of the inadequacies and often failure of urban policy or housing policy led regeneration initiatives resulted in what Burfitt et.al. describe as "a subtle change in emphasis"[16] in government policy in the later 1980s and early 1990s with the consequence that "although the policy focus is firmly on developing economic competitiveness there is now a growing awareness of the cost in both human and economic terms of social exclusion and the need to integrate our urban communities".[17] This policy shift, which was labelled "modified privatism" in section 3.5, can be interpreted as a response to the conventional wisdom that multiple deprivation requires a multiple response.[18]

The four Scottish Partnership schemes, City Challenge and, most recently, the SRB are all indicative of this change in the regeneration agenda. These initiatives aim to integrate peripheral estates into their wider labour markets and also encourage a holistic approach to regeneration. For example, the seven strategic objectives of the SRB as stated in the DoE's Bidding Guidance are intended to "enhance the overall

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[13] Hall P. (1997). Regeneration Policies for Peripheral Housing Estates: Inward- and Outward- looking approaches. Urban Studies. Vol. 34. Nos. 5/6. p. 880.

[14] op.cit. Carley M. (1990). p. 5.

[15] Department of the Environment (1989). Estate Action: Ministerial Guidelines for Local Housing Authorities. London, DoE. para. 2.

[16] op.cit. Burfitt A., et.al. (1997). p. 5.

[17] ibid.

[18] op.cit. Fordham G. (1995).

quality of life, health and capacity to contribute to regeneration of local people including the promotion of cultural and sports facilities".[19]

It is too early to assess the efficacy of the SRB but the Scottish Partnerships and City Challenge have again placed emphasis on housing and other physical improvements. Mc.Carthy writing about the Scottish Partnerships came to the conclusion that "physical achievements were not matched by corresponding social and economic improvements" and that "in particular the incidence of poverty in the partnership areas has remained high".[20]

Certainly the current holistic approach has resulted in additional targeted expenditure on mainstream service provision. The difficulty is that there has been a failure, by and large, to deliver integrated programmes which are inter-disciplinary, innovative and adopt a preventative approach essential to combat social exclusion. Thus the type of actions that typify this approach - multi-purpose health centres, intermediate labour market initiatives, community safety initiatives and so on, have remained difficult to get off the ground. The lesson is that recent funding regimes, and the current SRB is unlikely to be any different, are not delivering the required changes in practice. To achieve this will require institutional changes which aim to encourage multi-sectoral partnerships on a small area basis.

6.4. Urban Governance

Introduction

The increasing incidence of multiple deprivation and social exclusion on peripheral estates raises important issues about the governance of estates. Traditionally service delivery has been the monopoly of the public sector, particularly local government. The decline in the circumstances on the estates and the need for change in service provision to meet the newer circumstances requires a reassessment of the role of local government.

In the previous chapter a case was made for the development of innovative, preventative and integrated delivery both of services and specific projects. Such changes, it was suggested, could only be brought about if local communities were involved and participated in the planning, development and delivery of services. To

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[19] op.cit. Department of the Environment (1997a). para. 3.
[20] Mc.Carthy J. (1997). Empowerment or Exclusion. Town and Country Planning. January. p. 20.

enable this to happen changes in governance at the neighbourhood level would have to occur - "for sustainable regeneration to take place in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, substantial and independent regeneration organisations have to exist within those neighbourhoods" (Thake).[21]

Local Government

Despite the changes of the last 20 years local government remains a key player. It continues to be responsible for the delivery of a range of important services. Many commentators, including Lawless[22], Stewart[23] and Benington[24] among others, although not wishing to reverse recent changes and to return to "municipal socialism" want an enhanced and strengthened role for local government.

Local government has an assured role in the provision of mainstream services; in providing expertise, information and resources; and as a key contributor to city and district wide civic leadership and to any associated partnership arrangements. To this extent the role of local government is hardly controversial and ought to be strengthened.

The debate is about the role that local government should play in encouraging neighbourhood and community based regeneration. Some have been wanting local government's powers to be increased, for elected members to have an enhanced role in partnership with local communities, and for local authorities to adopt a community led approach.[25] However, the traditions of municipal socialism are firmly entrenched, perhaps particularly so, in the older industrial areas where many peripheral estates were built and where the Labour Party has had a virtual monopoly of power in the post-war period. Cole and Furbey[26] have suggested that associated with the tradition of municipal socialism is an inherent belief in *traditional* local government and in its capacity to deliver services for working class people. Local councillors in areas which are traditionally Labour, it is suggested, believe in the importance of their own

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[21] op.cit. Thake S. (1995). p. 1.
[22] Lawless P. (1996). The Inner Cities. Towards a new agenda. Town Planning Review. Vol. 67. No. 1.
[23] Stewart M. (1996). Urban Regeneration, in Leach S., et.al. Enabling or Disabling Local Government. Choices for the Future. Buckingham, Open University Press.
[24] Benington J. (1996). New Paradigms and Practices for Local Government: Capacity Building in Civil Society, in Kraemer S., and Roberts J. (eds.). The Politics of Attachment. Towards a Secure Society. London, Free Association Books.
[25] Nevin and Shiner have written a useful comparative review of four recent reports. The full reference is - Nevin B., and Shiner P. (1995).The Left, Urban Policy and Community Empowerment: the First Steps Towards a New Framework for Urban Regeneration. Local Economy. Vol. 10. No. 3.
[26] Cole I., and Furbey R. (1994).The Eclipse of Council Housing. London, Routledge.

representative role and in their capacity "to look after their own" - in practice respectable working class people who may have bought their council house rather than more disadvantaged residents.

Thus councillors may not be attuned to innovative service delivery based on a pluralistic approach to tackling social exclusion. Considerations of this kind may have persuaded the Commission on Social Justice,[27] for example, to "explicitly reject the Fabian notion that government is the best conduit for local preferences and aspirations".[28] The evidence suggests that attempts to reinvent local government would be futile and unnecessary, and would detract from the need to positively reinforce and focus on the roles that local government can and needs to play well.

The inadequacies of local government at the neighbourhood level have led to proposals for an additional tier of local democracy operating at the neighbourhood level. Atkinson, for example, has advocated neighbourhood councils or neighbourhood forums made up of locally elected representatives and co-optees from locally based agencies.[29] However, efforts to establish such a tier in practice - for example, neighbourhood councils in Islington or community councils in Middlesbrough - have been problematic. The clash with the existing system of representative government results in conflict and opposition from local government. An alternative approach could be to establish a power base operating parallel to local government with responsibility for the regeneration of estates and for the provision of some services but working in partnership with the local authority.

Community Based Regeneration Organisations.

There is a long tradition of self-help and mutual aid in working class areas. The Settlement Movement, for example, produced a number of community based multi-purpose organisations from the 1880s onwards. With the development of the welfare state these types of organisation lost their importance. However, more recently, perhaps because of the current shortcomings of welfare provision and the inability to deal adequately with multiple deprivation and social exclusion, there has been a resurgence, albeit on a modest scale, of community based regeneration organisations located in poorer neighbourhoods.[30]

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[27] op.cit. Borrie G. (1994).
[28] op.cit. Nevin B., and Shiner P. (1995). p. 209.
[29] Atkinson D. (1994). The Common Sense of Community. Demos Paper No. 11. London, Demos.
[30] op.cit. Thake S. (1995).

These organisations which are often called "trusts", "community development trusts", or "community regeneration organisations" although not being constrained within any one fixed model have certain features in common. The features of these independent, not-for-profit organisations are that - (i) they have multiple objectives; (ii) consist of a number of component projects; (iii) emphasise project generation; (iv) there is substantial involvement by local people; (v) the organisations are independent from local government; and (vi) they rely heavily on a "social entrepreneur".[31]

A good example is the Brownlow Community Trust[32] set up under the aegis of the European Community's Third Poverty Programme to encourage a multi-dimensional approach to the regeneration of the cluster of peripheral estates in Northern Ireland with a population of 8,500 which had formed the initial development of Craigavon New Town which was subsequently aborted. The Brownlow Community Trust conforms with the three precepts that underlie the EC's Third Poverty Programme - namely, participation by local people; partnership between the statutory sector and local people on an equal basis; and an integrated programme including education, health, social and family provision plus training and labour market initiatives.

These organisations could play a crucial role in the regeneration of estates. Bailey suggests that they encapsulate the following aspects of good practice - (i) a "bottom-up community response to need"; (ii) a "flexible innovative and action oriented approach to local issues"; and (iii) they "encourage lateral thinking and the achievement of multiple objectives".[33] Thus such agencies offer the opportunity to supplement mainstream provision by local government with the kind of services outlined and advocated in the previous chapter which are essential if the problems associated with social exclusion are to be tackled effectively.

Advocates of community based regeneration organisations, such as Thake[34], claim that these organisations can provide a permanent regeneration focus, a local base for a multiplicity of service provision, are able to access hard to reach groups and individuals who are intimidated by more conventionally structured agencies, and have

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[31] see (i) Warburton D., and Wilcox D. (1988). Creating Development Trusts: Case Studies of Good Practice in Urban Regeneration. Report prepared for the DoE. London, HMSO, and (ii) op.cit. Thake S. (1995).
[32] See (i) op.cit. Mc.Donough R. (1993) and (ii) Bailey N. (1995). Partnership Agencies in British Urban Policy. London, UCL Press. Chap. 5.
[33] op.cit. Bailey N. (1995). pp. 159-160.
[34] op.cit. Thake S. (1995).

the potential to fill the gap between local community and voluntary sector groups, and external agencies such as local government.

Thus, it is argued, community based regeneration organisations are an essential element of a sustainable regeneration strategy. Thake and Staubach have recommended 200 Community Enterprise Agencies under the umbrella of a National Community Regeneration Agency to promote community based regeneration.[35] A similar approach was recommended by the Commission on Social Justice.[36] These ideas are interesting but any model that is adopted needs to ensure that solutions and mechanisms are not imposed on local communities from above. Experts from outside tend to become "piggies in the middle" or are perceived both by local residents and by local councillors, for different reasons, as acting in a manner inimical to local interests.

It is argued, therefor, that any facilitating mechanism, therefore, needs to have a firm base within the community. Furthermore it needs to be able to facilitate the development of community based regeneration organisations in relatively large numbers if the widespread problems on peripheral estates are to be tackled. Estate based partnerships (section below) building upon the networks of field workers and community activists might be able to act in a facilitating capacity and on the scale that is required.

Overview.

Many of the changes that took place in urban governance in the 1980s reflected the then government's concern with local economic development and the need to create new mechanisms to generate jobs and restructure local economies. The agenda, however, has changed. In cities such as Sunderland, despite considerable success in economic development, job creation and land reclamation, there is a widespread and increasing incidence of multiple deprivation and social exclusion (see part III - Sunderland Case Study).

The problem of social exclusion has a strong spatial dimension. Much of it is concentrated on peripheral estates. Community regeneration organisations could make a much enhanced contribution to the promotion and adoption of a preventative, innovative and multi-dimensional approach which would undoubtedly help in tackling

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[35] op.cit. Thake S., and Staubach R. (1993).
[36] op.cit. Borrie G. (1994).

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the problems. Despite the welter of evidence and support for the idea of community based organisations the number of community regeneration organisations which are operating successfully is limited. Estate based partnerships working within a conducive strategic framework could help in setting up more of these agencies and provide a suitable setting for a sustainable presence.

However, the promotion of community regeneration organisations does not mean that there is not a vital and continuing role for local government. Apart from the need to deliver mainstream services it is suggested that local government can make an important contribution to regeneration in other ways also by working in partnership with other agencies where appropriate, by making a leading contribution in civic leadership, and by assisting in the development of regeneration strategies. Thus, although adjustments and changes are needed to take cognisance of the altered regeneration agenda, it seems that local government's role will need to continue and to be further developed.

6.5. Partnership

Introduction

The emergence of partnership as the accepted basis for the delivery of urban policy is relatively recent (section 3.5). Partnership emerged in the 1980s in order to obtain benefit from collaborative working between the public and private sectors in developing and implementing local economic development strategies.[37] More recently the concept of partnership has been extended to the delivery of all major urban policy initiatives. Thus the partnership principle became a stipulation for bidding in City Challenge[38] and now for the SRB Challenge Fund.[39] In Scotland it was the foundation of the major initiative launched in 1988, the Scottish Partnerships,[40] and in 1995 the Scottish Office stated its intention to allocate the Urban Programme in the form of block grants to local authority wide partnerships.[41]

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[37] There are several accounts of the initial development of the partnership principle in British urban policy. A helpful synoptic account has been written by Law. The full reference is - Law C. (1988). Public-Private Partnership in Urban Revitalisation in Britain. Regional Studies. October. pp. 446-51.
[38] Department of the Environment (1992). City Challenge. Bidding Guidance 1993-94. London, DoE.
[39] op.cit. Department of the Environment (1997a).
[40] Scottish Office (1988). New Life for Urban Scotland. Edinburgh, Scottish Office.
[41] Scottish Office (1995). Programme for Partnership: Announcement of the Scottish Office Review of Urban Regeneration Policy. Edinburgh, Scottish Office.

Partnerships have become an essential component of urban policy reflecting government policy which in turn reflects the fragmentation of urban governance that has taken place. The characteristics of these partnerships can be described in general terms as being corporatist, managerialist and competitive in orientation - "corporatist localism" as it has been described.[42] The question which now demands a response is - how can the principle of partnership be modified and adapted so that it can make an effective and targeted in-put to the regeneration of peripheral estates?

Partnership in Practice

The role and composition of urban regeneration partnerships has shifted as an exclusive concern with local economic development, with an emphasis on marketing and place promotion, has widened to include a wider regeneration remit. The partnership arrangements for City Challenge and the SRB, and for the four peripheral estate partnerships in Scotland all reflect changes in practice resulting from the widened scope of regeneration. All stress the need to include local communities in partnership arrangements.

Hastings in her analysis of the Scottish Partnerships suggests that a minimalist approach to partnership was adopted.[43] Devolution of power either to the partnerships themselves or to local communities did not occur. The resulting policies, therefore, not unexpectedly reflected the mainstream programmes of the public sector partners. The focus has been on budget enlargement and co-ordination but not on innovation and participation.

Criticism has not only focused on the content of schemes produced under the aegis of partnership but also on the other key requirement - namely, community involvement and participation. Recurring criticism has been made of both City Challenge[44] and the SRB[45] for failing to involve local communities in a meaningful way - "neither City Challenge nor the Single Regeneration Budget are designed to empower local communities to any significant extent but to keep 'local' communities 'on side' as far

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[42] Wilks-Heeg S. (1996). Urban Experiments Revisited: Urban Policy Comes Full Circle? Urban Studies. Vol. 33. No. 8. pp. 1263-79.
[43] Hastings A. (1996). Unravelling the Process of 'Partnership' in Urban Regeneration Policy. Urban Studies. Vol. 33. No. 2. pp. 253-68.
[44] See (i) Macfarlane R., and Mabbott J. (1993). City Challenge - Involving Local Communities. London, NCVO Publications and Moss Side and Hulme Community Development Trust; and
(ii) Oatley N. (1995). Competitive urban policy and the regeneration game. Town Planning Review. Vol. 66. No. 1. pp. 1-44.
[45] Mawson J., et.al. (1995). The Single Regeneration Budget: The Stocktake. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham.

as possible".[46] The failure to devolve responsibility and to allow local people to participate means that although there have been benefits from partnership the crucial policy synergy which is the prequisite for innovation and change in service provision and which is needed to deal with multiple deprivation and social exclusion has tended not to happen.

Administrative changes, it has been suggested[47], are needed if local communities are to play a greater role - more information, longer lead times, capacity building measures, more flexible spending arrangements, and longer project times have all been mentioned - but a fundamental problem about power remains. At present it remains firmly in the grip of the large public sector agencies. Unless the problems arising from the current imbalance in the distribution of power within partnerships are addressed it is difficult to envisage how the shortcomings of current partnership arrangements could be overcome. One way forward might be to establish estate based partnerships.

Estate Based Partnerships

A recurring theme of critiques of urban policy in general and of local economic development strategies, in particular, has been the advocacy of multi-agency partnerships at the community or neighbourhood level in response to the failure to deal with problems of equity - that is, the unequal distribution of disadvantage which has persisted despite intervention. Fordham,[48] Thake,[49] Borrie,[50] Nevin and Shiner,[51] and Taylor[52] are among those advocating estate based partnerships.

A strong case is made for involving a wide range of partners. The case is based on the need to influence the behaviour of the various service providers in the public and voluntary sectors, and to provide a co-ordinating mechanism to encourage these agencies to develop complimentary strategies. Effective local partnership would involve a real transfer of power to the community - in practice a multi-sector representation of community activists - "real partnership should mean surrendering

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[46] Colenutt B., and Cutten A. (1994). Community Empowerment in Vogue or Vain? Local Economy. Vol. 9. No. 3. p. 238.

[47] see (i) op.cit. Macfarlane R., and Mabbott J. (1993); and (ii) Mawson J., et.al. (1995).

[48] op.cit. Fordham G. (1995).

[49] op.cit. Thake S. (1995).

[50] op.cit. Borrie G. (1994).

[51] op.cit. Nevin B., and Shiner P. (1995).

[52] Taylor M. (1995). Unleashing the potential. Bringing residents to the centre of regeneration. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

the power of decision making to (a) partnership body at a community level so that development planning is genuinely community led".[53] What is envisaged, in fact, is a partnership between users and providers in which the distinction can become blurred as projects and initiatives develop.

There have been examples of estate based regeneration - for example, the NACRO sponsored schemes of the late 1970s and early 1980s;[54] a scheme for the Plas Madoc estate in Wrexham;[55] and more recently the Penrhy's Partnership in South Wales[56] - but the schemes were one-off and experimental - and despite the favourable comment were not replicated. Another more recent example, is the regeneration initiative at Brownlow in Northern Ireland funded by the European Community's Poverty 3 Programme (section 6.4 above).[57] Although there was a history of community development and involvement stemming from the original development of Brownlow as part of Craigavon New Town and the circumstances were propitious, the £1 million funded project provides an example of a multi-sector partnership formed at the level of a small cluster of estates with an input both from a range of public sector agencies , and local residents and community groups. The Brownlow initiative has given rise to a series of innovative projects developed on an inter-agency basis together with an emphasis on programmes rather than capital works.

Recent changes in governance at the estate level (section 3.7) - the tendency to decentralise mainstream departments of the local authority, especially the all important housing department; the devolution of responsibility to head teachers and school governors; and the increasing plurality of social service provision - have all encouraged the strengthening of networks of community activists. These networks which involve public sector field workers, voluntary and community sector groups, and active local residents could form an ideal foundation for any estate based partnership. However, changes in policy and in the strategic framework within which regeneration is set, would be necessary if estate based partnerships are to take off in significant numbers.

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[53] Pearce J. (1994). Enterprise with a social purpose. Town and Country Planning. March.
[54] Hedges A. et.al. (1986). Community Planning Project: Cunningham Road Improvement Scheme. Final Report. London, Social and Community Planning Research.
[55] Ellis S. (1987/8). Not just a housing problem. Housing and Planning Review. Vol. 42. No. 6.
[56] Wallis L. (1997). Sweet valley high? The Guardian. 5. March.
[57] See (i) op.cit. Mc.Donough R. (1993); and (ii) op.cit. Bailey N. (1995).

Overview

The partnership principle now has a well established role in the delivery of urban policy objectives. Partnership has been extended from a key but restricted role in the delivery of local economic development strategies in the 1980s and early 1990s to a wider role in the post-Thatcher period when it has played a role in the planning and implementation of more broadly conceived regeneration initiatives. Partnership is a prerequisite for making bids for SRB funding and in Scotland the peripheral estate Scottish Partnerships have been important in co-ordinating service delivery.

The need to make in-roads into the problems created by concentrations of multiple deprivation and social exclusion suggests that the partnership principle should be extended and adapted to encompass estate based partnerships. These partnerships need to be inclusive in their composition and to include all sections of local communities on an equal basis - that is, in practice, the public and voluntary and community based sectors because the weak presence of the private sector on peripheral estates would appear to preclude that sector from participating to any meaningful extent. Finally, the limitations of estate based partnerships would need to be recognised. They "do not (or cannot) take the place of the effective delivery of adequate mainstream services" (Thake).[58]

6.6. Strategy and Strategic Issues

Introduction

At present the regeneration of estates tends to lack a strategic context. Only in Scotland where the Scottish Office has played a key role and there are powerful regionally based quangos can a strategic context be said to exist (section 3.7 described the abolition of strategic organisations by the previous Conservative government). This section considers the case for creating a strategic capacity and suggests how this might be developed.

Regionalism

The case for regionalism is a strong one. A new tier of governance at the regional level is often justified on the grounds of economic regeneration, the potential benefits to be derived from the harnessing of regional indigenous assets, the need to relate to

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[58] op.cit. Thake S. (1995). p. 3.

EU structural funds, and the possibility of bringing regionally based quangos under democratic control.[59] Regionalism can be viewed as a response to the increasing complexity of government - "Regionalism is a feature of the decline of traditional models of the state based on uniform lines of command and accountability".[60]

But regional government also ought to be given a social remit as has been the case in Scotland since the later 1970s. The now defunct Scottish Development Agency extended its functions from a concern with regionally based economic development to encompass regeneration on an integrated spatial basis, for example in the East End of Glasgow.[61] [62] The SDA experience together with the pro-active role played more recently by the Scottish Office in partnership with the regionally based quangos - Scottish Homes and Scottish Enterprise - in the regeneration of peripheral estates are evidence of the positive role that regionally based agencies can play in promoting area based regeneration on an integrated basis. The now abolished Regional Councils also had a social remit connected with their function as mainstream providers of social work and other services. Regional governance in Scotland thus not only had a social remit but could be described as being "multi-layered".[63]

A regional agency could assist the regeneration in a number of ways. It could support and strengthen the capacity of the community and voluntary sector so that it can participate effectively in estate based partnerships. Its other key role could be to co-ordinate all the *strategic* aspects of regeneration and so overcome the "patchwork quilt" problem associated with urban policy and help to combine economic regeneration with action to ensure that those disadvantaged in the labour market share the benefits of regeneration.

The potential of a regional agency to place estate based regeneration within a wider economic context distinguishes its role from that of the National Community Regeneration Agency advocated by the Commission on Social Justice[64] or the Community Enterprise Corporation advocated by Thake and Staubach.[65] Those

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[59] Evans R., and Harding A. (1997). Regionalisation, Regional Institutions and Economic Development. Policy and Politics. Vol. 25. No. 1.

[60] John P., and Whitehead A. (1997). The Renaissance of English Regionalism in the 1990s. Policy and Politics. Vol. 25. No. 1.

[61] For an account of the regeneration of Glasgow's East End see Donnison D., and Middleton A. (1987). Regenerating the Inner City: Glasgow's Experience. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

[62] Urlan Wannop has written a helpful account of the development of the SDA. The reference is Wannop U. (1984). The evolution and roles of the Scottish Development Agency. Town Planning Review. Vol. 55. No. 3.

[63] op.cit. Wannop U. (1984).

[64] op.cit. Borrie G. (1994).

[65] op.cit. Thake S., and Staubach R. (1993).

proposals are limited to encouraging the development of the necessary partnerships and community regeneration organisations.

It is important that any regional agency, whether it is an appointed Regional Development Agency or an elected Regional Assembly, rather than the present Integrated Regional Government Offices, should be responsible for *all* strategic aspects of regeneration and, in fact, the present government's proposals for Regional Development Agencies contain this suggestion and that they should have boundaries which are coterminous with those of the Integrated Regional Government Offices.[66]

The Integrated Regional Government Offices find it difficult to play a comprehensive role because they are inhibited by both the civil service culture and by a lack of professional capacity. They could continue to concentrate on their key function which, one might suggest, is to administer, promote and monitor government policy on a regional basis.[67]

The Strategic Role of Local Government

Although it has been argued that local authorities should not play a lead role in the regeneration of peripheral estates (that role should go to estate based partnerships and community based regeneration organisations) local authorities nevertheless have an important strategic role especially in partnership with other agencies reflecting the *intercorporate* dimension of decision making.

Partnerships involving local authorities tend, at present, to reflect an economic development, marketing and place promotion agenda. Partnerships could be expanded in order to reflect the need for an holistic approach and in order to develop the capacity to connect with a wider range of government initiatives such as the Welfare to Work programme, and the proposed Health Action Zones and Education Action Zones.

Regeneration issues - social, economic and those concerned with the physical and built environment such as the condition of the housing stock - taken together have a pervasive *corporate* dimension. All local authority departments are inevitably

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[66] Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (1997). Building Partnerships for Prosperity. White Paper Cm. 3814. London, HMSO.

[67] For a discussion on the role of the Integrated Regional Government Offices see - Mawson J., and Spencer K. (1997). The Government Offices for the English Regions: towards regional governance? Policy and Politics. Vol. 25. No. 1.

involved. However, one has to be sceptical about a possible role for a corporate local authority regeneration strategy or for related corporate strategies such as the Community Development and Anti-Poverty Strategies recommended by the AMA.[68] Such strategies are difficult to create and sustain because of the endemic local government problem of achieving co-ordination and synergy between the separate departments and committees. Balloch in a comment about anti-poverty strategies sums up the problems as follows -

> "One difficulty that has emerged is that of 'departmentalism'. Separate local authority departments are often not in the habit of sharing problems or resources and do not have instant mechanisms for collaborating on policy related issues".[69]

Thus rather than create strategic documents local authorities could concentrate on the modification of existing programmes, not only in content and spatial incidence but also in their mode of delivery, so that they can contribute more fully to the regeneration of estates. To take some examples - the expansion, targeting and delivery of pre-school education; encouraging community based organisations to provide community care; advice to school governors on a number of issues including the use of schools for community based activities such as after-school clubs; and the transfer of council houses from Housing Committee ownership for other use by other agencies. The list is almost infinite but such actions could involve changes in practice and perhaps also a perceived loss of power. A role of estate based partnerships could be to campaign and promote these changes and to encourage local authority departments to make them.

To fulfil a strategic role local authorities need the capacity to do so. In particular local authorities could promote and service inter-agency partnerships, help influence departmental programmes, and collect and co-ordinate information to define and measure socio-economic conditions, and assist in establishing priorities for regeneration.

The Voluntary and Community Based Sector

This chapter and the previous chapter have indicated a role for the voluntary and community based sector in estate based partnerships, community regeneration

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[68] See (i) Association of Metropolitan Authorities (1993). Local Authorities and Community Development. A Strategic Opportunity for the 1990s. London, AMA; and (ii) Association of Metropolitan Authorities (1990). Poverty and Anti-Poverty Strategy. The Local Government Response. London, AMA.

[69] Balloch S. (1988). What Place for Anti-Poverty Strategies? Local Economy. Vol. 3. No. 3.

organisations, and in the planning and delivery of community based projects. But the sector is severely disadvantaged because a number of strategic circumstances work against it. Grant regimes are too restricted both in their detailed arrangements and in their time limits, but above all the voluntary and community based sector simply does not have the capacity to develop a meaningful role in regeneration. "Community capacity building is a necessary condition for the successful participation of disadvantaged community and voluntary organisations" (Burfitt et.al.).[70]

The sector needs support, guidance and advice sometimes, no doubt, over an extended time period - a role that may well need to be independent of local government for a number of reasons including the propensity of local authorities and their elected members to believe in the exclusive importance of their own role and the equal propensity to resent the role played by communities themselves (section 6.4). Thus, one of the principle tasks of Regional Development Agencies could be to strengthen local communities. City-wide or local authority-wide Councils for Voluntary Service might also make an important contribution to community development (the role of the Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service is discussed in section 12.6).[71]

Overview

There is a strong argument for a strategic framework to the regeneration of peripheral estates. A strategic framework could determine priorities, assist in achieving co-ordination between national government programmes and local initiatives, and help establish and guide a targeted programme of estate based regeneration. Any strategic framework would have to take account of the multi-organisational and multi-sector context in which regeneration needs to take place.

The Regional Development Agencies, The Integrated Regional Government Offices, local authorities, and the voluntary sector's umbrella organisations could all make a strategic input to the regeneration of peripheral estates. However, as a plurality of strategic players emerges the separate but complimentary roles of the different agencies would need to be recognised.

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[70] op.cit. Burfitt A., et.al. (1997). p. 7.
[71] The Labour Planning and Environment Group suggested extending the role of Councils for Voluntary Service in this way. See Labour Planning and Environment Group (1994). Empowering Urban Communities. London, Labour Planning and Environment Group.

6.7. Sustaining Regeneration

The regeneration of estates has been marked by repeated policy failure (section 3.6).

> "One of the most disturbing features of this experience (initiatives to tackle disadvantage on estates) has been the frequency with which the same areas have to be selected for special treatment: there is overwhelming evidence that earlier programmes were unable to stimulate regeneration on a scale or with sufficient durability to make further special attention unnecessary" (Fordham).[72]

The principal cause of the failure to sustain regeneration is that the underlying economic and social circumstances of those living on the estates have remained unchanged. In particular, limited life schemes have not left behind mechanisms and institutions on the estates that can continue to operate after the initial funding ceases.

The government has been conscious of this problem and has been anxious that sustainability should be built into the design and implementation of estate and neighbourhood regeneration programmes. The most recent advice from the Department of the Environment[73] which draws on City Challenge and Inner City Task Force experience[74] makes a variety of suggestions about successor bodies, self-sustaining projects, incorporation of special programmes and projects into mainstream programmes and so on. All of which may be helpful. For example, the SRB funded scheme for Pennywell (section 9.9) contains a similar amalgam of actions which it is hoped will result from the regeneration programme and is, thus, in keeping with government issued advice.[75]

Sustainable regeneration requires a fundamental change both in the content of regeneration and in the principles and framework in which it takes place. The ideas put forward in this chapter for structural changes on a systematic basis - the creation of a strategic framework, an emphasis on capacity building, the establishment of what amounts to an additional tier of governance (community regeneration organisations) on a permanent basis, and support for estate based partnerships taken together with a preventative and innovative approach to service delivery could, it is argued, substantially improve the prospects of achieving sustainable progress.

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[72] op.cit. Fordham G. (1995) p. 3.
[73] Department of the Environment (1997b). Developing Forward Strategies. London, DoE.
[74] Department of the Environment (1996). Designing Forward Strategies. Lessons from the Inner City Task Force Experience. Good Practice Guide 1. London, DoE.
[75] City of Sunderland Partnership (1996). Pride in Pennywell. Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund 1996/7. Final Bid. Sunderland, City of Sunderland Partnership.

Perhaps the most important principle, if regeneration activity is to last, is to involve the local community - both community activists and estate based voluntary and public sector professionals. Community involvement facilitated by a capacity building strategy is essential. " 'Empowering' local communities, and .... capacity building is .... the critical ingredient in exit strategies" (Fordham).[76]

6.8. Conclusion

There will be a continuing need to rely on mainstream services delivered by large scale public sector bureaucracies - a feature of the conventional welfare state. But many of the suggestions made in this chapter can be connected with a "communitarian approach". The principle of subsidiarity is included in the suggestion that a strategic input from a regionally based agency should be combined with a neighbourhood level of governance, the projects and programmes that need to be delivered place stress on the communitarian principles of prevention and innovation, and finally there is a vital role for the community and for community based professionals and community activists.

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[76] op.cit. Fordham G. (1995). p. 30.

7. ESTATE REGENERATION SCHEMES IN PRACTICE

7.1. Introduction

This chapter is based on a sequence of study visits. Four visits were made to current estate based regeneration schemes - two funded by the Housing Action Trust grant regime and two that have received funding from the SRB Challenge Fund. Although Housing Action Trusts are limited to six in number their consideration is justified by their reputation for innovative and well funded practice. The two SRB funded schemes differ in having different lead agencies. One is local authority led while the other represents the only SRB funded scheme in the North East to be led by the voluntary sector. An additional visit was made to North Tyneside. A local authority in the North East which is comparable in its scale and history of development with Sunderland.

The visits consisted of a meeting with the chief executive or project manager followed by a tour of the estate accompanied by the chief executive or project manager. The documents consulted were provided in the course of the meetings. The perspective, therefore, is that of the lead agency and it was not possible to explore either interactive processes or different perspectives. The details of the visits are included in appendix B.

7.2. Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust

Introduction

Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust is a quango set up in 1991 under the Housing Act 1988. The HAT is charged with the redevelopment of four estates in the London Borough of Waltham Forest and their replacement with low rise housing. The aim is to demolish 2,400 high and medium rise flats built between 1966 and 1972, and to replace them with low-rise housing. The cost of the scheme is £265 million over 10

years. The HAT is managed by a board of 11 members which includes four tenants from the estates.[1]

The estates presented increasing problems in the 1980s. The industrialised building techniques had given rise to serious structural problems. There were also high levels of tenant dissatisfaction. At the time the local authority promoted the idea of a joint tenant/council company to undertake the necessary redevelopment, and then suggested a tenant controlled Housing Association. Both suggestions were blocked by the DoE which proposed a HAT. The HAT was designated after 81% of the tenants had voted in favour.

The population of the estates is about 6,500. The estates all house disadvantaged communities - the male unemployment rate is 40%, 43% of households are headed by a lone parent, and 41% have an ethnic minority background. The four estates have a strong history of community activism - the product of long-standing grievances about housing conditions.

Actions

In addition to its redevelopment task, the HAT has adopted a holistic approach to the estates' social and economic problems. The HAT has set up several employment and training initiatives including a Career Advice and Placement Project which offers a one-to-one employment and training service at estate level. The HAT claims to have placed 800 residents into jobs at a cost of £9,000 per job. A construction skills training centre trains residents who are then employed on the construction programme. The HAT has taken full advantage of its client role to negotiate local labour contracts and to dovetail training and employment initiatives with the construction process.

The HAT has a comprehensive community development strategy and directly employs 12 community development workers. The strategy involves the construction of four Neighbourhood Community Centres, financial and other support to community groups, financial support for child-care, and a Child Minding Network under the direct control of the HAT. The annual budget for community development and employment training is £1.5 million.

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[1] A comprehensive account of the Waltham Forest HAT and its activities can be found in its corporate plan. The reference is - Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust (1994). Corporate Plan 1995/6 - 1997/8. Leytonstone, Waltham Forest HAT.

The HAT is a short life organisation. It hopes to have reversed the social and economic problems on the estates by the time redevelopment has been completed. The current job situation, the decrease in the number of requests for transfers, and the reduction in criminality are encouraging. A separate community based housing association has been established which tenants can vote to join on the completion of the HAT's responsibilities. It is hoped to set up a community development trust to continue the current employment, training, and community development work.

Features of Interest

Although the four estates included in the Waltham Forest HAT are not peripheral estates there are several interesting aspects of the HAT scheme that are pertinent to a consideration of peripheral estates. These are -

- Although the HAT is a quango directly responsible to central government it also has the characteristics of a community regeneration organisation because its remit is local and estate based, and because there is strong local representation on its management board. Thus it can be stated that the HAT demonstrates the effectiveness of a well resourced community regeneration organisation.

- It has been possible to attract staff with a national reputation.

- Although the principal task of the HAT is the replacement of high rise blocks a holistic approach has been adopted towards regeneration with a strong emphasis on estate based economic development

- Community development is built upon a history of community activism and is supported by a substantial budget.

- It seems possible to apply a community development approach to housing estates of limited size - 400 to 800 dwellings - albeit in an area of mixed land use and with a background of community activism.

- An eclectic approach towards implementation has been adopted - direct provision, enabling, and indirect influence and leadership. This is reflected in the range of partnership arrangements that have arisen as a consequence of the HAT initiative.

- The training and employment initiatives are being successful. The cost is relatively low - £9,000 per job.

7.3. Castle Vale Housing Action Trust, Birmingham

Introduction

Castle Vale HAT was established in 1994. The HAT is one of two which cover a peripheral estate - the other is the North Hull HAT - and is a limited life project due to finish its work by 2005. Its principal task is the redevelopment of 34 tower blocks. The cost so far has been £42.5 million. The Castle Vale HAT is run by a board of 12 members consisting of members from the local authority, the private sector and four elected representatives from the estate. The vision is to establish "a self sustaining community living in high quality homes in a pleasant and safe environment".[2]

The Castle Vale Estate is located on a flat and featureless former aerodrome site in North Birmingham. The estate was built between 1964 and 1969 and consists of a mixture of 34 tower blocks plus low rise houses, maisonettes and flats. Most of the estate was constructed using non-traditional building methods and there are severe problems of damp and condensation on some parts of the estate.

The estate displays the socio-economic features typical of problematic peripheral estates - the population has declined from 22,000 to its present 12,000, the unemployment rate is 26% and 45% of 16 to 20 year-olds have never worked, the population is predominantly white with only 5% having an ethnic minority background (the figure for Birmingham is 25%), and there are poor levels of educational attainment and health. The estate has a negative image with high levels of crime and the fear of crime.

Actions

The HAT is in the process of demolishing the tower blocks and replacing them with low rise Housing Association homes. The existing low rise flats and maisonettes are being refurbished. At the same time the layout of the estate is to be restructured to obtain a "defensible" and safer environment. The total budget of the HAT is £300

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[2] Castle Vale Housing Action Trust (1996). Third Annual Report and Accounts 1995-1996. Birmingham, Castle Vale HAT. p. R2. An update can be obtained from The Castle Vale Chronicle published by the HAT in November 1997.

million over its 10 year life. The emphasis is entirely on social housing provision and there is no involvement by the private sector - a reflection of the lack of realistic investment opportunities for the private sector housing market on peripheral estates.

The HAT has adopted a holistic approach to regeneration. Apart from redevelopment there has been a strong emphasis on training and employment initiatives. The HAT is organising customised training for residents associated not only with the redevelopment process but also with the expansion of the nearby Castle Bromwich works of Jaguar Plc. In the most recent up-date on progress the HAT claims to have helped 344 residents obtain jobs. Health, education and social projects appear to be lagging behind but a credit union, a drugs and alcohol misuse strategy, and a multi-purpose voluntary sector project are planned.

Features of Interest

There are several pertinent features of practice. These are -

- The Castle Vale HAT, like the Waltham Forest HAT, is a well funded quango.

- Although the emphasis of the HAT is on its primary task - namely, the redevelopment of high rise tower blocks - again like at Waltham Forest, a holistic approach has been adopted to regeneration.

- The HAT has adopted a consultative approach towards community involvement albeit in a situation where there is no history of community activism.

- The relationship between the HAT and the local authority - Birmingham City Council - was described as being distant and at times acerbic. It was suggested that the limitations of the relationship were inhibiting the achievement of an integrated approach in practice. Problems are created by different attitudes towards regeneration and service delivery.

- The training and employment initiatives are being successful and advantage has been taken not only of the redevelopment process itself but also of expanding job opportunities in the locality.

7.4. The Bentilee Estate ("The Villages Initiative"), Stoke-on-Trent

Introduction

Stoke-on-Trent received approval in Round 2 of the SRB Challenge Fund for £20 million to regenerate the Bentilee Estate - an estate on the fringe of Stoke-on-Trent.[3] The approved scheme covers an area which also includes the smaller adjoining Berryhill Estate, an area of private housing, adjacent open land, and an industrial estate in the vicinity. The catalyst for the SRB bid was a successful bid by Stoke City Council for £10.3 million under the DoE's Estates Renewal Challenge Fund[4] to help it dispose of 900 difficult-to-let properties to a community based housing company for regeneration and subsequent management following which the government office suggested that a bid be made under the SRB funding regime.

The Bentilee Estate is an archetypal peripheral estate. When constructed in the early 1950s it was the largest local authority estate in England. There are 4,000 dwellings in the form of semi-detached houses, and two storey flats which are scattered around the estate. The estate was built to house miners in adjoining collieries and was relatively prosperous in its heyday. The estate had declined, had become relatively unpopular, and the 800 flats became difficult-to-let.

The estate is now multiply deprived. The unemployment rate is 14.6%, 78% of the tenants are in receipt of housing benefit, 22% suffer from long term illness, crime rates are high, and educational attainment is low.

Actions

The SRB scheme aims to transform "the large, monochrome estate" into "manageable, sustainable communities". The approval is for 7 years and the first year is intended to be a "feasibility and development phase".[5] The intended programme is multi-faceted and covers all the SRB's strategic objectives. Flagship developments are envisaged

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[3] An account of the intended regeneration scheme is contained in the delivery plan; see - Stoke-on-Trent City Council (1995).The Villages Initiative Stoke-on-Trent. Delivery Plan. Stoke-on-Trent, Stoke City Council.

[4] The Estates Renewal Challenge Fund is a scheme whereby the DoE facilitates the transfer of local authority owned housing stock to new landlords. Grant aid is made on an annual competitive basis. For details see - Department of the Environment (1996). Estates Renewal Challenge Fund. Round 2 Bidding Guidance 1997/98. London, DoE.

[5] The phrases in quotation marks in this paragraph are taken from the delivery plan - see op.cit. Stoke-on-Trent City Council (1995).

including an old person's village, an "urban common", and a remodelled Bentilee District Centre.

The Villages Initiative is the responsibility of an inter-agency partnership board of 20 which includes representatives from the local authority, other public sector agencies, the private sector, community and voluntary organisations, and there are also 4 residents on the board. The project is managed by a project director, with a background in community development, who leads a small inter-disciplinary team. Focus groups monitor the initiative's key themes.

The policy context is interesting and problematic. Stoke-on-Trent was not a programme authority and, therefor, not eligible for Urban Programme funding after 1977. Apart from the Stoke Garden Festival no major urban policy initiatives had been targeted at Stoke prior to the introduction of the SRB funding regime. Thus the local authority has limited experience of urban regeneration or of working in partnership. Stoke-on-Trent council is Labour controlled without experience of community development work. Revealingly, the SRB project team has been experiencing difficulty in recruiting staff with a background in either regeneration or in community development.

Features of Interest

The scheme was at an early stage when visited but its context and genesis raise issues. The main point is that the scheme has been developed in its early stages without a strategic framework and in circumstances in which the key players, particularly the local authority and the local community, are totally lacking in experience of regeneration. The *tentative* lessons that can be drawn are as follows -

- Regeneration capacity on the part of all the key players is essential and if it does not exist the necessary capacity building measures need to be incorporated into the regeneration process.

- The problems created by a lack of capacity are exacerbated by the limited life of the project and the "need" to spend considerable sums of money from year 2 onwards.

7.5. The Hardwick Estate, Stockton-on-Tees

Introduction

Regeneration on the Hardwick Estate is led by Hardwick Tomorrow which is a community regeneration organisation. Its catchment area is the Hardwick Estate which is a peripheral estate consisting of 2085 low rise flats, houses and maisonettes built in the 1960s. The Hardwick Estate is one of Stockton-on-Tees' more disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Male unemployment is 34.2%, 64% of households have no car, and 16.7% of households are headed by a single parent. However, the estate is not stigmatised (unlike the nearby Ragworth Estate) and 24% of the houses have been sold.

The Hardwick Tomorrow initiative emerged from a campaign by residents demanding action on local unemployment. The Stockton and Thornaby Task Force[6] funded Hardwick Tomorrow in its developmental phase from 1994 to 1997. Supported by the multi-agency Hardwick Community Partnership it submitted a successful bid for £395,000 revenue funding over three years in Round 2 of the SRB Challenge Fund.[7] A further bid in Round 4 for £475,000 is being considered at the present time and may well be successful.[8]

The total estimated expenditure for the first three years was £770,000 which includes the SRB grant of £395,000, £95,000 from Stockton Borough Council, £132,000 from the European Regional Development Fund, and £81,000 from the Stockton and Thornaby Task Force.

Hardwick Tomorrow has two full-time staff. A manager with a community development background and a clerical assistant who lives on the estate. The Hardwick Tomorrow Board has a minimum 50% resident representation. Hardwick Tomorrow is located in a redundant vicarage received from the Church Commissioners. Tioxide (ICI Billingham) donated its training centre.

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[6] Task Forces were initiated by the Department of Employment in 1986. They were limited life projects with small budgets (approximately £1 million per annum). Task Forces have now been wound up.
[7] Hardwick Community Partnership (1995). The Hardwick Community Partnership Regeneration Project. SRB Challenge Fund. Round 2 Bid. Stockton-on-Tees, Hardwick Community Partnership.
[8] Hardwick Community Partnership (1998). Fair Deal with New Deal. SRB Challenge Fund Round 4 Bid. Stockton-on-Tees, Hardwick Community Partnership.

Actions

Hardwick Tomorrow is a local economic development initiative which has widened its scope on an opportunistic basis to become a multi-objective organisation. It is currently involved in the following activities - a multi-faceted enterprise and initiative centre, a community newspaper, the upgrading of playground and recreational facilities on the estate, work with the local Groundwork Trust on environmental improvements, child care facilities, and the community use of facilities in the comprehensive school. It works well with local young offenders.

Hardwick Tomorrow emphasises the need to help local people find jobs. It claims to be successful and that, for example, 153 jobs were obtained as a result of its training activities in 1996 to 1997.[9] Hardwick Tomorrow is firmly embedded in the local community and has an "open door" approach to its daily contact with residents.

Features of Interest

Hardwick Tomorrow is the only community regeneration organisation in the North East to have successfully bid for SRB funding for estate based regeneration and is, therefore, of considerable interest. Specific aspects of interest are -

- Hardwick Tomorrow is an example of a community regeneration organisation and has the characteristics typically associated with such organisations (section 6.4).

- The emphasis on low cost revenue funded projects.

- The multi-objective nature of its activities which have been developed incrementally.

- Success is claimed for its training activities and a significant number of local residents have obtained jobs.

- It was claimed that "success" was partly due to effective networking on all scales - local, district wide, and regional.

- Incremental development means that some SRB objectives - namely, health and education - were not addressed in the SRB bids.

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[9] Hardwick Tomorrow (1997). Annual Report. Stockton-on-Tees, Hardwick Tomorrow.

- The relationship between Hardwick Tomorrow and the various local authority *service* departments was described as being fraught although support had been received from the Economic Development Department.

- Concern was expressed about the difficulty in developing a long-term strategy within a framework of short-term funding regimes.

- Two other community regeneration organisations have emerged in Stockton-on-Tees in inner area locations which may well have been inspired by the example of Hardwick Tomorrow.

7.6. North Tyneside

Introduction

North Tyneside is a large metropolitan unitary authority which has had considerable experience in regenerating peripheral estates. It is in many ways similar to Sunderland. There have been major initiatives involving Estate Action, City Challenge and the SRB Challenge Fund.

Actions

West Bailey, Killingworth, was described as having been "a high profile problem estate". It was built in the 1960s and consisted of 624 houses. The estate is peripheral but adjoins Killingworth town centre.

Problems were caused by non-traditional building methods and its Radburn layout. There was a typical Estate Action funded response in 1991. The scheme involved partial demolition, tenure diversification and "defensible space" type improvements. The total cost was £38 million (Estate Action - £18 million; Housing Association Grant - £20 million).

The scheme has been "successful". There has been a reduction in housing management problems and in vandalism and anti-social behaviour. The estate, it is claimed, has been turned round on a permanent basis. There has been no significant community activity on the estate.

Longbenton Estate was developed in the late 1950s and early 1960s. There are 2000 two-bedroom flats and 500 houses, the population is about 6,000, unemployment is high, and the population structure is increasingly skewed towards both older people and very young children. The estate is "stigmatised" and presents a major management problem.

The local authority has improved some of the flats using mainstream funding supported by Urban Programme funded environmental improvements. Bids for Estate Action funding to continue the work were turned down in 1992/93 and 1993/94. Flats where both the flats themselves and the surrounding environment have been improved have become popular. Those flats which have been improved, but where it has not been possible to carry out environmental improvements, have continued to be unpopular.

In Round Three of the SRB the North Tyneside Council obtained £19 million.[10] The scheme includes further improvements to the flats, demolition and rebuild by Housing Associations, the replacement of the Arndale shopping centre by a mixed use "village green type development", improvements to the adjoining Metro station and the provision of a family centre in partnership with Barnados. A partnership between the local authority, English Partnership, Newcastle City Council and major private sector companies hopes to exploit opportunities provided by incoming investment on adjoining industrial land.

A board has been created to oversee the scheme and its composition reflects the multi-sector and multi-agency nature of the partnership. There is community representation on the board but in practice the local authority seems to have adopted a top down approach to community involvement with an emphasis on formal consultation, surveys and publicity.

Meadowell is a notorious stigmatised estate where there were serious urban disturbances in September 1991. The estate is low rise and consists of 1,800 dwellings which were built as part of North Shield's slum clearance programme in the 1930s. Poverty, deprivation, criminality and housing management problems are all exceptionally common.

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[10] North Tyneside Council (1997). Longbenton. A Sense of Community. Delivery Plan. Year 1. 1997/8. North Tyneside Council.

Following the disturbances the local authority was given Estate Action funding approval in five annual phases to carry out house improvements, environmental improvements and to provide community facilities. The estate is within the North Tyneside City Challenge scheme which has included the mixed use Meadowell Community Village as one of its flagship developments. The estate adjoins the Royal Quays where the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation developed a mixed land use scheme consisting of shopping, a water-based leisure facility, both executive and Housing Association housing, and a marina - a flagship scheme costing £250 million

An additional small area SRB bid for £20million to complete phases four and five of the previous Estate Action scheme was approved in Round Three. The SRB funded scheme is principally for house improvement plus environmental improvements and restructuring of the local road network. The total investment in Meadowell is estimated at over £60 million.

The key community based initiatives - a community development trust, a community construction company and a tenant management co-operative - have ceased to operate. Problems have been created by poor quality management; in-fighting within the community; and the infiltration of community based organisations by criminal elements. However, the local authority managed Resource Centre - a "one stop" multi-departmental facility which is also available for community use - is well used and considered to be a success. The crucial difference, it was suggested, with the community based arrangements appears to be the "professional leadership".

Features of Interest

The regeneration of North Tyneside's peripheral estates has some interesting aspects some of which are repeated in Sunderland (see the following chapters). In particular it can be noted that -

- Funds have been made available under all the major relevant funding regimes - Estate Action, City Challenge and the SRB.

- Action has been targeted at those estates with the worst problems in accordance with government policy as outlined in section 3.6.

- Where action has been focused at dealing with specific design problems and has included demolition and tenure diversification the targeted estate has become

more manageable and popular. (In chapter 11 it will be shown that similar action on Sunderland's Town End Farm Estate has had a similar outcome.)

- The local authority had adopted a top-down, consultative approach towards community involvement. The exception was Meadowell but there community based regeneration organisations had not been sustainable.

7.7. Conclusion

A small but representative range of estate based regeneration schemes were considered in this chapter. The schemes ranged from the *capital* intensive Castle Vale HAT whose total expenditure is estimated at £300 million to the Hardwick Tomorrow project which involves *revenue* expenditure of approximately £250,000 per annum. However, there are enough to draw *tentative* lessons both about the content of regeneration, and about the agencies and institutions involved.

The approach to regeneration on all the estates was holistic. However, the content of the schemes tended not to be comprehensive - a reflection of local circumstances. Considerable achievements were possible in helping estate residents find jobs. Particularly striking progress has been made by the Waltham Forest HAT and by Hardwick Tomorrow. In both cases estate based economic development was combined with a community development approach.

Both the achievements and the prospects for the schemes where there is a well developed community regeneration organisation are hopeful (The Waltham Forest HAT is included as a community regeneration organisation as it has the characteristics of community regeneration organisations as outlined in section 6.4). The prognosis for the local authority led schemes, and Meadowell in North Tyneside can be placed in this category, appears to be less propitious.

The relationship between local authorities, and the community and voluntary based sector emerged as being a tense one albeit on a small sample. This suggests that if community regeneration organisations are to be encouraged then local authorities are not the agencies to do that. In fact, in the case of Hardwick Tomorrow it was an external agency - the Stockton and Thornaby Task Force - which fulfilled that role. One can argue further that the Government Office for the North East via the allocation of SRB funds is continuing to play the role of facilitator and enabler.

The main *impression* obtained from the visits is that it is possible to establish community regeneration organisations which deliver a range of innovative and preventative services with linkages to other programmes at the level of either a single estate - Hardwick - or for a cluster of estates - Waltham Forest. That impression confirms the possibilities outlined in chapters 5 and 6 for tackling social exclusion on peripheral estates. Furthermore the relatively low cost of the Hardwick Tomorrow scheme and even of the community development component of the Waltham Forest HAT's programme suggests that the cost of providing community based services via a community regeneration organisation is not prohibitive.

Part III.

Sunderland Case Study

8. SUNDERLAND CASE STUDY
- THE BACKGROUND

8.1. Introduction

Sunderland is a city with a population of just under 300,000. It is located in the north east of England at the mouth of the River Wear (plan 8.1). Sunderland's development and growth has been dependent on its location on the north east coal field at a point where there were also exposed seams of limestone. The River Wear provided facilities for shipping with easy access to the North Sea.

Although Sunderland has a venerable shipbuilding tradition, the cities' economic structure, as it developed, in the nineteenth century, depended on a cluster of industries - deep mining, shipbuilding, and heavy engineering.[1] Its industrial structure was typical of the North of England - "a textbook example of nineteenth century industrialisation based on 'carboniferous capitalism'".[2]

Sunderland's traditional industries began to decline at the turn of the century and Sunderland was badly hit by the long term contraction of the shipbuilding industry in the inter-war years. Despite the inter-war decline Sunderland still had an integrated shipbuilding and marine engineering complex as recently as 1973.[3] The shipbuilding industry finally collapsed in the later 1970s and 1980s and the last shipyard closed in 1992. The decline and cessation of shipbuilding is mirrored by the equally rapid decline of deep mining in the Sunderland area, again from the 1970s onwards. The last deep mine in Sunderland closed in 1994 and thus Sunderland's traditional industries died out with the inevitable consequences.

Statistical confirmation of Sunderland's current social and economic circumstances are to be found in Table 8.1 below which contains selected data from the 1981 and 1991 Censuses. Unemployment is 5.6% above the UK average and higher than the

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[1] N. Mc.Cord (1979). North East England. An economic and social history. London, Batsford Academic. p 50.

[2] Robinson F (1992). The Northern Region; chapter in Townroe P. and Martin R. (eds) (1992). Regional Development in the 1990s. The British Isles in Transition. London, Jessica Kingsley and Regional Studies Association.

[3] Stone I. (1994). Wearside in the New North East : Longer term perspectives on industrial restructuring; chapter in Garrahan P. and Stewart P. (eds.) (1994). Urban change and renewal. Aldershot, Avebury.

Plan 8.1. Sunderland Location Plan.
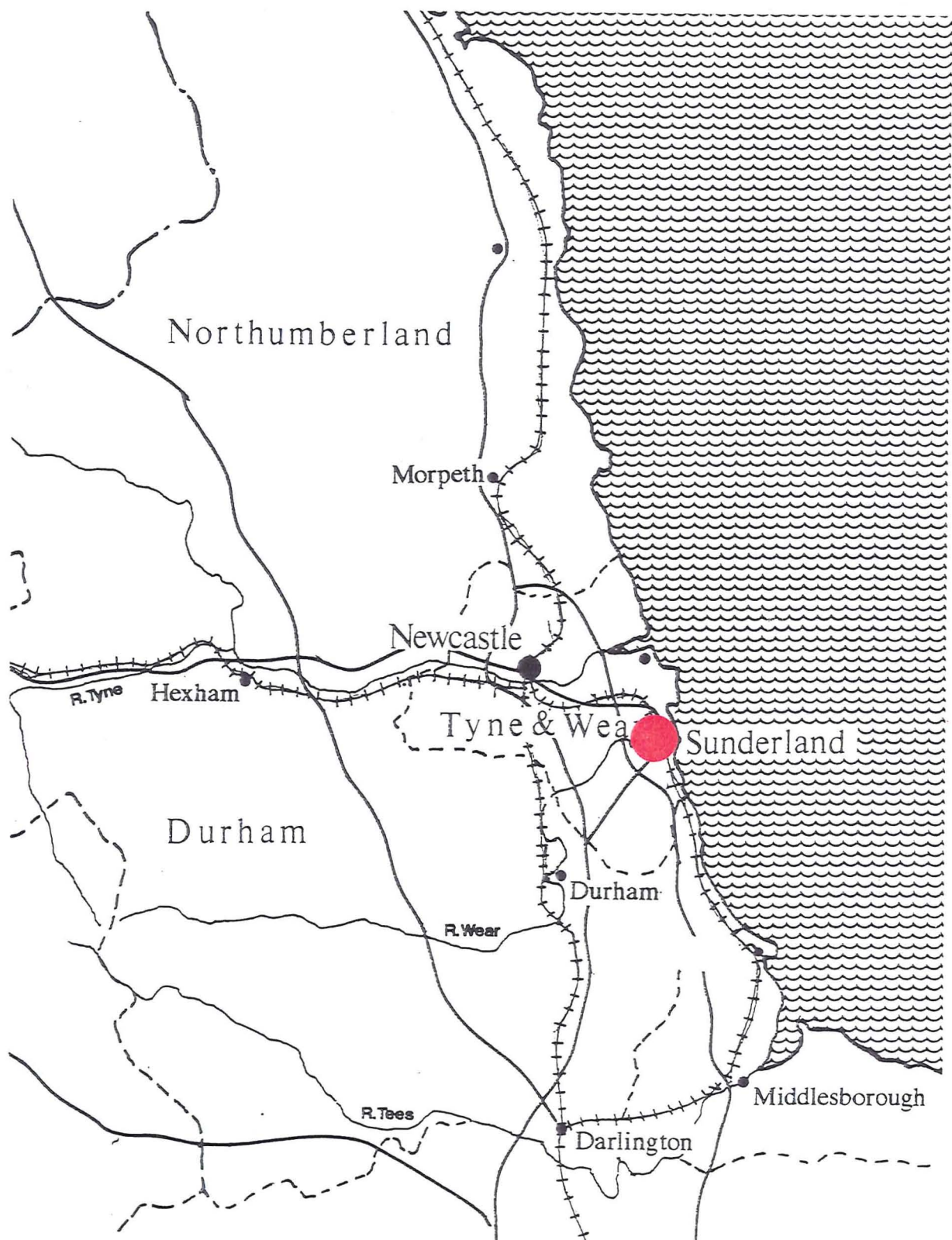
Source: School of the Environment, Sunderland University.

average for Tyne and Wear (more recent figures are referred to below). Other figures of especial interest in the table include those for the percentage of households without cars - a good indicator of poverty - which is approximately 50% above the national average. The percentage of lone parent families more than doubled between 1981 and 1991. This rate of increase is considerably above national figures.

Likewise, indicators drawn from sources other than the Census confirm a high incidence of poverty and multiple deprivation. Current crime rates at 146.3 crimes per 1000 compare with the national figure of 105. Sunderland has poor health patterns with a higher than national average for deaths from coronary heart disease, strokes, lung cancer, breast cancer, and for accidents to under 15s.[4]

Comparative studies not only confirm the intensity of Sunderland's social and economic problems but show that Sunderland performs badly on a comparative basis. Green's study[5] based on a national analysis of 1981 and 1991 Census data indicates that Sunderland is only second to Liverpool in its degree, extent and intensity of poverty. The DoE's Index of Local Conditions[6] shows Sunderland as being the 53rd. worst out of 366 English districts based on high adverse scores over a number of economic, social, health, education and environmental indicators. If the three housing indicators in the index are removed Sunderland becomes the 5th. worst.

Studies show Sunderland as being poor not only in a national context but in a European context also. Cheshire's study[7] of prosperity of European cities with a population of over 250,000 showed that Sunderland was placed 113 out of 117 European cities. Of United Kingdom cities only Liverpool was ranked lower.

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[4] The data in this paragraph is taken from City of Sunderland Partnership (1994). Bid for Support from the Single Regeneration Budget. 1995-6. Sunderland City Council.

[5] Green A (1994). The Geography of Poverty and Wealth. Institute of Employment Research, Warwick, University of Warwick. .

[6] Department of the Environment (1991). Index of Local Conditions. London. HMSO.

[7] Cheshire P (1990) Explaining the Recent Performance of the European Community's Major Urban Areas. Urban Studies. vol. 27. no. 3. June.

Table 8.1 Selected Sunderland Census Data - 1981 and 1991

	Total Population		Owner Occupation (%)		Council and Housing Association (%)		Unemployed (% of economically active)		Lone Parent Families (%)		Households without cars (%)		Permanently sick (%)	
	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991
Sunderland	294,895	289,000	38.8	53.2	56.6	42.2	15.2	14.9	2.5	5.4	55	49	7.3	18.2
Tyne & Wear	1,143,200	1,089,808	38.7	53.1	49.0	39.9	13.3	13.8	2.4	5.0	56	51	7.1	15.5
Great Britain	54,147,000	54,888,844	56.0	66.0	31.2	24.5	8.8	9.3	2.1	3.8	39	33	4.7	10.5

Source: City of Sunderland (1994). Census of Population. Analysis of Key Statistics for Wards 1981 and 1991

8.2. Sunderland's House Building Programme

Introduction

The history and development of Sunderland's housing stock reflects its industrial history. Thus, most of Sunderland's older housing stock was built in the second half of the nineteenth century - the period when Sunderland's economy and population was expanding most rapidly. The older housing stock consisted of houses and terraces but, in addition, a large number of single storey terraced "bungalows" were constructed - a vernacular style unique to Sunderland.

By the 1930s its housing stock was in an appalling condition and the Sunderland council embarked on an early slum clearance programme. Sunderland's first peripheral estates built in the 1930s - Ford, Marley Potts and Southwick - were constructed to rehouse those displaced by the slum clearance. A further estate - Plains Farm - was completed by the North British Housing Association (now the Home Housing Association) in 1943 (plan 8.2 shows the location of Sunderland's peripheral estates).

Post War Development

Immediately after the war the Sunderland Council started work on an enormous house building programme. Development was largely in the form of peripheral estates (see table 8.3). The estates are not among the largest in the country - for example, compared to the estates in Glasgow and Liverpool (or Stoke-on-Trent for that matter - section 7.4) - but they are most extensive. North of the River Wear peripheral estates stretch uninterrupted for about three to four miles. South of the river they stretch for up to four miles south west from the city centre. "The Victorian town was ringed on all sides with council housing".[8] Sunderland's urban morphology, and its very appearance is dominated by the estates. Sunderland's post-war housing record is very impressive. Thus, Professor A. H. Halsey writing in 1969 was of the opinion that "(Sunderland's) housing policies have been outstanding in both aims and achievements".[9]

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[8] Milburn G., and Miller S. (eds.) (1988). Sunderland - River, Town and People. Sunderland, Borough of Sunderland. p. 199.

[9] Halsey, A. writing in the introduction to Dennis, N (1970). People and Planning. The Sociology of Housing in Sunderland. London, Faber and Faber.

Plan 8.2.

Sunderland's Peripheral Estates

Type of Estate

Pre-War

Post-War Traditional Layout

Radburn Layout

High Rise Flats

The Estates

Marley Potts	1
Southwick	2
Hylton Redhouse	3
Witherwack	4
Downhill	5
Town End Farm	6
Hylton Castle	7
Ford	8
Pennywell	9
Grindon	10
Springwell	11
Plains Farm	12
Thorney Close	13
Farringdon	14
Gilley Law	15
Doxford Park	16
Hill View	17
Hall Farm	18
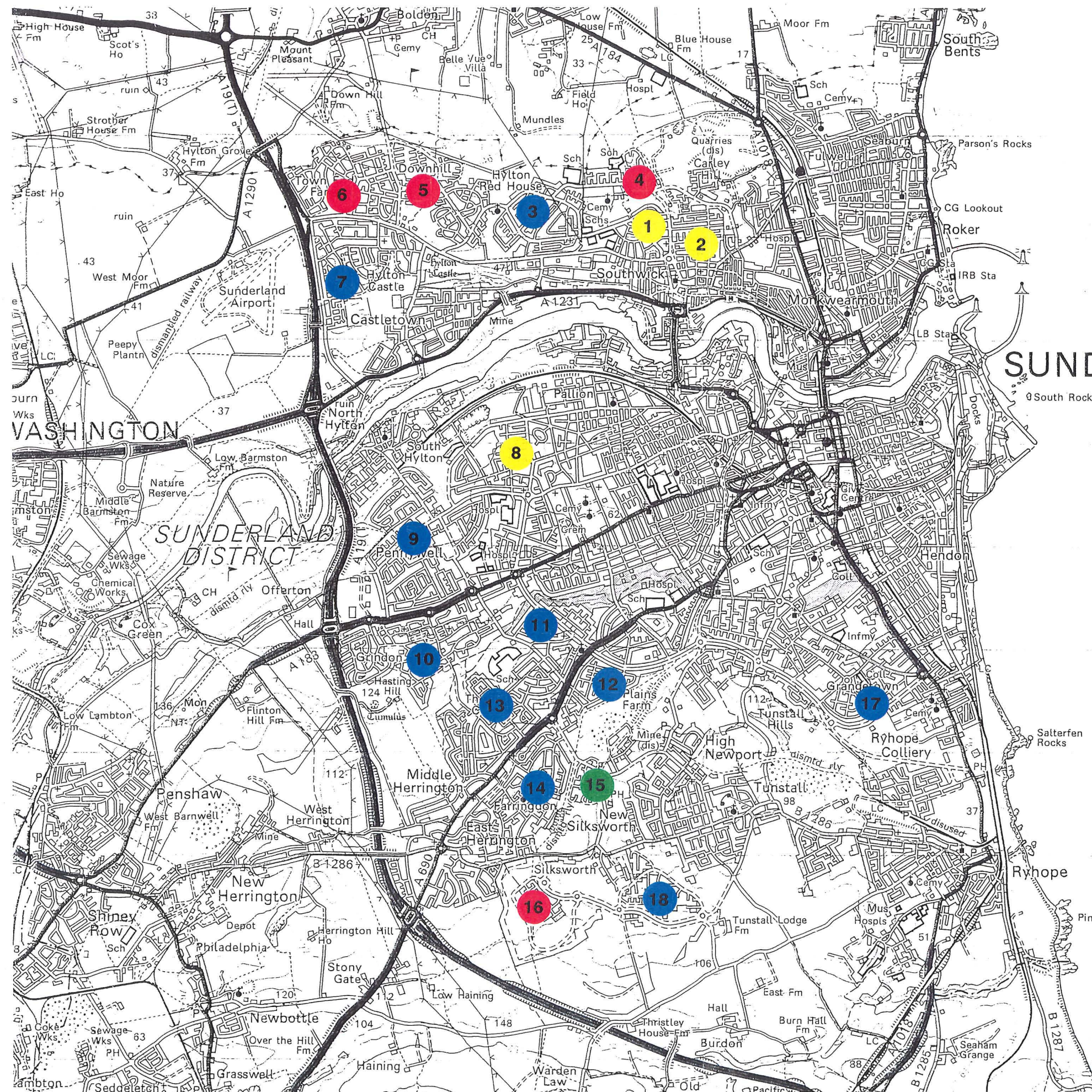
The estates constructed throughout this period functioned as "dormitories" for working class people[10] employed either in the shipyards or mines, or in the newer industries that were located on a number of peripheral industrial estates.

Comment

Sunderland's slum clearance and house building programmes gave rise to two important academic studies. Brian Robson's study of Sunderland undertaken in the late 1960s demonstrated how working class communities had been transferred to the new estates and how traditional models of urban growth based on assumptions of market led forces had been rendered invalid by the scale of public sector intervention in the land market.[11] Norman Dennis's study of the related slum clearance programme published in 1970 demonstrated the bureaucratic, legalistic and mechanistic processes involved in both the slum clearance programme and in the subsequent relocation of people to the new peripheral estates.[12]

Sunderland's house building programme was typical of the period. In particular there appears to have been no attempt at "social planning" or to provide a balance of land uses and activities on the estates. With the exception of schools, churches, shops and a community centre; leisure, recreational and community facilities were almost entirely missing. Although a lack of facilities is a common feature of peripheral estates the provision may have been particularly poor in Sunderland because the Labour group at the time was dominated by Methodists who disapproved of pubs.[13]

Sunderland's house building programme with its emphasis on the construction of peripheral or overspill estates was replicated throughout the North East and, in fact, throughout the United Kingdom as described in section 4.1. The programme is typical of the welfare approach (sections 3.2 and 3.5) and was part of the overall "modernisation" of the city's physical structure - the construction of peripheral estates, slum clearance, new industrial areas, a large scale school building programme, and even an ubiquitous Arndale shopping precinct.

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[10] Some housing officers when interviewed balked at a description of peripheral estates as housing "working class" people. They felt that the estates originally served for *general* housing purposes and that it was tenure rather than class that was important. However, the expression "working class" matches the socio-economic structure and predominant culture of the people living on the estates.

[11] Robson B. (1969). Urban Analysis. A Study of City Structure with special reference to Sunderland. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

[12] op.cit. Dennis N. (1970).

[13] This point was made by the present Deputy Leader of Sunderland City Council when interviewed.

8.3. Economic Development - "Re-industrialisation"

Economic Decline

Sunderland's economic decline has resulted in unemployment levels which have been consistently 5-6% higher than the national average ever since the 1930s. Since then the government has aimed to reduce unemployment levels and to diversify the Sunderland economy away from its traditional dependence on mining, shipbuilding and heavy manufacturing industry. Sunderland, was designated together with the remainder of the North East as a depressed area under the Special Areas Act, 1934. After the war Sunderland was included in the North East Development Area.

By the early 1970s the unemployment situation in Sunderland had eased a little due largely to the cumulative impact of the incoming manufacturing industry but assisted also by the boost given to service sector employment following publication of the White Paper on the North East's economy - "The Hailsham Plan" - in 1963.[14]

Despite these efforts Sunderland was hit heavily by the recession of 1978-79. Overall unemployment rose to 15.2% in 1981 and continued to rise to 17.5% in 1985. Noticeable unemployment "black spots" also began to appear. In April 1985 the unemployment rate in Sunderland's East End was 47.3% and at Thorney Close, a peripheral estate, it was 32.8%.

Sunderland's economy had been vulnerable to the recession for a number of reasons.[15] The decline of its staple industries had been continuing and there had been a failure to diversify into new growth industries. Incoming industry had consisted predominantly of branch plants which were liable to closure in response to market contraction and product obsolescence. Many of these firms, located on peripheral industrial estates, employed over 500 people, so when such firms as Plessey's, Hepworth, Jackson the Tailor and Thorn-EMI closed during the later 1970s and early 1980s the consequences were far reaching.

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[14] HMSO. (1963). The North-East - A Programme for Regional Development and Growth (Hailsham Report), Cmnd.2206. London, HMSO.
[15] Amin A. and Tomaney J. (1991). Creating an Enterprise Culture in the North East? The Impact of Urban and Regional Policies of the 1980s. Regional Studies. October. pp. 479-487.

Sunderland, like other older industrial towns, has experienced the economic decline which is a product of the restructuring of the British economy (section 4.3). Like other older industrial towns it built a large number of peripheral estates to house people employed in the very industries that took the brunt of industrial restructuring.

Local Economic Development

Sunderland's worsening economic circumstances from the late 1970s onwards and, in particular, the closure of the last shipyard in 1988 persuaded the government to target further assistance at the Sunderland economy. In May 1987 the government established the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation with a remit to reclaim and develop land along both banks of the River Wear, including land that was to be vacated by the final closure of the shipyards in the following year. The Development Corporation aimed to attract inward investment and its vision can be described as being "post industrial"[16] as it was based on residential, retail, and leisure use of former industrial sites. Three Enterprise Zones followed in 1991 - two of these Enterprise Zones were on greenfield sites. All three Enterprise Zones and the riparian areas included in the Urban Development Corporation's development area either immediately adjoin peripheral estates or are easily accessible from them.

To further encourage inward investment The Wearside Opportunity was established in 1989 - a limited life local private sector initiative with government support - to boost business confidence and to promote and boost the image of Sunderland. The associated slogans - "Make it in Wearside" and the aim to make Wearside "the advanced manufacturing centre of the North" underline the approach.

Sunderland City Council has complimented these local economic development initiatives. Its current economic development strategy consists of a conventional package of infrastructure improvements, business support and advice, financial incentives, assistance for recruitment and training, and marketing.[17] In fact, local economic development in Sunderland in the 1980s whether led by the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation or by the local authority epitomised the entrepreneurial or privatism approach of the period (section 3.5).

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[16] see (i) op.cit. Amin and Tomaney (1991) and (ii) Robinson F., Shaw K., and Lawrence M. (1993). Urban Development Corporations - More than bricks and mortar? Town and Country Planning. June.
[17] City of Sunderland (1996). Economic Development Initiatives. Sunderland, Sunderland City Council.

The Outcome

The Sunderland economy has been transformed. Table 8.2 below shows sectoral employment figures since 1976. The primary and manufacturing sectors declined sharply in the 1970s and 1980s but the manufacturing sector is now expanding and currently has the best recent performance of any local authority area in the North East.[18] Its growth is based on the Nissan development which opened in 1984 and is resulting in the creation of a motor vehicle manufacturing capacity in Sunderland.

The figures contained in table 8.2 mask the fact that most recently economic improvement in Sunderland has accelerated. Thus, at present, the unemployment figures for Sunderland are declining rapidly both absolutely and in relative terms to the figures for elsewhere in the Northern Region and for Great Britain. Overall unemployment dropped from 10.3% in October 1996 to 7.9% in October 1997 and is now only 2.9% above the national average.[19]

Sunderland has been "extremely successful in attracting inward investment".[20] The City Council's Strategy for 1996-97 states that Sunderland has successfully attracted 3,000 new jobs in the last 18 months. The successes have not only been tangible in terms of jobs but in terms of physical change. The Urban Development Corporation has transformed both banks of the River Wear (photographs 8.1.1, 8.1.2 and 8.1.4).

The Nissan development on the urban fringe of Sunderland has brought not only tangible benefits but helped improve Sunderland's image with potential investors - "the benefits of Nissan are incalculable" (CITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL). The Doxford International Enterprise Zone (photograph 8.1.3) has had outstanding success. The Audit Commission is of the opinion that it is the most successful in the country.[21] The Enterprise Zone has attracted a cluster of core telephone centres including London Electricity and Mercury One-to-One.

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[18] I have not seen any hard evidence to this effect. This comment is based on the views expressed to me by the representative at the Government Office for the North East when we met and seems to have some general acceptance.

[19] City of Sunderland (1997a). Unemployment in Sunderland - October 1997. Report by the Chief Executive to the Management and Industry Sub-Committee. 3. December.

[20] Sunderland City Council (1997b) City Strategy 1996-97. Sunderland, Sunderland City Council. p. 7.

[21] ibid.

Table 8.2. Employment by Sector within Sunderland

Sector	1973 ('000s)	1981 ('000s)	1989 ('000s)	1996 (000s)
Primary (including mining)	11	7	4	under 1
Manufacturing	50	32	28	29
Tertiary and Service Industries	51	61	60	66

Sources: Sunderland City Council documents, and Stone and Braidford (1997)

This account of relatively successful economic restructuring masks a marked locational shift in the spatial distribution of jobs in both the manufacturing and service sectors. Inner city employment is being replaced by jobs created by inward investment on Sunderland's periphery - at Nissan in Washington, and on the Enterprise Zones. Thus a variety of new employment opportunities are being provided in both the manufacturing and service sectors in locations well suited for the residents of the peripheral estates. Paradoxically the movement outward of employment opportunities favours the unemployed on the peripheral estates. Peter Hall's suggestion[22] that the employment prospects for those living on peripheral estates are adversely affected by their peripheral location is not borne out by what is happening in Sunderland. In fact, it is just the other way round.

[22] Hall P. (1997). Regeneration Policies for Peripheral Housing Estates: Inward- and Outward- looking Approaches. Urban Studies. Vol. 34. Nos. 5/6. pp. 873-890.

Photographs 8.1. The "New" Sunderland

8.1.1. The new university campus

8.1.2. Executive housing and marina

Photographs 8.1. The "New" Sunderland

8.1.3. Doxford Park International Enterprise Zone

8.1.4. "The Stadium of Light" - Sunderland AFC

8.4. Multiple Deprivation - Incidence and Responses

Introduction

Increasing social problems and the widespread incidence of multiple deprivation have meant that the government has targeted all the major urban policy initiatives which have "social" objectives at Sunderland. Despite the high profile of local economic development in the later 1980s and in the 1990s, urban policy in Sunderland is marked by both continuity and change. Sunderland was eligible for Urban Programme funding (see below) at the level of £7.3 million in its last full year -1992-93. Since the demise of the Urban Programme Sunderland has received not insignificant funds from City Challenge and then from all four rounds of the Single Regeneration Budget.

The Incidence of Multiple Deprivation and the Urban Programme

Evidence of widespread multiple deprivation in Sunderland was first clearly found in the 1971 Census. An "Area Needs Report" prepared for the council[23] indicated the key areas of deprivation. When Sunderland subsequently became a Programme Authority under the Inner Urban Areas Act 1978 the designated inner urban area was based largely on this report. The area included the inner city as it might conventionally have been perceived plus three peripheral estates - Southwick, Ford and Pennywell.

The 1981 Census contained further evidence of multiple deprivation. An analysis of that Census by Redfern[24] showed that the incidence of multiple deprivation had widened to include many more peripheral estates. The six most deprived wards in Sunderland were those that contained substantial peripheral estates - from Southwick in the north to Thorney Close in the south. The analysis also suggested that in comparison with inner wards conditions on the peripheral estates were declining. The absolute and relative decline of Sunderland's estates through the 1970s mirrors the experience elsewhere (section 4.2).

On the basis of the evidence from the Census the local authority persistently lobbied[25] the Department of the Environment to have the designated inner area boundary

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[23] Borough of Sunderland (1975). Area Needs Report. Report of the Programme Planning Manager to the Management Committee. 2 September.

[24] Redfern P. (1982). Profile of our Cities. Population Trends. Winter. Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys.

[25] Borough of Sunderland (1983). Extension of the Inner Urban Area Boundary. Report of the Programme Planning Manager to the Management Committee. 23 June.

extended. In 1983 two substantial outer areas were given "special priority outer area" status. In 1988 these areas were included within the designated inner area. This resulted in all the larger peripheral estates except one - Doxford Park - being included in the inner area which almost doubled as a consequence to include 42% of Sunderland's population. The extension of Sunderland's inner area was not unique. At the same time Knowsley Borough Council was designated as a programme authority and the government initiated the regeneration scheme for Cantril Farm - a large peripheral estate (section 3.6).

City Challenge and the Single Regeneration Budget

In 1992 Sunderland Borough Council was successful in its second bid to obtain City Challenge funding. Sunderland's City Challenge area covers most of Sunderland north of the River Wear and has a population of 37,000. The City Challenge scheme is particularly interesting because it consists almost entirely of an area made up of seven peripheral estates (also included are two relatively small former mining communities) - "it (the City Challenge area) is a very large housing estate" (GOVERNMENT OFFICE OFFICIAL).

The characteristics of the area are determined by the council estates - 85% of the houses in the City Challenge area were developed by the local authority. There are considerable multiple problems in the area as indicated in the DoE's Index of Local Conditions.[26] However, although the problems are considerable, they are no greater than are to be found on other clusters of peripheral estates in Sunderland. The reasons for the choice of north west Sunderland are, therefore, open to conjecture but the choice of north west Sunderland does indicate a concern by the local authority and the Department of the Environment about the worsening circumstances on Sunderland's peripheral estates.

The City Challenge programme is multi-faceted (fuller details and discussion are included in the chapter 11 and in section 12.4). The City Challenge area is surrounded by what was described in the City Challenge bidding document as "The Ring of Opportunity",[27] that is, the area containing the additional jobs attracted to Sunderland as a result of the various job creation activities which have been aimed at Sunderland since the closure of the shipyards many of which are located on sites adjoining the

[26] Department of Architecture and Planning (1994). City of Sunderland. DoE : Index of Local Conditions. Sunderland City Council.
[27] Borough of Sunderland (1992). Sunderland City Challenge 1992. Bidding document submitted to the Department of the Environment. Sunderland Borough Council. Sunderland.

City Challenge area. City Challenge can be described as a "twin track approach" in that it attempts to link jobs and the unemployed on a spatial basis. In that respect it mirrors a similar approach adopted in Glasgow.[28]

Peripheral estates did not feature in the first two rounds of the Single Regeneration Budget in 1994 and 1995.[29] [30] However, the bid for the third round, 1996-97, entitled "Pride in Pennywell"[31] represents a return to concern about the peripheral estates. The bid is aimed at the Pennywell Estate (for a fuller discussion see the chapter on Pennywell (section 9.9) and the concluding chapter of the case study - chapter 12) which is described as "one of the City's most disadvantaged and stigmatised areas" where "we are in effect faced with the task of rebuilding a community".[32] The bid for £21 mil. is intended to finance measures which "arrest the further socio-economic decline of the area; invest in the future of local people; and build up local capacity to sustain regeneration in the longer term."[33] In December 1996 the Government Office for the North East granted Sunderland 80% of the bid.

Overview

Despite the efforts to regenerate Sunderland's local economy and to cope with the cities' most pressing social and economic problems, a range of studies highlight Sunderland's continuing economic and social difficulties. Poverty is concentrated where it is to be expected - in "the inner city" and on the peripheral estates. Recently, The Observer published the findings of a study that showed that the Sunderland postal districts which cover the inner city - SR1 and SR2 - have the lowest average household income in the United Kingdom. [34] However, it is the *extent* of poverty, on the peripheral estates both spatially and in terms of the total number of people affected, that is so important. A breakdown of the DoE's Index of Local Conditions on a small area basis demonstrates continuing widespread problems on the peripheral

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[28] Carley M (1990). Housing and Neighbourhood Renewal. Britain's new urban challenge. London, Policy Studies Institute.
[29] City of Sunderland Partnership (1994). Bid for Support from the Single Regeneration Budget 1995-6. Sunderland City Council.
[30] City of Sunderland Partnership (1995). Work and Learn. Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund Bid. 1996-97. Sunderland City Council.
[31] City of Sunderland Council (1996). Pride in Pennywell. Challenge Fund 1996-97. Final Bid. Sunderland City Council.
[32] ibid. p 2.
[33] ibid.
[34] Kellner P (1996). Britain 1996 : An A-Z of Wealth and Welfare. Observer. 15 September.

estates.[35] Despite progress in restructuring the Sunderland economy and the location of many new jobs within easy access of the estates, people on the estates do not appear, as a whole, to be the beneficiaries.

8.5. The Peripheral Estates

Introduction

There are 18 peripheral estates in Sunderland with over 500 dwellings (see Table 8.3 for details and plan 8.2 for location) forming an arc of local authority housing development around the older core of Sunderland from the north to the south west. The estates vary in distance from the city centre, the furthest are four to five miles distant.

The layout of the estates and the housing stock itself reflect the periods in which they were built. The 1930s estates consist mainly of semi-detached houses. Immediate post war estates tend to contain a mixture of two storey semi-detached and terraced housing together with low rise blocks of flats and maisonettes arranged in "traditional" layouts. However the more recent estates of the later 1960s and early 1970s were designed on "Radburn" principles and attempted to separate vehicles and pedestrians. One estate - Gilley Law - now consists entirely of high rise flats - the surrounding low rise flats having been demolished in 1989. In overall terms the estates are typical of the peripheral development of the post war period (section 4.5).

Management Issues

The overall quality of the housing stock on the estates does not create particular problems. Most of it was built using traditional building methods and council policy is to modernise properties when they become 30 years old - a policy which, by and large, it is able to adhere to despite financial constraints.[36]

Housing problems on the peripheral estates are limited in extent and intensity. Problems are caused by an imbalance between the supply of and demand for particular house types. Certain types of dwellings - two, three and four storey flats and maisonettes - are unpopular. This problem is accentuated by Sunderland's overall

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[35] This remark is based on a detailed breakdown produced by the Regeneration Team within the Chief Executive's Department of Sunderland City Council.
[36] City of Sunderland (1996). Housing Strategy (1997-8). Sunderland, Sunderland City Council.

Table 8.3. Sunderland's Peripheral Estates

	Name of Estate	Distance from city centre (miles)	Period of Construction	Number of Dwellings	Layout Type	Estate Action Funding	Designated Inner Urban Area	City Challenge Area	Proposed Housing Action Trust	Single Regeneration Budget funding	Houses sold (%)	Average House Price (£'000s)
1	Marley Potts	1.5	1922-3	600	traditional		yes	yes			37	30,000
2	Southwick	1.5	1930s	750	traditional	yes	yes	yes			23	30,000
3	Hylton Redhouse	2-3	early 1950s	2700	traditional		yes	yes			40	44,000
4	Witherwack	2	1966-8	560	Radburn		yes	yes			33	30,000
5	Downhill	4	1965-9	1000	Radburn	yes	yes	yes	yes		37	35,000
6	Town End Farm	5	1960-3	1700	Radburn	yes	yes	yes	yes		32	31,000
7	Hylton Castle	4	1953-6	2000	traditional		yes	yes	yes		35	35,000
8	Ford	1.5-2	1920s - 1930s	1800	traditional		yes			yes	14	30,000
9	Pennywell	2-3	1945-53	2950	traditional	yes	yes			yes	19	25,000
10	Grindon	3	late 1950s	1700	traditional		yes				52	40,000
11	Springwell	2	1946-9	1000	traditional		yes				33	35,000
12	Plains Farm	2	late 1930s-early 1940s	1070	traditional		yes				14	35,000
13	Thorney Close	3	1947-50	2100	traditional	yes	yes				20	35,000
14	Farringdon	3	1952-7	2000	traditional	yes	yes				50	35,000
15	Gilley Law	3	1966-8	886	high rise flats		yes				not known	not known
16	Doxford Park	4	late 1960s-early 1970s	840	Radburn						45	55,000
17	Hill View	1.5	1949	524	traditional						63	50,000
18	Hall Farm	4	late 1970s	500	traditional						57	55,000

Sources - City of Sunderland Housing Investment Plan 1997-98 and other documents.

crude housing surplus. Thus, some groups of flats and maisonettes have become "difficult to let" and major problems have been created on the Witherwack, Downhill, Town End Farm (chapter 11), Thorney Close (chapter 10), and Farringdon estates, with concentrations of difficult to let larger family houses, for example, on the Southwick and Pennywell estates (chapter 9). These problems have been addressed by Estate Action funded schemes.

The environment on the estates, taken as a whole, can only be described as being monotonous, bleak, and drab. However, with the exception of the problems associated with the Radburn layouts on the Town End Farm and Downhill Estates the problems are not structural and Sunderland's estates are visually similar to those on peripheral council estates throughout the country.

Housing Management and Regeneration

The Sunderland City Council's Housing Department currently manages 41,368 dwellings[37] - the largest housing stock of any local housing authority in the north east of England. The Housing Department is having to face increasing management problems caused by poverty, anti-social behaviour and vandalism. In particular, the increasingly residual housing role being played by the council's housing stock is having a significant impact. The percentage of council owned housing in Sunderland declined from 43.7% in 1984 to 34.7% in 1996. Over the same period the percentage of the housing stock in the owner occupied sector increased from 50.0% to 58.6%.

Economically more successful residents are moving out of the rented sector and are being replaced by incomers who are poor. Figures contained in the current Housing Strategy Statement show that 22.0% of all applicants on the present waiting list were old and that 27.8% were single people. Both these groups are typically prone to unemployment and poverty. In fact further figures in the Housing Strategy Statement prove the point. 69% of applicants had an income level of below £99 per week and only 4% had a weekly income above £200.[38] Sunderland's council tenants are poor and becoming poorer. The changed circumstances of Sunderland's housing tenants reflect the processes which have taken place nationally (section 4.5).

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[37] ibid. p. 11.

[38] The Housing Strategy statement does not define "applicant" but the income figures can be assumed to apply to the head of household.

The department seems to be coping well with increasing management pressure. It emphasises customer care and efficiency - "we have a performance led culture".[39] The department performs well on the key performance indicators - namely, reducing rent arrears, the percentage of empty properties, and the average relet time. The department claims that it carries out repairs rapidly and it has instituted regular "Customer Care" visits. The Housing Department's good performance is in line with other large local housing authorities.[40] In fact, one of the three original HATs was in Sunderland and its rejection confirms that the department is reasonably popular with its tenants (section 5.4).

The Selection of Estates for Further Study

Three estates were chosen for further study. They were chosen to reflect the differences displayed by Sunderland's estates as follows - (i) the initial function of the estate; (ii) estate layout and housing mix; (iii) presenting problems; (iv) history of policy intervention; (v) levels of community activity; and (vi) current circumstances. On this basis Pennywell, Thorney Close and Town End Farm were chosen. The three estates between them display a range of differences (see table 8.4).

Table 8.5 contains some of the key indicators of the economic and social circumstances which currently prevail on the three estates chosen. All three estates display serious economic and social problems. Pennywell scores slightly higher than the other two estates but multiple deprivation is a feature of all three (further details are included in the next three chapters)

The most significant difference between the estates is the variation in the average price of a three bedroom semi-detached house - in practice, the value of former council houses on the open market. These figures indicate the unpopularity of Pennywell. Thorney Close, on the other hand, appears to be the most popular of the three estates studied although the average house price at Town End Farm may be significantly suppressed because of the relatively large number of houses that have come onto the market as a result of the estate's regeneration and its associated policy of tenure diversification.

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[39] op.cit. City of Sunderland (1996).p. 40.
[40] Maclennan D. (1989). The Nature and Effectiveness of Housing Management in Britain: Summary Report and Conclusions. London, HMSO.

Table 8.4. Estate Based Case Studies - Summary Information

Name of Estate	Initial Construction	Estate layout and housing mix	Presenting Problems (1998)	Policy Record	Community and Voluntary Sector Activity	Comment
Pennywell	"General housing needs". 1949-1953. 2,950 dwellings.	Traditional construction and layout. Semi-detached and terraced housing.	Stigmatised estate. High crime area. Contains an area of difficult to let houses.	Inclusion in Inner Urban Area since its inception A number of "partial" policy initiatives.	Strong voluntary sector. Embryonic residents' association.	Continued stigmatisation. High crime levels. Inclusion in successful SRB Round Three bid.
Thorney Close	"General housing needs". 1947-1950. 2,100 dwellings.	Traditional construction and layout. Semi-detached and terraced housing.	Limited number of "difficult to let" low rise flats now being converted into houses.	Low profile.	Almost non-existent.	Average reputation threatened by possibility of decline.
Town End Farm	Housing for slum clearance purposes. Late 1960s. 1,700 dwellings.	Radburn layout. Semi-detached and terraced housing. 40% low rise flats	None but history of problems associated with "difficult to let" flats, its Radburn layout, and a poor reputation.	Inclusion in proposed Sunderland HAT. Comprehensive housing regeneration funded by Estate Action. Within Sunderland City Challenge area.	Strong residents' association. Declining voluntary sector.	Improved reputation.

Table 8.5. Estate Based Case Studies - Social and Economic Indicators

Indicators	Town End Farm	Pennywell	Thorney Close	Sunderland	England and Wales
Overall Unemployment (%)	28.7	31.1	28.9	14.9	9.3
Households without a car (%)	69.9	71.7	71.2	49.0	33.0
Children in low income households (%)	53.3	51.0	51.0	33.0	18.7
Average price of a semi-detached (£)	31,000	25,000	35,000	53,000	64,000

Source - Sunderland City Council documents.

Note - The statistics in the first three rows are compilations which apply the DoE's 1991 Index of Local Conditions.

The average prices of a semi-detached house are for 1997.

8. 6. Sunderland City Council

Sunderland politics are dominated by the Labour Movement and the Sunderland Council has been controlled by the Labour Party since its inception (the present composition of the council is Labour 68, Liberal 3, and Conservative 2).

Because of the tradition of intervention to tackle economic problems, which can be traced back to the 1930s, there is a marked corporatist dimension to urban governance in Sunderland as elsewhere in the North East.[41] Thus, the Sunderland Council has a pragmatic record. It co-operated with the last government - "they will grab any opportunity to get money and they are not inhibited by political principles" (CITY COUNCIL REGENERATION TEAM REPRESENTATIVE).

Partnership has become a feature of governance in Sunderland. The City of Sunderland Partnership, founded in 1992, developed out of the Wearside Opportunity (section 8.3). As first set up the partnership consisted of the City Council, Sunderland University, the North East Chamber of Commerce, Sunderland TEC, Tyne and Wear Development Corporation, and the Sunderland Forum - a wider grouping of business interests. Its principal role has been to develop and implement local economic development strategies and to obtain benefit from inter-corporate working - a standard development in the later 1980s which was strongly supported by the then government (section 3.7).

8.7. Conclusion

The City-wide Context

The city-wide context as set out in this chapter has the following features of interest -

- Sunderland's economy has been based until recently on a cluster of traditional industries which have been in severe decline. Sunderland is, therefore, typical of many other urban areas which had large public sector house building programmes in the post-war period.

- Sunderland has been targeted by a full range of local economic development initiatives and by most urban policy initiatives.

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[41] Shaw K. (1993). The development of a new urban corporatism: the politics of urban regeneration in the North East of England. <u>Regional Studies</u>. Vol. 27. No. 3. pp. 251-59.

- Sunderland is now beginning to experience economic improvement and has had success in attracting inward investment much of which has located *peripherally*.

- The Labour Party controls Sunderland City Council which has a pragmatic attitude towards local economic development and regeneration. The local authority has experience of working in partnership.

The Peripheral Estates

Sunderland's peripheral estates present a context for research which can be summarised as follows -

- Sunderland has a large number of estates, which although not as large as some peripheral estates elsewhere collectively have a dominating influence.

- The estates display variations in their initial function; layouts and housing mix; problems that have been presented by them since their construction; and records of policy intervention.

- Apart from limited areas of "difficult to let" housing the condition of the housing stock is not a problem.

- The estates are managed by an efficient, mainstream housing department that has learned from past mistakes and is "customer conscious".

- There are widespread problems of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion on most, if not all, of Sunderland's peripheral estates.

- A wide range of urban policy led and housing led regeneration schemes have been targeted at the estates.

9. PENNYWELL ESTATE

9.1. Introduction

The Pennywell Estate was built for "general housing purposes" before Sunderland's post-war slum clearance programme commenced. Both the estate's layout and the design of the housing stock is traditional (photograph 9.1.1). The estate is stigmatised and it has a notorious reputation. Pennywell is affected by multiple deprivation similar to that on Thorney Close and Town End Farm (table 8.5) but it is a notably high crime area and has areas of housing which are deteriorating and are difficult to let.

A number of initiatives have been targeted at the estate but none of these have been comprehensive in coverage or scope. However, a comprehensive approach to the regeneration of the estate has now commenced following a successful bid in Round Three of the SRB Challenge Fund.

9.2. History of the Estate.

Introduction.

The Pennywell Estate is the largest housing estate in Sunderland. It consists of 2847 properties almost exclusively in the form of houses (only 7% are flats). The population is 10,859. The estate was constructed between 1949 and 1953 about three miles from the city centre on land that was at the time on the county borough boundary.

The estate consists of semi-detached brick family houses with front and back gardens and the layout is traditional with all the houses facing onto roads. In the 1960s and 1970s further development took place on land which had been originally left open but the estate remains essentially in the form in which it was first built.

The original inhabitants were a mixture of ex-service families, families rehoused from the slums or taken from the general housing waiting list. Apparently tenants were chosen carefully and "the housing department required three references" (HOUSING OFFICER). The original residents found work in the pits (Monkwearmouth and Silksworth collieries), the shipyards, the docks, and traditional heavy manufacturing

industry such as Sunderland Forge. The men cycled or walked to work. "Everybody had a job" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT) .

Pennywell's peripherality was a key feature right from its inception. The Sunderland Echo in 1953 stated that -

> "Pennywell was so far out of town that to begin with it had the aspect of an English country village without a past",[1]

and the same article suggested that this had implications for life on the estate -

> "Pennywell has .... the distinction of being further from the centre of Sunderland than any other estate, and this probably more than anything else colours the life for the workmen, housewives, and children who live there".[2]

The estate was built without any facilities whatsoever. The original occupants had to travel to the town centre for cinemas, shops, doctors, churches and so on. As one of the original residents put it - "looking back now it is unbelievable". Shops, schools, churches, and an industrial estate were to follow in the later 1950s and in the 1960s.

Life on this new estate, however, appeared to be fine and the residents were happy. A Mrs. Stockdale of Parkhurst Road was reported as telling the Sunderland Echo in 1959 that -

> "This is a really fine estate and my family and I are very happy to live here. We have some excellent shops and we are very happy. What is more important the people are very friendly."[3]

Others of the original residents related that "the neighbours used to pop in and out"; "we played cards together"; "people were proud of their houses"; "they had a bathroom and a bedroom each" (ORIGINAL RESIDENTS).

The Decline of Pennywell

The estate has deteriorated steadily since its inception. Already by 1971 the Census indicated higher than average unemployment figures and an incidence of multiple deprivation. Pennywell has, in fact, become a stigmatised estate with an appalling image. The culmination of the decline could be taken to be the broadcasting of a Weekend Television programme in November 1993 - "Special Inquiry - the

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[1] Sunderland Echo (1953). People of Pennywell Need Penny-wise Budgets. 22. January.
[2] ibid.
[3] Sunderland Echo (1959). Community of Proud and Friendly Folk. 29. September.

Underclass" - some of the filming for which was done on the Pennywell Estate. In the programme Pennywell was compared to some of the worst ghetto areas in Chicago. Less emotively the Sunderland Housing Department has recently described Pennywell as "one of the City's most unpopular and stigmatised estates".[4] Pennywell fits in well with the characteristics associated with particularly difficult housing neighbourhoods. Pennywell was included in the list of 40 "No Go Areas" identified by "The Independent on Sunday" in 1994.[5]

Table 9.1 below sets out a number of key social and economic indicators for the Pennywell Estate. Pennywell suffers the consequences of multiple deprivation. The estate houses a concentration of poorer people. Among the more significant indicators are the high unemployment rate which is particularly high among the 18-24 age group and on certain parts of the estate - some enumeration districts have an overall unemployment rate of nearly 50%; a doubling of the number of single parent families from 1981 to 1991; the low number of managers and professionals living on the estate; a poor health record - "the worst in Sunderland" (HEALTH PROFESSIONAL); and the exceptionally low rates of educational attainment. These figures together with the heavy incidence of crime and the fear of crime plus the emergence of hard drugs on the estate are the reality behind the estate's poor image and reputation.

Pennywell has undergone enormous change since the early 1950s. The decline in Pennywell's fortunes can be related to the decline of Sunderland's traditional industries from the early 1960s onwards when Pennywell residents were first made redundant on a significant scale. Pennywell was particularly vulnerable to industrial change because Pennywell's role had been "to provide homes to the secondary workforce rather than the cream of the working class" (ESTATE BASED PROFESSIONAL) and it was this unskilled workforce that tended to lose their jobs first. The resulting high incidence of unemployment not only had direct consequences but appears to have led to tension as life styles started to diverge depending on differing family fortunes.

There are no doubt other reasons for the decline of Pennywell. The lack of facilities, the dreary estate layout, and the predominance of larger 3 and 4 bedroom houses on

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[4] Sunderland Housing Department (1995a). Area Strategy Report. Havelock Housing Management Area.
p. 50.
[5] Victor P., Cooper G., and Taylor D. (1994). Fear Rules in No-Go Britain. Independent on Sunday. 17. April.

the estate which has created a demographic imbalance with more young people may well all be contributing factors. However, the *steepness* and *extent* of the decline cannot be accounted for - "it's a bit inexplicable" (DIRECTOR OF HOUSING).

Table 9.1. Pennywell - Key Statistics

Population	10,859
Total Number of Households	2,847
Unemployment - male (%)	40.5
female (%)	21.9
overall (%)	33.0
Households without a car (%)	70.7
Households with long term illness or disability (%)	17.5
Ethnic minority groups (%)	0.4
Single parent families (%)	8.6
Residents under 17 (%)	35.0
Children obtaining 5 GCSE passes at Grade "C" or above (%)	5.0
"Right-to-buy" sales (%)	19.0
Average price of three bedroomed semi-detached house	£25,000

(Sources: 1991 Census and local authority documents)

Overview

Pennywell is now a stigmatised estate. In the words of Sunderland's Housing Department -

> "Doctors are refusing to make house calls on the upper Pennywell area. Television and video rental is refused and house content insurance and hire purchase is almost impossible to obtain. What chance therefore do residents have when trying to improve their quality of life?"[6]

The estate's adverse circumstances have demoralised the people living on it. Collective self confidence is low. "People are so ground down" "wherever they turn there are barriers" "people believe what is being said about them" "they want work but they are realists" "there is no expectation of getting a job" (COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS).

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[6] Sunderland Housing Department (1995b). Pennywell - Masterplan Issues. Sunderland, Sunderland Housing Services. p. 14.

9.3. Housing

Introduction

The entire housing stock of 2,800 units was built by the local authority. 450 of these units (19%) have subsequently been sold under the "Right to Buy" provisions of the Housing Act 1980. The condition of the housing stock is good, the houses having been improved in the early 1980s. For housing management purposes the estate is divided into two. The two areas tend to be referred to as Upper and Lower Pennywell respectively.

Housing Management

The Pennywell Estate presents severe housing management problems. Of the 1600 houses in Upper Pennywell about 200 are currently vacant. The annual turnover of tenancies is 22% and less than 50% of the tenants have lived on the estate for more than five years. The Housing Department has summed up the situation in the following words - "it is fair to say that there is no demand for this estate whatsoever".[7]

The cost of these number of voids is enormous in terms of lost rental income, in securing properties with alarms and amour glazing, and in the repair of malicious damage. The Housing Department estimates that the cost has quadrupled in the last year.[8]

"Difficult-to-let" Housing.

Within the Pennywell estate there are two[9] relatively small areas where "difficult to let" houses are concentrated. These areas often have a predominance of larger four bedroom houses or a mixture of circumstances which create an "indefensible" environment - long straight roads which encourage joy riding and the display of stolen cars, alleyways or "cuts", as they are known locally, or adjacent open land.

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[7] Sunderland Housing Services (1997). Upper Pennywell. Suggestions Welcome. Sunderland, Sunderland City Council. unnumbered pages.
[8] ibid.
[9] A third area consisting of 42 houses at Pickering Square was demolished in May 1995.

The largest and most problematic area is in Upper Pennywell where an Estate Action scheme funded the improvement of a group of 263 difficult-to-let houses (photograph 9.1.2). The scheme was implemented between 1990 and 1995 and focused on environmental improvements - fencing, the provision of in-curtilage car parking, the planting of corner sites and the clearing and equipping of a piece of back land as a play area. At the same time the houses were provided with security oriented improvements. Two years later the houses and the environmental improvements have been devastated - many of the houses have been fire-bombed. At present about 30 of the houses are vacant and a similar number of tenants have applied for transfers. The reason for the failure is not difficult to find. The same tenants with the same problems remained in the properties.

Tenant Involvement

The Housing Department appointed a Tenant Liaison Officer with a specific remit to involve residents in the Estate Action scheme. The tenant's group was actively involved in drawing up the proposals for the improvement scheme but appears to have been a typical "single issue" phenomenon and had virtually ceased to exist once the Estate Action funded improvements had been completed.

Since then the Housing Department has been instrumental in getting a successor organisation - The Upper Pennywell Residents Association - off the ground. "They (the Housing Department) were desperate to get a tenant's group; somebody to talk to; you have got to for the SRB" (HOUSING OFFICER) (section 9.9). The Housing Department circulated residents; convened meetings; collaborated with the police to exclude those with a criminal record; and provide training, incidental expenses and a flat for use by the Residents' Association.

The outcome of this determined support has been the establishment of the Residents' Association with a committee of 13. The Residents' Association in the six months of its existence has produced a newsletter, run a disco, given its support to crime prevention activity, and liaised with other tenants groups in Sunderland. There have been changes as a consequence - "The Residents' Association has given ordinary people more confidence" (HOUSING OFFICER) and relations with the Housing Department have improved - "there has been a gulf for so long; they viewed us with total contempt" (HOUSING OFFICER). The Housing Department appears, albeit motivated by desperation,

to be going further than many other local housing authorities and to be progressing up the Sherry Arnstein ladder of participation[10] (section 5.4).

Tenure diversification

There has been no involvement by either the private sector or by Housing Associations in house building or tenure transfer on the estate. The estate's reputation and the lack of suitable sites present formidable obstacles but a more general point is illustrated. - namely, as does a similar situation on the Castle Vale Estate (section 7.3) that there is a lack of realistic investment opportunities for the private sector housing market on peripheral estates.

Overview

The Housing Department has been trying at Pennywell. £10.7 million has been spent on house modernisation, environmental improvements and routine maintenance in the last five years. The Estate Action scheme alone cost £2.9 million. The Housing Department has also tried to create demand and to encourage people to move onto the estate.

Despite the effort the situation on Pennywell has deteriorated markedly in the last 18 months - "It's a bloody sight worse since I spent the £10 million" (DIRECTOR OF HOUSING). In early 1996 there were 59 empty properties in Upper Pennywell; in June 1997 this figure had increased to over 200. Displacement of anti-social and criminal families from another difficult-to-let housing area[11], the increasing number of exclusions from the estate's schools, and the impact of tougher enforcement of tenancy agreements are all possible reasons for the deteriorating situation.

The Housing Department has recently changed its approach. Rather than spend more money - "It's a pointless process throwing money at housing issues without any prospect of success" (DIRECTOR OF HOUSING) - the Housing Department is attempting to stabilise the community and "make Pennywell a place where people want to live" (HOUSING OFFICER). The key will be stricter enforcement of tenancy agreements and the removal of undesirable tenants from the estate. A combined Housing

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[10] Arnstein S. (1971). A ladder of participation in the USA. Journal of the American Institute of Planners. July.

[11] see reference 9.

Department/Police Authority Task Force (see section below) has been set up to achieve that objective.

9.4. Crime

Introduction

Pennywell is a high crime area (the estate fits the description of high crime areas given in the introduction to section 5.3). "Pennywell Estate is gripped by criminals; that's what it is all about". (HOUSING OFFICER). Police beat statistics are difficult to interpret because of incomplete recording and the difficulties in general of interpreting small area statistics which are subject to large quarterly variations.[12] Furthermore, the lack of reporting in an area where intimidation is rife makes crime statistics of dubious value. However, residents and all agencies are quite clear that car crime and burglary are paramount problems but there is also widespread concern about vandalism, nuisance, the developing drug presence, and incidents of assault and harassment.

An analysis of police criminal statistics for Pennywell by Spencer[13] showed that the figures for car theft are particularly worrying given the low car ownership rates on the estate. Spencer has calculated that between September 1988 and September 1990 2.7% of the total population of Pennywell were either cautioned or convicted of a motor vehicle crime (the equivalent figure for England and Wales is 0.08%) and that one third of all offenders were aged between 10 and 16 years of age.

Burglary rates are also high. In Pennywell houses are burgled on average once every three years compared with the national average of once every 40 years. A study of repeat victimisation on the Pennywell estate[14] showed that of 419 burglaries committed between January 1993 and January 1994 301 were repeat burglaries. Burglary is a major problem exacerbated by repeat victimisation which in turn is heavily concentrated.

A fear of crime is an inevitable consequence of these high crime rates. A report on the Urban Crime Fund Initiative (see below) summed up fear of crime on Pennywell as follows -

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[12] Home Office (1988). British Crime Statistics. London, HMSO.

[13] Spencer E. (1992). Car Crime and Young People on a Sunderland Housing Estate. Police Research Group. Crime Prevention Unit series paper no. 40. London, Home Office.

[14] Wilbert M. ((1994). Pennywell Repeat Victimisation Strategy. Preliminary Investigation. Sunderland, Northumbria Police.

"For the residents burglary was undoubtedly a major concern. Many lived in fear of leaving their homes unoccupied. One resident told us that when she went out at night she left the lights on and radios blaring. House sitting was not uncommon."[15]

Intimidation is also a problem. Residents are intimidated by incidents involving stolen cars and joy riding, and by concentrations of young people who are hanging around. In particular people are frightened to report crime -

"Residents had become frightened to report crime. Intimidation was endemic with windows being broken and paint-daubed graffiti on houses being the punishment for informers."[16]

Although there were no riots on Pennywell in 1991 or 1992 the estate can be described in the same terms as those used by Power and Tunstall to describe the riot torn estates which they studied. Thus, on Pennywell there can be said to be - "a dangerous combination of large numbers of out-of-work young males with no status or stake in society living in low-income work-poor households in (an) area suffering from a high social stigma".[17]

The Urban Crime Fund Initiative

There have been a number of attempts, with differing emphases, to tackle the crime problem at Pennywell. The estate received additional resources under the Urban Crime Fund[18] to combat crime in urban areas in 1992. The reasons for the choice of Pennywell are unknown but it may well be that it was prompted by a fear that the disturbances at Meadowell in the previous September could be repeated at Pennywell.

The Urban Crime Fund provided resources for a high profile law enforcement strategy consisting principally of foot patrols. In addition there were a limited number of preventative initiatives - a woman police constable was based full time at Pennywell Comprehensive School, a mobile police caravan provided a police facility at the main shopping area, and a civilian youth worker was employed to join a detached youth project.

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[15] Goddard J. and Walker J. (1993). Evaluation of the Urban Crime Fund. Centre for Research on Crime Policing and the Community. University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
[16] ibid. p. 100.
[17] Power A., and Tunstall R. (1997). Dangerous Places. Riots and violent disturbances in 13 areas of Britain, 1991-92. York, York Publishing Services. Summary para. 5.
[18] The Urban Crime Fund was initiated by the Home Secretary in November 1991. Funding was provided for schemes to combat crime in the financial year 1992-93.

It is difficult to assess a scheme which consisted of a number of disparate elements which did not appear to be strategically linked. An assessment of the scheme by Newcastle University[19] is most critical, perhaps unreasonably so. But certain criticisms contained in the university report ring true, namely that the initiatives were uncoordinated, the scheme was staunchly "top down" in its characteristics, an overall strategy was lacking, there was an unreasonably short lead time, and consultation with the community in practice was minimal - "nobody knew what was going on" (COMMUNITY WORKER). In fact, the scheme had all the features of crime prevention schemes that were criticised so strongly in the Morgan Report at the time[20] (see section 5.3).

The Pennywell Burglary Initiative

The Pennywell Burglary Initiative which commenced in Spring 1993 was based on the Kirkholt project at Rochdale.[21] The scheme consisted of target hardening (the provision of improved security for houses that had been burgled), a "watch scheme" tailored to circumstances where participants were liable to be intimidated, and preventative work with young people known to the probation service and to youth workers.

"Target hardening" may have been helpful. Only three out of the 76 houses given protection suffered a further break in. In addition an evaluation report noted that "diversionary work .... has, in the short term, proved successful."[22] But there is no evidence of long term change. In practice target hardening was restricted in its scope - "The costs of effective target hardening are enormous" (POLICE OFFICER).

In general, a co-ordinated approach was not adopted and contact between agencies was limited to the "nuts and bolts" of the initiative. The watch scheme did not take off and the evaluation report comments upon "the failure of the Initiative Steering Group to effectively involve members of the local community".[23]

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[19] op.cit. Goddard J., and Walker J. (1993).
[20] Home Office (1991). The Local Delivery of Crime Prevention through the Partnership Approach. The Morgan Report. London, Home Office.
[21] Bottoms A. (1990). Crime Prevention in the 1990s. Policing and Society. Vol. 1. pp. 3-22.
[22] Davey M. Robinson M. and Barna S. (1994). Pennywell Burglary Initiative. Pennywell Youth Project. unnumbered pages.
[23] ibid.

The Breakout Scheme

The Breakout Scheme was set up jointly by the Pennywell Youth Project (Fact Sheet 9.4) and the Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre (Fact Sheet 9.1) following widespread difficulties during the 1991 Easter holidays caused by children indulging in vandalism, throwing stones at buses, and generally behaving in an anti-social and rowdy manner. The scheme provides activities for children of all ages and their families during summer holidays and the Easter and October breaks. Funding comes from a variety of public sector, voluntary and charitable sources and is uncertain because many of the sources of finance have a time limit. However, the future seems secure. A recent grant of £86,000 was made recently from National Lottery funds and an application is being made for funds from the SRB scheme.

The activities covered by Breakout include minibus trips for older children, separate play schemes for the under 8s and the 8 - 11 age groups, family based "away days", and individual work with non joining young people. The scheme claims to have involved 26% of all children in Pennywell during the 1994 summer holidays.[24]

The Breakout scheme has had positive outcomes. The pattern of reported incidents in Pennywell during summer holidays was reduced whereas it increased elsewhere in Sunderland. This is confirmed by the children themselves 86% of whom felt that the scheme had helped keep them out of trouble. The quality of life of the children has been enhanced and the residents of Pennywell have had more peaceful summers.

The Safer Estates Task Force

The most recent, and current, crime prevention initiative is the Safer Estates Task Force set up in February 1997. It is a joint Housing Department and police initiative which will cost £2 million over five years funded by mainstream monies and the SRB (see section 9.9 below).

The Task Force consists of an equal number of police and tenancy enforcement officers with support staff and a co-ordinator with a housing management background. An attempt is being made to remove criminal and anti-social elements and to attack the culture of crime, and to break up the family networks of criminals which were described as being "unbelievable" (HOUSING OFFICER), through determined police

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[24] Nevison C. and Hope B. (1995). Breakout! Holiday Activities and their impact on Youth Crime.. Newcastle, Save the Children.

action and the enforcement of tenancy agreements.[25] The hope is to pave the way for regeneration by "getting to grips with the criminal element" (HOUSING OFFICER) before expenditure is incurred on a multi-objective SRB funded programme.

The Task Force has much going for it. There has been careful consultation, the police members of the Task Force are volunteers, the Task Force is located in the Swifden Drive Housing Sub-Office in the heart of Upper Pennywell, and there is a clear objective to enforce tenancy agreements. The scheme has support - "they are getting results; they are targeting the people that are causing the bother" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR). However, disquiet was expressed that the scheme, certainly in its first year of operation was not supported by youth work and that it was too heavy handed - "they are just causing hassles for the kids" (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKER).

Overview

A number of crime prevention initiatives have been targeted at Pennywell. These reflect changes in crime prevention practice and demonstrate the problems associated with actions to reduce crime. The Task Force is different to its predecessors. The initiative uses specialist housing officers to enforce tenancy agreements. Previously tenancy agreements had not been enforced on a systematic basis - "they (housing officers) were out of their depth; they had enough to do" (HOUSING OFFICER). The potential now exists, because of the SRB funding approval, to co-ordinate the Task Force approach with a wider comprehensive regeneration scheme and thus adopt a holistic approach to "community safety" (section 5.3).

9.5. Unemployment and Economic Development

Unemployment on Pennywell is a major problem. The figures for unemployment on the estate are contained in table 9.1 but these overall figures mask two important features of unemployment on Pennywell. First, on some pockets on the estate unemployment may be as high as 90%.[26] And second, it is the young people, and the men in particular, that are bearing the brunt of unemployment. For example, the 16-24 age group make up 11.2% of the population on the estate but 28.9% of the estate's

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[25] I was told that those people who had been displaced found alternative accommodation in the private rented sector.
[26] City of Sunderland Partnership (1996). Pride in Pennywell. Challenge Fund 1996-97. Final Bid. Sunderland City Council.

unemployed.[27] Of the unemployed aged between 18-24 over 60% have been without work for over a year.

Clive Wilkinson has studied the reasons why young people drop out of training.[28] The study is based on interviews with 250 young people on the Pennywell and Ford estates. Wilkinson found a strong correlation between non-attendance at school, a lack of qualifications gained at school, not living at home but in other "unsatisfactory circumstances"[29], and criminal behaviour. Although the focus of that study was on dropping out of training schemes the message is clear - unemployment on the Pennywell Estate is not a single issue problem and is associated with disruption in other areas of young people's lives.

Very little action has been specifically targeted at the estate to help tackle the unemployment problem. The exception is the Pennywell Community Business (see below) which acts as an estate based economic development agency. Its funding has been precarious but it now constitutes a key component of the SRB funded regeneration scheme (section 9.8).

The serious unemployment situation on the estate is an example of the failure of local economic development activity and training initiatives to reach the unemployed on peripheral estates. It is a stark example given the recent success in attracting inward investment to Sunderland which is now providing a variety of new employment opportunities (section 8.3). The local authority has realised that conventional local economic development measures are not solving the unemployment problem on Pennywell. Thus, proposals for an intermediate labour market initiative based on the success of the Wise Group in Glasgow[30] and for an estate based job linkage programme whereby detailed advice and guidance can be given on the estate are contained in the SRB funded regeneration programme.

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[27] These figures were obtained from Wilkinson C. (1995). The Drop Out Society. Leicester, National Youth Agency.
[28] ibid.
[29] ibid. p. 5.
[30] Mc.Gregor A. et.al. (1997). Bridging the Jobs Gap: An evaluation of the Wise Group and the intermediate labour market. York, York Publishing Services/Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

9.6. The Voluntary Sector

Introduction

The community based voluntary sector is comparatively well developed on the Pennywell Estate. The relative strength of this sector is due to the estate's eligibility for Urban Programme funding since the programme's inception in 1978. The Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre, The Ford and Pennywell Advice Centre, Pennywell Community Business and the Pennywell Youth Project have all had substantial inputs from the urban programme.

The Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre (Fact Sheet 9.1 and Photograph 9.1.4)

The Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre (PNC) is located in two former council houses (photograph 9.1.4). It was established in 1990 and focuses on primary health provision and support for families and children. The idea was the product of a partnership between Save the Children, which provides staffing and an annual grant, and the Sunderland Health Authority, which has placed a health visitor on the premises together with equipment and an annual grant. Sunderland City Council provided the premises and supported a successful bid for Urban Programme funding which paid for the costs and provided an initial additional annual grant.

The Neighbourhood Centre's Annual report states that the aims of the centre are -

> "to provide non-stigmatising, open access provision in an attempt to reduce the social isolation experienced by children and families on the estate."[31]

The centre is involved in delivering a range of services. The health facilities include a baby clinic, and a family planning clinic. A health visiting service is also provided and the centre is involved in health promotion. Family support includes a mother and toddlers group, a play scheme for the under 8s in collaboration with a local primary school - "it's a brilliant scheme" (PARENT) - a toy library, and a loan scheme for children's safety equipment. Apart from this formal provision The Neighbourhood Centre acts as a support and information centre on a drop in basis.

The Neighbourhood Centre has adopted a conventional community development approach. It has an open access policy, and it supports, involves, trains and employs

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[31] Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre (1994). Annual Report 1994. Newcastle, Save the Children.

local people (the management committee has 12 local residents who form the majority, and 10 of its 20 part time workers are local). The centre is assertive and confident in its promotion of local people's knowledge and ideas which contribute to establishing the ethos and form of the services it delivers. "We have a good set of workers from the estate" "they do not come from Newcastle and Washington" "they are not just picking up their cheques" (MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE MEMBERS).

PENNYWELL - FACT SHEET 9.1

Name of Organisation	**PENNYWELL NEIGHBOURHOOD CENTRE**
Description	A voluntary sector primary health provision It gives support for families and children. Established in 1990. Located in two former council houses. A partnership between save the Children, Sunderland Health Authority and Sunderland City Council. Provides health facilities, health promotion and family support. Serves as an "ad hoc" advice centre.
Sources of Funding	Urban Programme £6,000 Local Authority £2,500 Save the Children £55,000 Training and Enterprise Council £12,000 Trusts and Charities £45,000 Sunderland Health Authority - staff, administrative support, other "hidden" overheads. Total Annual Turnover £120,500 (figures for 1995-96 financial year)
Features of Interest	• Adoption of a conventional community development approach. • Open access. • Supports, trains and employs local people. • Longer term funding relatively secure (Sunderland Health Authority). • Close working relationship with the Pennywell Youth Project and Pennywell Community Business. • Grant aid goes direct to the management committee. • Urban Programme expired 1994.

The Neighbourhood Centre is an example of a voluntary sector family centre of the type advocated by some including Holman based on his experience at Easterhouse in

Photographs 9.1. Pennywell Estate

9.1.1. Typical view - traditional layout and two storey housing stock.

9.1.2. Estate Action scheme in Upper Pennywell -
fire bombed and vacant houses with environmental improvements.

Photographs 9.1. Pennywell Estate

9.1.3. The Kwiksave Supermarket.

9.1.4. The Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre.

Glasgow (section 5.5).[32] The PNC's longer term funding is dependent on Save the Children. A community activist not directly involved with the project summed up the Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre in the following words - "They do a lot of good work. They have a lot of vandalism but they are surviving."

The Ford and Pennywell Advice Centre (Fact Sheet 9.2)

The Ford and Pennywell Advice Centre (FPAC) is the longest established independent agency operating in Pennywell. It originated as an urban programme funded advice centre in 1978. Since then FPAC has developed opportunistically largely determined by funding vagaries and opportunities. FPAC is now responsible for a range of activities and services which it runs from premises in two former shops and the four flats above. It employs over 40 people. The management committee has local representatives on it and is chaired by a Pennywell stalwart who was one of the estate's original residents.

FPAC runs a well used advice centre, a legal centre, a detached youth project - STREET CRED, and Nightstop, which provides emergency accommodation. In addition FPAC is responsible for an aids counselling service, has a research facility, and provides meeting facilities and other overheads for the Pride in Pennywell campaign. The precarious and multifaceted nature of FPAC's funding sources results in continuous change.

FPAC's latest venture is the Pennywell Community College opened by the prince of Wales in April 1996 and funded from varied sources including the National lottery (£80.000) and English Partnerships (£100,000). Vaux Breweries provided the former Pride in Pennywell pub for a peppercorn. The Community College provides a variety of pre-employment, foundation and access, and "training for work" courses in a setting which is both accessible and non-intimidating for local people.

FPAC has all the characteristics of a community regeneration organisation as outlined in section 6.4. In particular its Director is a social entrepreneur who is "adept at the administration and manipulation of grant regimes".[33] It has been heavily dependent, in the past, on the Urban Programme for its funding but, as is to be expected, FPAC's funding now comes from a number of sources.

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[32] Holman B. (1997). FARE Dealings. London, Community Development Foundation.
[33] Thake S. (1995). Staying the Course. The role and structures of community regeneration organisations. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation. p. 48.

PENNYWELL - FACT SHEET 9.2

Name of Organisation	FORD AND PENNYWELL ADVICE CENTRE
Description.	A voluntary sector social action centre established in 1978. Originated as an Urban Programme funded advice centre. Has expanded to provide a range of services - a detached youth project; housing support; aids counselling; community based education and research. The centre employs 40 people and is located in two former shops and the four flats above.
Sources of Funding	Private Sector £200,000 Income Generation £300,000 Department of Health £20,000 European Social Fund £80,000 Trusts and Charities £150,000 --- Total Annual Turnover £750,000 (Figures for 1996-97 financial year).
Features of Interest	• Long established voluntary sector project. • Opportunistic development. • Not specifically focused on Pennywell and includes services for a wider area but primarily serves the Ford and Pennywell estates. • Charity (member of the British Association of Social Action Centres). • Consists of a series of partnerships reflecting the remits of its component activities. • Research facility.

Pennywell Community Business (Fact Sheet 9.3).

Pennywell Community Business (PCB) promotes community based employment, training and enterprise initiatives. It provides education and training, advice and support to set up small businesses, and 13 small workshops and starter units. It runs a community based mobile creche service and a community business which provides carers on contract. PCB was formed in 1991 and 10 of its 13 directors are local people. It moved to its present purpose built business centre, which was funded by the Urban Programme, in 1993.

The Business Centre has a firm commitment to Pennywell people and to their particular employment problems. The annual report expresses the problem as - "isolation and depression" and a "constant failure to find work (which) erodes confidence and leads to a feeling of powerlessness".[34] These problems are those of the most disadvantaged in the labour market and PCB is committed to helping them by adopting appropriate strategies - "the multi dimensional economic problems facing Pennywell residents is confronted by a multi dimensional strategy".[35]

PENNYWELL - FACT SHEET 9.3

Name of Organisation	**PENNYWELL COMMUNITY BUSINESS**
Description	Voluntary sector community enterprise. Founded in 1991. Moved into a purpose built business centre in 1993. 13 directors (10 locals). Undertakes employment counselling, educational advice, training provision and direct trading activities. Planned expansion of starter business units. Responsible for delivery of proposed Job Linkage Service and Intermediate Labour Market Initiative.
Sources of Funding	Local Authority (monies in kind) £23,000 Urban Programme £36,000 European Social Fund £94,000 Sunderland Health Authority (monies in kind) £47,000 Trading (turnover) £62,000 --- Total Annual Turnover £262,000 (figures for 1995-96 financial year).
Features of Interest	• Firm commitment to Pennywell people. • Effective targeting - 90% clients come from Pennywell. • £30,000 revolving private sector loan fund for new start local businesses. • Good working relationship with Pennywell Youth Project and Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre. • Management committee consists predominantly of local people. • Key role in SRB funded regeneration scheme - responsible for ILM initiative and Job Linkage programme. • Adopts a file oriented case work approach.

The PCB has adopted a "case work" approach and attempts to negotiate packages of assistance on an individual basis. The Annual Report claims impressive, but limited,

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[34] Pennywell Community Business (1994). Annual Report 1993-94. Pennywell Community Business. p. 5.
[35] ibid.

achievements. Over a two year period from 1992 to 1994 80% of jobs found by PCB went to Pennywell residents and 60% of its clients were long term unemployed. All 13 business units are occupied by new businesses, whose owners reside either on the estate or in "an immediately surrounding area". Of 47 trainees completing small business plans 21 became self employed and a further 17 found jobs.

Funding for PCB comes from a variety of sources - the Urban Programme, various charities, local authority mainstream economic development monies, the European Social Fund, and from income that the centre generates itself - "the funding changes every year" (ESTATE BASED PROFESSIONAL). PCB has a clear vision but has been constantly preoccupied with finding new sources of income to maintain its existence.

The PCB demonstrates the possibilities for a suitably oriented community based organisation to help local people in disadvantaged areas find jobs; a point already made at the end of chapter 7.

Pennywell Youth Project (see Fact Sheet 9.4)

Pennywell Youth Project (PYP) is a voluntary organisation with a chequered history. It has emerged from an Urban Funded "drop-in" cafe which was set up in a former betting shop in 1983. PYP now concentrates on detached youth work and receives funding from the local education authorities' community education budget, the provision of drug and alcohol drop-in centres, and the Breakout holiday scheme which it leads jointly with the PNC.

A feature of PYP is its firm basis on the estate. It has a local presence, has good local contacts, and deals with its case load within the community. Thus it can work closely with children, their parents, and concerned local field workers. This mode of operation, it claims, is invaluable in dealing with "intractable problems" (YOUTH WORKER). The project director is optimistic about the future. The SRB scheme provides the opportunity to extend both its drug and alcohol work and the Breakout scheme. There are ideas for a youth building on the estate - a social action centre for children and young people - in a former church hall.

Overview

The relatively strong development of the voluntary and community based sector on the Pennywell Estate has taken place over a time period of more than ten years with

more recent developments taking place in the last five years or so. This illustrates the long lead periods involved with what is essentially community development.

PENNYWELL - FACT SHEET 9.4

Name of Organisation	**PENNYWELL YOUTH PROJECT**
Description	Youth support work. Formed in 1983 and moved to present premises (former shop and flat above) in 1992. Involvement in multi-agency crime prevention initiatives, detached youth work, and involvement in school holiday youth provision (Breakout scheme).
Sources of Funding	Local authority £21,000 Urban Programme (time expires 1997) £13,500 Church Urban Fund (time expires 1997) £7,000 BBC Children in Need £3,000 Trusts and Charities £8,000 -- Total Annual Turnover £52,500 (figures for 1995-96 financial year)
Features of Interest	• Successful "diversionary" activities for children and young people. • Significant role in crime prevention. • Contract work with difficult children from Social Services. • Estate based location; good contacts with field workers; targets children on the estate. • Good working relationship with Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre and Pennywell community Business. • Management Committee consists predominantly of local people.

A feature of the community based sector on the estate is the degree of tension and in-fighting between the agencies. FPAC the largest agency in the sector is accused, for example, of "empire building" (COMMUNITY WORKER). The reasons that underlie these problems are no doubt largely about personalities but the competitive nature of funding in the sector is also conducive to the creation of inter-agency tensions. The experience at Pennywell illustrates the need for umbrella organisations within the

voluntary sector in order to provide co-ordination and a strategic context for the sector operating at the local level - a point that has been made by Marilyn Taylor[36].

However, until recently no effective voluntary sector umbrella organisation has existed in Sunderland (see section 12.6 for a discussion about the Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service).

9.7. The Pride in Pennywell Campaign

The Pride in Pennywell promotional campaign was set up in 1993 under the leadership of a director of Vaux Breweries - the local Sunderland brewery. It is now virtually defunct. The approach which underlay The Pride in Pennywell Campaign was modelled on the promotional campaigns organised by Business Leadership Teams which were supported by the previous government.[37] Pride in Pennywell is an adaptation of The Wearside Opportunity (TWO) (section 5.3).

The Pride in Pennywell Campaign attempted to build up self confidence - "people believed what was said about them" (BUSINESS EXECUTIVE). The campaign had the same formula as TWO. It was based on partnership; establishing a vision - "to be proud of Pennywell"; and a series of flagship projects. Pride in Pennywell organised three successful carnivals, bonfire displays, and produced a community newspaper "Streets Ahead" in co-operation with the Sunderland Echo. The campaign's single most important contribution was its successful promotion of the redevelopment of the estate's shopping centre and its replacement by a new complex which has a Kwiksave superstore as its anchor thus providing a much needed improvement to the shopping provision on the estate (photograph 9.1.3).

The campaign has a steering group of "the local great and good" (COMMUNITY WORKER) and operates through a number of sub-committees which are concerned with key issues. The sub-committees are attended by local personalities, the police, local authority officers and local residents as appropriate. The campaign was administered by FPAC and was supported by the Sunderland Echo, the Urban Development Corporation, and Nissan.

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[36] Taylor M. (1995). Unleashing the Potential. Bringing residents to the centre of regeneration. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Chap. 7.
[37] Confederation of British Industries (1989). Initiatives Beyond Charity: the Report on the CBI Task Force on Business and Urban Regeneration. London, CBI.

There have been two main sources of difficulty. Pride in Pennywell has been affected by divisions within the voluntary sector on the estate. PYP and PNC refused to participate - "it is run by top people" "bloody FPAC - they are taking all the kudos" (COMMUNITY WORKERS). And second, although the field officers of the local authority have participated support has not been given at the policy level. The problem was described to me in the following words - "the executive (of the local authority) perceives somebody else is trying to do its job" and "initiatives like this provoke the suspicions of the executive" (BUSINESS EXECUTIVE) "they (the council) couldn't handle being equal partners"(COMMUNITY WORKER). However, Pride in Pennywell has been consulted by the City Council on the SRB funded regeneration scheme.

The campaign is an example of an estate based multi-agency partnership (section 6.5). Despite its vacillating fortunes the campaign demonstrates the potential of such partnerships. The main lesson that is to be learned from the experience is that such partnerships require administrative and professional support which is *independent* from other local agencies (Pride in Pennywell relied on FPAC).

9.8. The Local Authority

Social Services

At Pennywell the Social Services Department restricts itself to statutory intervention. It does not undertake any community based preventative work. This may be for a number of reasons - professional disinclination, increasing statutory demands, increasing social problems on the estate, and the impact of continuing expenditure cutbacks (the number of Children and Families teams in Sunderland was cut from three to two in the 1995-96 financial year). Social workers perceive themselves to be overstretched - "we are running ragged trying to keep up with everything" (SOCIAL WORKER). An inevitable consequence of the role played by social workers is their poor image with residents - "social workers have become too far removed from the people they are trying to help" (RESIDENT), "they are going to take my kids" (COMMUNITY WORKER).

The Social Services Department runs the Pennywell Nursery which is just being expanded to increase its intake from 40 to 80. This expansion can be presented as positive targeting towards Pennywell but because of cutbacks elsewhere in Sunderland the demand for places is enormous. The admissions policy has changed

from "open door" to "heavy assessment" as elsewhere (section 5.5). Pennywell residents miss out because there are now, in fact, fewer places available for Pennywell and because admission is increasingly stigmatised.

The relationship between the Social Services Department and the voluntary sector is limited in scope. The department provides advice and training mainly on statutory procedures and contracts out some specialised work. The department liaises on an individual case work basis but the lack of any partnership working means that the Social Services Department does not get involved in community based social work either directly or indirectly.

Pennywell School

The Pennywell Estate is served by Pennywell Comprehensive school built in the early 1960s which currently has about 1100 pupils. The occupancy rate is 83% which is the second lowest in Sunderland. 55.1% of the children are entitled to free school meals (Sunderland city average = 25.8%) and the average class size is 22.5% (city average = 21.3%).[38]

Pennywell school does not have a sixth form as education in Sunderland has been reorganised with a tertiary sector. The children are poorly motivated, truancy is a formidable problem, and the pregnancy rate is high. The backgrounds of the children are very often unsupportive. Many parents have never worked and some households are experiencing third generation unemployment. The children have low expectations - "there is nothing to pick up on when they leave school" "getting a job is the difficulty" (TEACHER).

The level of educational attainment is exceptionally low. In June 1994 178 pupils who were then in the fifth form only achieved a total number of 11 GCSE passes at grade A between them. There were no grade As in either science or mathematics. Of that fifth form 21.3% continued in education, 5.6% obtained jobs and the remainder were either on government sponsored training course or were unemployed.[39]

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[38] Sunderland City Council Education Department 1994). Schools' Statistics.
[39] Wilkinson D. (1995). Pennywell School - Information for Parents. Sunderland, Sunderland Education Authority.

Despite the discouraging context and the low level of formal attainment the school exudes a dynamic and proactive attitude. It has a thrusting headmaster with considerable experience of inner city education. But the problem at the school is one that is common to many other schools serving disadvantaged areas. It concentrates on mainstream provision and tends to neglect the needs of the most disadvantaged children. There have been virtually no actions to provide discriminatory programmes to deal with social problems. In policy terms the school delivers education but is not linked with any local initiatives which aim to combat social exclusion. The school can thus be described as exemplifying the difficulties associated with educational provision in deprived areas as outlined in section 5.5.

Local Politics

Pennywell is represented by six councillors because Pennywell is split between two wards. Five of the six councillors live in their wards, five are owner-occupiers, all have long term service on the council - the newest councillor has been on the council for 8 years, they have a trade union background, and the average age is about 70.

Not surprisingly Pennywell's councillors are perceived to be well meaning, ineffective and elderly - "they have got to be looked after and moddle coddled" (BUSINESS EXECUTIVE); "they lack understanding" (YOUTH WORKER); and "they have missed one, two, or even three generations" (YOUTH WORKER). Comments about the local Labour Party are equally critical - "the local Labour Party is dead, the National Front could come in and make an impact" (YOUTH WORKER).

Overview

The local authority was described as a "paternalistic Labour council which wants to provide and control" (COMMUNITY WORKER). The council's officers were perceived to be dominant "politics is never even discussed" (BUSINESS EXECUTIVE). A number of circumstances - the winding down of the Urban Programme, an increasing reliance on the "contract culture", cutbacks in public expenditure, and repeated reorganisation have inhibited innovation and have encouraged the local authority to maintain and claw back control where this has been given to the voluntary sector.

Several officers stated a wish to involve the community but in practice this has not occurred - "unless people are experts their views are marginalised" (COMMUNITY

WORKER); "local government doesn't ask people their views" (ESTATE BASED PROFESSIONAL). The voluntary sector was most critical of the City Council accusing it of "axing the voluntary sector in order to keep their own jobs" (COMMUNITY WORKER).

The Social Services Department and Pennywell School illustrate the shortcomings of mainstream provision. No particular criticism would be appropriate but there is a failure, by and large, to innovate and get involved in discriminatory and preventative programmes on a multi-agency basis. In chapter 5 it was suggested that such approaches were necessary if the problems associated with social exclusion were to be tackled effectively.

9.9. Current Regeneration Proposals - SRB Round Three

The City of Sunderland Partnership bid in Round Three of the SRB Challenge Fund to fund a regeneration scheme covering the Pennywell Estate and part of the adjoining Ford Estate.[40] Approval has been given for £17.8 million over 7 years. SRB funding will be supported by a further £17 million from the public sector including £8.5 million from local authority mainstream monies. In addition it is hoped to lever in £13.8 million from the private sector. A total intended investment of £48.7 million. Approximately 43% of the intended expenditure will be on capital projects.

The main activities contained in the regeneration scheme are a Safer Estates Task Force (section 9.4); a youth development programme; an Intermediate Labour Market Initiative and a Job Linkage Service (section 9.5); and a literacy improvement programme. The principal capital projects are the construction of a purpose built health centre and the relocation of the Quarry View Primary School to a more central location.

The overall responsibility for the programmes is with the City of Sunderland Partnership but the Sunderland City Council, as "the accountable body", is responsible for delivery and management. Consultation has been via the Pride in Pennywell campaign, a number of steering groups set up for the purpose, and the Upper Pennywell Residents Association. An SRB area co-ordinator has been appointed by the City Council who had previously worked in the Pennywell Business Centre.

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[40] op.cit. City of Sunderland Partnership (1996).

The content of the proposals suggest an acknowledgement of the need for innovative additions to mainstream service provision as outlined in chapter 6. However, the impression given by the bidding document, which by definition reflects the regeneration programme at its earliest stage, is that where innovative proposals have been made they are product of good working relationships in practice. Thus the proposals for education, crime prevention, and economic development appear to be more substantive than those involving social and health services.

The voluntary sector, with the marked exception of FPAC, was involved in the bid - "you can work with them (council officers); it never happened before" (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKER). However, the scheme is firmly controlled by the City Council and is a "top down" initiative. For example, local people are not included in the formal decision making bodies and no spending powers have been delegated to local people. It may be that involvement will turn out to be more cosmetic than real - "it is always easy to make the structure look as if the community is involved".[41]

The "Forward Strategy" contains no specific proposals for a successor organisation. The first year delivery plan only refers to "a series of capacity-building measures (which) will seek to enable the community to become more involved in the regeneration of their own area, to build up resistance to harmful influences and (which) will aim to give local people a stake in their own area, giving real and lasting meaning to Pride in Pennywell".[42]

9.10. Conclusion

Repeated Policy Failure

Pennywell is a stigmatised estate with a high policy profile. The intervention on the estate represents an example of repeated policy failure as outlined in section 6.7. The estate has similar characteristics to the Meadowell which is also a stigmatised high crime estate, and where there has also been intervention on a repeated basis (see section 7.6).

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[41] Pearce J. (1993). At the heart of the community economy. London, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. p. 62.
[42] City of Sunderland Partnership (1997). SRB Challenge Fund Programme. Pride in Pennywell. Delivery Plan 1997/98. City of Sunderland Council.

The intensity of the problems, the stigma attached to the estate, the potentially devastating destruction of the housing stock, and the ever latent prospect of serious urban disturbances taking place on the estate predicate that Pennywell should receive priority for regeneration. Regeneration needs to be successful and break the previous record of failure - "it's important for Sunderland that Pennywell works" (CITY COUNCIL REGENERATION TEAM).

The SRB funded comprehensive regeneration programme, which is still at an embryonic stage, although operating within the context of policy failure and particularly intractable problems, also operates within a framework which has positive features. There is a comparatively strong community based voluntary sector presence on the estate and the local authority has extended experience of regeneration including the experience gained from Sunderland's City Challenge scheme. The prospects for the SRB regeneration programme are considered more fully in chapter 12.

The Lessons from Pennywell

A number of lessons can be learned from the Pennywell case study. These are -

- Concentration on the physical improvement of small areas of difficult-to-let housing does not result in lasting improvement to the housing stock if the same tenants with the same problems remain in the houses.

- The failure of initiatives such as the Urban Crime Fund scheme and the Pennywell Burglary Initiative demonstrate the need for multi-agency and co-ordinated projects which include active community participation.

- The mainstream services provided by the public sector are not in themselves sufficient to fulfil the needs of the residents. The continuing educational, health, and family and social problems on the estate indicate the need for an additional element of innovative service delivery as outlined in chapter 5.

- The relatively well developed community based voluntary sector is impeded by disputes and rivalries. There is a role for a strategic umbrella organisation within the voluntary sector.

- The relationship between the local authority and the community based voluntary sector is strained. That fact, together with the "failure" of the Pride in Pennywell campaign, suggests the need for an external agency or agencies, independent of local government, which could encourage and support the voluntary sector. On the Hardwick Estate this role was played by the Stockton and Thornaby Task Force (see section 7.6).

- A strong community based voluntary sector is shown to be providing innovative additions to service delivery. PNC, FPAC and PCB all make a most positive contribution.

- The Pride in Pennywell Campaign indicates that estate based partnerships as discussed in section 6.4 could make an important contribution towards regeneration. The difficulty in sustaining Pride in Pennywell emanates from its involvement with FPAC and its consequent immersion in in-fighting within the voluntary sector. It has been argued that estate based partnerships require an *independent* source of support and guidance.

- Finally, it has to be noted that progress can be made with estate based economic development. PCB has had success and the prospects for the Intermediate Labour Market Initiative are promising. The Pennywell experience in this regard reinforces the more tentative but similar conclusions that were made about economic development activity by the Waltham Forest HAT and by Hardwick Tomorrow (chapter 7).

10. THORNEY CLOSE ESTATE

10.1. Introduction

Thorney Close was one of Sunderland's first post-war peripheral estates and was built for "general housing purposes" before the post-war slum clearance programme was restarted.[1] The estate has subsequently been adversely affected by increasing unemployment, public expenditure cuts, and by the apparent residualisation of its public sector housing role. Social and economic conditions on the estate (table 8.4) are comparable to those found on Pennywell and Town End Farm

However, apart from having been included in the designated inner urban area in 1988 and thus making the estate eligible for Urban Programme funded projects, the estate has had a consistently low policy profile. The problems on the estate, although serious, have not been sufficiently intensive to trigger off a policy response.

10.2. History of the Estate

Introduction

Thorney Close is situated 2.5 miles south west of Sunderland's city centre. It was the first large peripheral estate to be completed in Sunderland after the war and was constructed between 1947 and 1950 on two former farms - Thorney Close and Hasting Hill. The estate consists of just over 2000 low rise houses and flats laid out traditionally with a large green in the centre (photographs 10.1.1 and 10.1.3). Two relatively small areas of housing were developed on the edge of the estate in 1967 and 1976. The estate is surrounded on three sides by other public sector housing estates and by open farmland to the west. The population of the estate is 4,800.

The estate originally catered for families living in overcrowded conditions in Sunderland's older communities - "They came to a new garden city. There were no gardens where they came from" (LONG SERVING LOCAL TEACHER). The men were employed in Sunderland's traditional industries mainly in manual jobs - "Each family had a father who was working" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). Women on the other hand "had

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[1] Although the construction of Thorney Close was started after Pennywell the estate was completed before Pennywell.

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to look after the children. There weren't any jobs for women then" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). A number were in relatively well paid professional and managerial employment but as a whole people were poor - "money was tight", "we couldn't afford the bus fares for trips", and "the highlight of the week was the church bus that arrived on a Sunday afternoon and took us to the church service - but we only went for the biscuits" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). The community is recalled as being a solid respectable one with traditional working class values - "you could keep your doors open" and "you used to nip next door and borrow ten bob" (ORIGINAL RESIDENTS).

Changes on the estate

As the estate aged "respectable" people moved out. Older people moved into bungalows and old people's homes. Younger families also moved out as they outgrew their two bedroom houses. Blue collar workers, in particular, moved out quite rapidly in the 1970s - "that kind of people weren't living in the area any more" (LONG TIME RESIDENT). Brighter and more ambitious children also moved away but the strong feelings of attachment have meant that they have often returned - "Lorraine moved out when she went to university. She has come home now and is buying one of the Leech houses at Downhill. She has got a good job in computers" (LONG TIME RESIDENT).

Migration in and out of the estate has been socially differentiated. There has been a tendency to replace out going tenants with those that cause difficulties for their neighbours. There is strong evidence that the estate is increasingly assuming a residual role in housing terms. This is reflected in how housing officers view their role - "we are becoming more social landlords than we have in the past" "we are not social workers but we do more social work although it's not recognised as such" (HOUSING OFFICER).

The estate's residents have also suffered from the consequences of unemployment which began to have a devastating effect throughout the 1970s.[2] As fathers lost their jobs boys were unable to obtain apprenticeships - "fathers and sons were clobbered at the same time" (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKER). The 1991 Census indicates an unemployment rate for the Thorney Close ward, an area somewhat larger than the estate itself, of 19.1% - the second highest for any ward in Sunderland. The

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[2] This point can be placed in the context of Sunderland's contemporaneous industrial history as outlined in section 8.1.

unemployment rate on the estate is 27.7% (table 10.1). Thus, the Thorney Close estate has become one of the poorest estates in Sunderland.[3]

Table 10.1. Thorney Close - Key Statistics

Population	4863
Total number of households	2016
Unemployment - male (%)	34.5
female (%)	15.7
overall (%)	27.7
Households without a car (%)	71.0
Households with long term illness or disability (%)	21.5
Ethnic minority groups (%)	0.4
Single parent households (%)	8.0
17 year olds in full time education (%)	29.8
" Right-to-buy" sales (%)	23.0
Average price of three bedroomed semi-detached house	£35,000

(Sources: 1991 Census and local authority documents)

These demographic and employment changes have been accompanied by considerable social change. "There is a growing sense of despair which I see primarily in the children and young people" (CLERGYMAN). Children have become apathetic - "you will be lucky to see some of these out of bed by ten or eleven", "kids are sitting around, drinking and using drugs out of sight in dark corners" (YOUTH WORKER), "children just want to get blotto on Scorpion lager" (POLICE SUPERINTENDENT). The number of single parents has increased markedly - "I can't remember a time when I last baptised a child whose parents were married" (CLERGYMAN). It is easy to find wobbly eggs (diazepam), whiz (amphetamines), and dope (marijuana) on the estate. Families have been faced with the problem of maintaining their lifestyles without a wage earner - "they resort to going on the rob" (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKER).

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[3] Thorney Close Action Forum (1992). Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre. Final Submission. July.

Vandalism and malicious damage have become a serious problem for the housing department.[4]

There are many other indications of multiple deprivation. 71.0% of households do not have a car. Philimore and Beattie's study[5] of health and inequality in the Northern Region found that the health statistics for Thorney Close were the 4th. worst of 678 wards in the region. 54% of the children on the Thorney Close estate are in receipt of free school meals. The incidence of multiple deprivation resulted in an extension of Sunderland's Inner Urban Area in 1988 to include Thorney Close.

Thorney Close has clearly declined - "you can see the estate going to rack and ruin" (RESIDENT), "the estate has definitely gone down" and "people are finding it harder to maintain standards" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR).

Overview

Thorney Close can be summed up as being a typical peripheral estate. It was built in the heyday of the post-war house building programme as a dormitory for working class people who were in employment. For a time Thorney Close fulfilled that role. However, the estate no longer satisfactorily fulfils the role for which it was constructed and the estate displays severe symptoms of multiple deprivation. The history of the estate demonstrates the impact of industrial change and changes in housing policy which are outlined in general terms in section 4.3. The estate has become an example of the typical poor neighbourhood described by Thake and Staubach.[6]

10.3. Housing

Introduction

The entire estate of 2075 units was built by the local authority. 417 of these units (23%) have subsequently been sold under the "Right to Buy" provisions of the

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[4] Sunderland Housing Department (1995). Area Strategy Report. North Moor Housing Management Area.

[5] Phillimore P. and Beattie A. (1994). Health and Inequality in the Northern Region 1981-1991. Department of Social Policy, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

[6] Thake S., and Staubach R. (1993). Investing in People. Rescuing communities from the margin. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Housing Act 1980. Approximately two thirds of the housing stock are two and three bedroom houses in roughly equal proportions.

Housing Management

For housing management purposes the estate is divided into four patches. Housing management has recently been decentralised and a neighbourhood office was opened in the Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre in 1994. This decentralisation has resulted in "quicker and more sensitive responses" (HOUSING OFFICER).

The estate is reasonably popular. "There is a healthy demand and low turnover of three bedroom houses".[7] However, the social character of the tenants on the estate is changing. Older people who used to live in flats are being replaced by younger single people and as two bedroom houses, in particular, are vacated tenants are replaced by tenants some of whom cause problems possibly quite out of proportion to the number involved. A housing officer commented - "these are people who can't manage. They have no choice. We are becoming more of a safety net". The difficult in-comers are both concentrated in difficult-to-let flats and dispersed in smaller family houses throughout the estate. These changes adversely effect existing tenants - "they (the Housing Department) put problem families near decent people and they give us hell" (RESIDENTS). This situation appears to have been occurring relatively recently - "it was really difficult to get a house. A lot has changed in the last eight or nine years" (RESIDENTS).

Difficult-to-let Housing

There is a group of 300 difficult-to-let one person flats (The Tilbury Road area - photograph 10.1.4). The flats are badly designed with only one entrance and the flats themselves are located on a far edge of the estate away from buses and shops. The Housing Department does not dump tenants in these flats but the supply and demand situation creates difficulties - "there is a lack of genuine tenants" "the waiting list has become exhausted" (HOUSING OFFICER). The outcome is that the flats are either used for "Giro Drops" - by those using the address to qualify for welfare payments but living elsewhere - or are the focus for tenants who indulge in anti-social behaviour - drinking, drug usage, and criminal behaviour - "boilers and radiators are taken away to

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[7] op.cit. Sunderland Housing Department (1995). p. 41.

order" (HOUSING OFFICER). It is difficult for the police and the Housing Department to take effective action - "nobody ever sees anything" (HOUSING OFFICER).

The Housing Department is most concerned to find a suitable response - "it costs us a small fortune and we can't have it" (HOUSING OFFICER). The Housing Department had estimated that the 82 flats in Tilbury Road cost £100,000 to maintain in the first eight months of 1995 alone.[8] But the problem should not be exaggerated. As one housing officer put it - "Tilbury Road is not a ghetto run by one or two overlords. The problem is caused by a limited number of individual tenants. You could leave your car there!"

A radical response to the problem would have been to sell the houses to the private sector but given the location this option is not practicable - "we tried to involve the private sector in Tilbury Road but they couldn't get away fast enough" (HOUSING OFFICER). In fact, in February 1996 the Sunderland Housing Committee decided to convert 48 of the flats into 24 houses at a total cost of £600,000 spread over two years.

Tenant Involvement

A Resident's Association was active two or three years ago and had evolved from the attempt to establish a Community Development Trust (section 10.6) on the estate. It had the support of the Housing Department which employs a Tenant Liaison Officer at area level which covers several estates. However, the Residents' Association is now struggling and is almost moribund.

The reasons for the failure to achieve any significant tenant involvement are, no doubt, multifarious. There are no pressing issues - "our customers aren't really bothered" (HOUSING OFFICER). Although the Housing Department is supportive in principle, in practice it is conscious of the problems that could be caused by a "a loss of power for ward members" (HOUSING OFFICER) and by "a loss of work for ourselves" (HOUSING OFFICER).

The lack of resident activity illustrates the point that without a single issue to act as a spur little can be expected. As was discussed in section 5.4 both local authorities and residents are resistant and lack enthusiasm, albeit for different reasons. It can also be argued that given the efficiency of a well run Housing Department such as Sunderland's that there is no reason for residents to be involved as *tenants* in housing management.

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[8] Sunderland Housing Department. (1996). The Thorney Close Initiative. Internal Departmental Video.

Overview

The condition of the housing stock is good. The Housing Department's Area Strategy Report comments that "there are no structural problems".[9] Thus, like Pennywell, physical improvement is not an important issue.

Although the Housing Department has been decentralised this has not led to any fundamental change in the department's mode of operation. At Thorney Close the Housing Department continues to concentrate on a traditional housing management role, although realising that the role of the estate has changed and there are serious problems of a multiple nature. The Housing Department, both as expressed by policy and by the attitudes of its field workers, perceives problems on the estate almost entirely in terms of "bricks and mortar". The department has been, therefore, principally concerned with the situation in the Tilbury Road area where it was presented with severe housing management problems.

10.4. Crime

Introduction

Thorney Close has "never (been) a particular crime hot spot" (POLICE INSPECTOR). The main problems for the police are caused by juvenile disorder - harassment, intimidating large groups of young people on street corners, and by the misuse of alcohol and drugs in public areas. These are problems that do not attract particular attention but which cause difficulties for those living on the estate.

Action.

No high profile crime initiatives have been targeted at the estate which is policed in a normal way with the police relying on motor patrols. Contact between the police and other agencies is somewhat spasmodic reflecting in part the low policy focus of the estate in general. However, when opportunities for co-operation do occur it was suggested that the police prefer to remain informed rather than become involved - "a golden opportunity is being missed" (YOUTH WORKER). The exception is the recent close working relationship between the police and the local housing authority under

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[9] op.cit. Sunderland Housing Department (1995). p. 38.

the aegis of a regional initiative - The Safer Estates Initiative - whereby the police and housing officers are encouraged to co-ordinate action to arrest and evict anti-social tenants.[10]

The police are obliged to organise a community forum under s.106 of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1994. At Thorney Close that forum is no more than a public meeting arranged and chaired by the police authority. The meetings are poorly attended and are "a bit of a joke" (POLICE INSPECTOR). The police appear to have a cautious approach to community involvement. They are in favour of it but are conscious of "the danger of raising expectations" (POLICE INSPECTOR).

Overview

The crime situation at Thorney Close is not as acute as that on Pennywell or on the estates studied by Power and Tunstall which had experienced serious disturbances in 1991 and 1992.[11] Nevertheless the evidence from Thorney Close suggests that multiple deprivation has an associated law and order problem which is sufficiently serious to demand action. However, no action is being taken to develop the proactive and preventative approach based on multi-agency working which it was suggested in section 5.3 was essential if crime problems on peripheral estates were to be tackled effectively.

10.5. Unemployment and Economic Development

Introduction

The overall unemployment rate on Thorney Close in 1991 was 27.7%. Despite the fact that people on the estate are well placed to take advantage of jobs created by the recent influx of investment to Sunderland - The Doxford Park International Enterprise Zone is one mile away and Nissan is also easily accessible - the unemployment situation does not appear to have changed significantly.

The prospects for children leaving Sandhill View School (section 10.7) are bleak. It was suggested that school leavers divide into three groups. First, the 10% who achieve

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[10] Evicted tenants tend to find alternative housing in the private rented sector located in Sunderland's inner city areas.

[11] Power A., and Tunstall R. (1997). Dangerous Disorder. Riots and violent disturbances in 13 areas of Britain. 1991-92. York, York Publishing Services.

reasonably at GCSE - "their only option is higher education and a bit of luck"; second, the 20-30% with contacts because family members are in employment - "they need to be bloody lucky"; and the remaining 60% whose prospects are "bleak" and whose only opportunities lie with the black economy or "they have to go abroad" (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKER).

Action

Efforts at community based economic regeneration are made by the Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre which employs an economic development worker. In principle, The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre offers a full range of measures including employment counselling, pre-employment training, advice to the self employed and so on. In practice, the centre is short staffed and, so far, little has been achieved. The Housing Department would also be keen to support suitable initiatives such as a gardening business or an equipment loan bank - "it is the sort of thing housing officers should get involved with" (HOUSING OFFICER). In practice, nothing has been done.

Overview

The Thorney Close study confirms the evidence presented in chapter 5 (section 5.2) that local economic development initiatives fail to reach the unemployed on peripheral estates. In chapter 5 it was also suggested that a localised approach using local facilities is essential if unemployment is to be reduced - a point confirmed by the progress made by the Waltham Forest HAT and by Hardwick Tomorrow related in chapter 7 where such an approach has been adopted. However, effective action has not been forthcoming at Thorney Close and it is important to draw the relevant conclusions. An account of the Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre is contained in the next section.

10.6. The Voluntary Sector

Introduction

The voluntary and community based sector has a weak presence on the Thorney Close estate despite eligibility of the estate for Urban Programme funding. However the two agencies reviewed in this section (The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre is

included here because the intention had been to set up a Community Development Trust) have received funding from the Church Urban Fund.

The Church Urban Fund

Through the Church of England curate who is based on Thorney Close voluntary organisations are able to make applications to the Church Urban Fund which was set up by the Church of England to fund short term pump priming projects following the publication of the Report "Faith in the City".[12] The Church Urban Fund currently supports the Sunderland Community Furniture Service (see below) and the Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre (see below also).

The Church Urban Fund has contributed in a helpful but fragmented manner to the provision of improved services on the estate. The two projects funded by the Church Urban Fund do not appear, however, to form part of a consistent process of community empowerment as was the original intention of the Church Urban fund when it was set up and which has sometimes been achieved elsewhere.[13]

Sunderland Community Furniture Service (Thorney Close Fact Sheet 10.1)

The Sunderland Community Furniture service started in 1991 in a church hall on the Thorney Close estate with the help of Urban Programme funding and a contribution from the Church Urban Fund. The furniture service recycles donated furniture which it passes on to households that are referred to it. The furniture service employs twelve people and a further number of volunteers, trainees and people on community service orders. The annual turnover is about £150,000.

Since its inception the furniture service has moved to an industrial estate in Southwick north of the river. More recently it opened a furniture repair service in the church hall on Thorney Close where it was originally based. The repair service is not specifically estate based but it does tend to employ local people and use local volunteers.

The furniture service receives referrals from the police, ambulance service, the fire brigade, social workers, health visitors and doctors. It relies on field workers - "the

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[12] Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas (1985). Faith in the City: A Call for Action by Church and Nation. London, Church House Publishing.
[13] Lund S. et.al. (1995). Empowering Communities: the Experience of the Church Urban Fund. Local Economy. Vol. 10. No. 3. November.

most important referrals come from people who go into other people's homes" (COMMUNITY BUSINESS MANAGER). The furniture service has also formed an impressive partnership with the local authority which not only grant aids the project via its Social Services and Housing Committee budgets but also offers advice, support and assistance in kind - "they (the local authority) have been wonderful. They gave us an up to date computer" (COMMUNITY BUSINESS MANAGER).

THORNEY CLOSE - FACT SHEET 10.1

Name of Organisation	**SUNDERLAND COMMUNITY FURNITURE SERVICE LTD.**	
Description	A community business. Started on Thorney Close in 1991. Moved to Southwick. Recycles donated furniture for use by households referred to it. Employs 12 people including volunteers. Recently opened a furniture repair service on Thorney Close estate. Management committee of councillors, local authority officials and independent persons.	
Sources of Funding	Sunderland Housing Committee	£19,000
	Sunderland Social Services Committee	£19,000
	Church Urban Fund	£8,000
	Income generation	£100,000

	Total Annual Turnover	£146,000
	(figures for 1994-5 financial year)	
Features of Interest	• Non-profit making community business.	
	• Uses volunteers, trainees and people on community service orders.	
	• Church Urban Fund contribution.	
	• Partnership with local authority.	
	• Potential for increasing income generation.	
	• Potential to increase scope of its activities.	

The furniture service wishes to develop its income generating activities by reselling better quality second hand furniture and by opening a charity shop. There is also a need to give more help to the elderly and there is the possibility of working with schools to provide work experience and to develop community projects jointly.

The Sunderland Community Furniture service is a dynamic community business with considerable potential. However, it works in isolation - "there are no doubt agencies in Sunderland doing similar work to us but I have no idea who they are" (COMMUNITY BUSINESS MANAGER) - thus illustrating the need for an umbrella organisation within the voluntary sector that can disseminate and help the exchange of experience within the sector.[14] The organisation's reliance on the network of community activists on the estate and its working in partnership with the relevant professionals both at the policy level and at the field based level is impressive.

The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre
(Thorney Close Fact Sheet 10.2 and Photograph 10.1.2).

The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre stems from the setting up of an inter-agency working party under the chairmanship of a ward councillor in November 1990. Motivation was concern about the deteriorating circumstances on the estate. The working party which was known as the Thorney Close Action Forum proposed that an The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre should be -

> "built in the heart of the estate incorporating appropriate community facilities and the offices of important service providers under one roof (which) would create a vital local point in the area and assist with regeneration"[15]

This proposal was adopted enthusiastically by the City Council - "this major flagship project will demonstrate in tangible form the local authorities' commitment to the area".[16]

An application for Urban Programme funding was subsequently approved by the Department of the Environment in May 1992. The DoE stipulated "a clear and substantial residents' role in the setting up, management and programming of the centre".[17] The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre represents a total

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[14] Taylor M. (1995). Unleashing the potential. Bringing residents to the centre of regeneration. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Chap. 7.

[15] Thorney Close Action Forum (1992). Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre. Final Submission. p. 5.

[16] Sunderland City Council (1992). Department of the Environment. Urban Programme: Project Information Form. Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre.

[17] The Department of the Environment as quoted in op.cit. Thorney Close Action Forum (1992). p. 5.

Photographs 10.1. Thorney Close Estate

10.1.1. Typical view - traditional layout and two storey housing stock
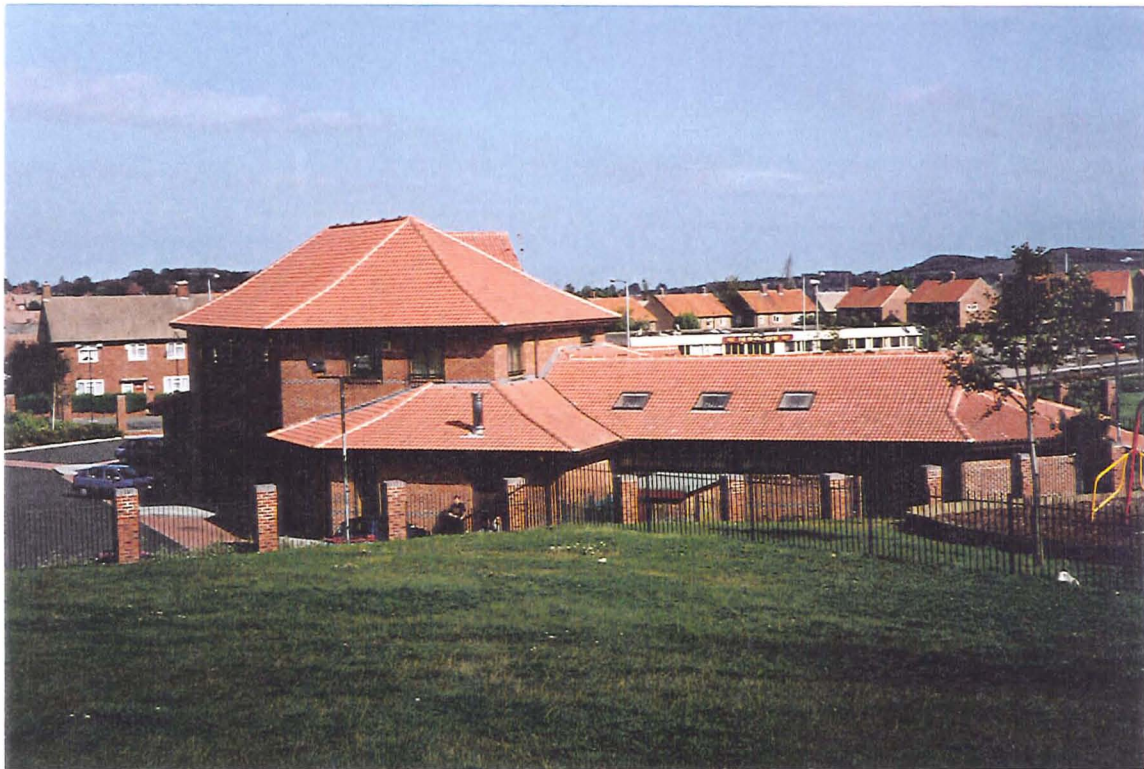
10.1.2. Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre

Photographs 10.1. Thorney Close Estate

10.1.3. Typical view - traditional layout and two storey housing stock

10.1.4. Tilbury Road area - conversion of difficult-to-let flats into houses

THORNEY CLOSE - FACT SHEET 10.2.

Name of Organisation	**THORNEY CLOSE ACTION and ENTERPRISE CENTRE**
Description	Local authority multiple use centre. Centre includes a Housing Department sub-office, and a Social Services funded advice centre and nursery. Facilities provided for local conferences and community based activities. Original intention was to incorporate a community development trust. The centre has a full time manager and is the responsibility of a sub-committee of the City Council's management committee.
Sources of Funding	City Council's Management Committee £70,000 Housing Committee - overheads and loan charges £25,000 Church Urban Fund £10,000 Income generation £8,500 --- Total Annual Turnover £113,500 (figures for 1994-5 financial year)
Features of Interest	• "One stop" facility provided by the local authority. • Urban Programme funding. • History of conflict caused by tension between mainstream service provision function and community development function. • Largest single capital project funded by the Urban Programme in Sunderland. • Potential to provide for community based and community owned services.

investment bordering on £1 million and was described by Sunderland City Council's chief executive as "the most significant community project ever supported by the Urban Programme in Sunderland".[18]

It was intended that the Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre should be owned by the Housing Department but at the same time a Community Development Trust was to have been set up to "regenerate the area's social and economic conditions".[19] The combination of a mainstream local authority facility and a community owned development trust was to result in immediate and severe difficulties.

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[18] Sunderland City Council (1994). Urban Programme Monitoring Report - Thorney Close Community Development Trust and Action Centre. Report of the Chief Executive to the Management (Emergency) Sub-Committee. 27. September.
[19] op.cit. Thorney Close Action Forum (1992). p. 5.

The Community Development Trust was established shortly after funding had been approved and a board was established with a majority of local residents but chaired by one of the local councillors. Increasingly acrimonious disputes within the board resulted in the City Council taking back full responsibility for the Action and Enterprise Centre in September 1994, the centre having opened in the previous July. This dispute over two years featured on several front pages of the Sunderland Echo.[20]

The board had clearly been racked by personality conflicts but those, no doubt, masked underlying tensions. There was a tension, for example, between the role of the centre as a mainstream and, therefore, "top down" council facility and its community development role answerable to local people.

The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre has reverted to being a mainstream local authority facility and is now run by a council sub-committee. The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre has become a sponsored organisation and as described by Thake, commenting about such organisations, has been "given the corporate style of their sponsors - mission statements, logos, business plans, and colour matched interior fittings and furnishings."[21] The Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre now has a liveried doorman.

The centre provides premises for a Housing Department sub-office and a social services funded advice centre. In addition it provides a base for community activity such as a cafe and a parent and toddlers' group which has just taken off. Emphasis has been placed on income generation and the council is hoping to hire out rooms and use the centre for local conferences. A franchising agreement has also been made with a local further education college to deliver pre-employment and computer courses.

The centre undoubtedly offers a much needed boost to Thorney Close. Its brand new image is heartening and residents seem to like it - "it's brilliant" "it's the best thing that has happened to this place for years" (LOCAL RESIDENTS). Significantly, perhaps, there have been no real problems with vandalism, graffiti, and burglary so far. The surrounding landscaping is intact.

However, other interesting developments such as a community arts project, a youth project, and a credit union have been stymied as the centre's intended community development role has largely failed to materialise because of the change in emphasis

[20] Sunderland Echo (1994). Centre's Bosses Sacked. 24. September.
[21] Thake S. 91995). Staying the Course. The role and structures of community regeneration organisations. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation. p. 24.

in its role and activities. Nevertheless, The Action and Enterprise Centre is a much needed local authority presence on the estate but at the same time "it has lost its early impetus" (HOUSING OFFICER) and "is not running to full capacity" (CLERGYMAN).

The saga of the Community Development Trust at Thorney Close illustrates most of the problems that can be encountered when a community development project is proposed without an adequate framework for community development. Conflicts of power and interest between the local authority and local residents, and conflicts within the community itself, were only resolved by changing the entire focus of the project.

The failure of the Community Development Trust to get off the ground reinforces the evidence discussed in chapter 6 which suggests that community regeneration organisations need an appropriate facilitating mechanism if they are to succeed. The experience at Thorney Close also reinforces the negative point - namely, that local authorities are unlikely to be the appropriate agencies to provide that facilitating mechanism.

Overview

The community based voluntary sector hardly exists on the Thorney Close estate. The limited contribution of the voluntary sector has been of a worthwhile but disjointed nature. A number of factors may explain the weakness of community activism but the most important might well be the absence of any major "single issue" that might have encouraged a response from the community. In addition the estate has not attracted much attention until relatively recently and so was only eligible for Urban Programme funding since 1988.

10.7. The Local Authority

Introduction

The absence of any regeneration initiative on Thorney Close and the weakness of the community based voluntary sector on the estate means that the dominant role of the local authority in the provision of services remains largely unchallenged and that there has been an absence of circumstances that might have encouraged innovation and change. Thorney Close, therefore, provides a valuable context in which to assess the role of the local authority.

Sandhill View Comprehensive School

Secondary education for children on Thorney Close is provided by Sandhill View Comprehensive school. The school serves a wider area than the estate and included in its catchment are some smaller areas of private sector housing. The school has been successful in attracting pupils and the occupancy rate is 100%. The average class size is 21.6% (city average = 21.3%)[22] and 44.5% of the children are entitled to free school meals (Sunderland City average = 27.7%)

The school started life as the Thorney Close Secondary Modern School which, although in one building, consisted of two separate schools - one for boys and the other for girls. The school's design is staunchly modernist. It was at the time "a showpiece nationally" "a glass school" (LONG TIME TEACHER) which apparently received visitors from all over the world. "The kids who had been to a Victorian school suddenly had all this space and sunshine" (LONG TIME TEACHER). In the 1960s the two schools amalgamated and subsequently went comprehensive.

The school is polarised academically. It caters for some well motivated children who do well and are spurred on by the employment opportunities provided by Nissan and by the recent expansion of university education. The school received a reasonable OFSTED report.

However, less able and less well motivated children, who are in the majority, flounder. "If you are not a very bright male at Sandhill school what future would you see for yourself?" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST). In that sense the school's performance can justifiably be described as being "unforgivably bad" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST). One of the key problems is that there is little available help for children when they get into difficulties and parents find that help difficult to get - "they (the children) have to wait two years to see an educational psychologist" (PARENT GOVERNOR).

The overall impression is of a school that serves the minority of bright children well but has found it difficult to react positively to the needs of its less able children and to the needs of the surrounding community. There is enormous potential for the school to involve the local community and to become a community school, and to create the

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[22] Sunderland Education Department (1995). Statback 2 - School's Statistics.

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synergy which might be the outcome of involving parents and children simultaneously in broadly based educational activity.[23]

Hasting Hill Primary School

The estate is served by two primary schools - Hasting Hill and Thorney Close. Both schools operate in a difficult context. A recent briefing note prepared by the Sunderland City Council's Education Department described the context as follows -

> "A child at Hasting Hill, when compared with the national average child, is from a markedly younger population; such a child is significantly more likely to be living with a single parent, to be part of a large family, without access to a car and living in rented accommodation where overcrowding may be evident. Hasting Hill children will have relatives who are unemployed and disabling sickness will be a feature in many families. Children in the area are only half as likely as the national average child to know anyone who is a student."[24]

The Thorney Close estate is well served by its two primary schools. They offer different approaches. Hasting Hill school is open and informal, while Thorney Close school is structured and more formal. The Thorney Close Primary school has a good record with children in special need. Statistics published by Sunderland City Council suggest that Hasting Hill is slightly more popular than Thorney Close (capacity of 89% compared to 78%) while its catchment area is slightly more deprived than that of the Thorney Close Primary school (percentage of children eligible for free school meals - Hasting Hill = 60.2%; Thorney Close = 55.1%) but both are well above the city average of 35.7%.[25]

The Hasting Hill school, in particular, is an excellent peripheral estate primary school. It recently received a glowing OFSTED report which described the school as "having many strengths in important areas" and being "a caring and harmonious community which successfully achieves its stated aims". Significantly the school does not suffer from vandalism - "the local criminals liked the school they went to" (TEACHER).

The head teacher is community conscious and is aware that better use could be made both of the school's grounds and of the building for community use in general and, more particularly, to provide leisure facilities for children outside school hours. The

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[23] Atkinson D. (ed.) (1995). Cities of Pride. Cassell, London.
[24] Sunderland Education Department (1994). Hasting Hill Primary School. The School's Context. Paper prepared by the Planning and Information Service.
[25] op.cit. Sunderland Education Department (1995).

main impediment to progress is not a lack of good intention but a lack of knowledge on the part of teachers about the processes required to bring about the changes they would like.

Shopping Provision and the Local Authority.

The estate was originally built with two small shopping parades and a somewhat larger parade adjoining the central open space at Tadcaster Road. The two smaller parades now consist of two shops only. The Tadcaster Road parade lost its Prestos in the summer of 1995 and it was replaced by a Pakistani owned "Cost Cutter". The remaining units on that parade are used as a betting shop, three fast food outlets, and an off licence.

The decline of the shops is a reflection of the estate's economic decline - "there hasn't been the money on the estate to sustain business" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR). Furthermore the decline is self reinforcing. As the facilities decline in quality residents become less willing to use the shops that remain - "I only go when I am desperate because of the prices and they have out of date things" "I go to Springwell because the shops are nice and clean" (RESIDENTS).

The shortfall of shops on the estate has been an issue for some time. In 1988 the then Borough Council's Shopping Policy review[26] noted a deficiency in shopping facilities and that there was no centre with a reasonable range of facilities within walking distance. The Review recommended that Thorney Close should be a residential area prioritised for improved provision. Since then not only has no positive action been taken but the situation has further declined. The opportunities to improve the situation appear to exist. The local authority owns both the existing shopping parades and centrally sited adjoining land, a situation which was successfully exploited at Pennywell.

Advice Centres

In the late 1970s there were two local authority funded advice centres on the estate which more recently have been reduced to one. When the local authority cut its advice centres city wide from twelve to five in October 1995 it was only the opening of the

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[26] Sunderland Planning Department (1988). Borough of Sunderland Shopping Policy Review.

Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre which ensured the continuing provision of an advice centre on the estate.

Both the steady incorporation of the advice centres in Sunderland into the Social Services Department where they inevitably have a low priority and the increasing demand for their services as a consequence of growing poverty and as a result of a series of recent complex legislative changes means that the advice centres now provide a very diminished service. The Thorney Close Advice Centre requires appointments and these entail a wait of about one month - "the clients can't wait so they have to solve the problems themselves" (ADVICE WORKER). The possibility of adopting a campaigning or community development role has disappeared.

Thorney Close Community Education Centre

The only formal leisure facility for children and young people of all ages on the Thorney Close estate is the Thorney Close Community Education Centre. The Education Centre started life as the Thorney Close Youth Centre in 1965 and was the first purpose built youth centre to be built in Sunderland. The centre is owned and funded by Sunderland City Council's Education Committee. The centre employs one full time worker and a number of part time workers. Recently the staff have been reduced both in number (from two to one full time workers) and in quality (part time workers are now on temporary contracts and are unlikely to be qualified youth workers) in order to reduce running costs.

The Community Education Centre provides facilities on seven days a week. These range from pre-school play groups to activities for senior citizens. Use of the premises is offered to outside organisations including self help groups. The local member of parliament holds regular surgeries on the premises. The centre is well used and the take up is "excellent" (YOUTH WORKER).

However, there are difficulties associated with use of the centre. The centre is located at one end of the estate - "it is too far away for children especially on a winter's night" (TEACHER) - and there are the costs of equipment and fees for parents. Although these are reasonable they are beyond the budgets of many households - "if you have a few kids you just can't afford it" (MOTHER). The centre itself was described as having "an uncertain, unsure future" (YOUTH WORKER).

Play and Youth provision.

The Thorney Close estate is severely under-resourced in terms of play and open space provision. Football pitches and the bowling green are worn out and the two tennis courts are unused - "nobody knows how to play tennis on Thorney Close" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR). A play area adjoining the estate was vandalised and never replaced. A new children's' play area has been provided with Urban Programme funding on land adjoining the Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre but there are difficulties associated with its use as there is with adjoining open space - "the park is too dangerous; it needs to be supervised; nine and ten year olds run around with knives and scissors; at night the bigguns (14 to 15 year olds) are in there drinking" (MOTHERS).

The overall situation was summed up quite simply by residents - "there is nothing for the kids to do." The Area Strategy Report produced by the Housing Department expressed similar views - "it is hoped that more youth provision can be established with a view to reducing the vandalism and graffiti on the estate".[27] Detached youth workers are required on the estate to work with local gangs of up to 30 children and youths from the ages of about eleven to the early 20s that roam around the estate. There is a need for a holiday scheme. At present there is no additional play and youth provision during school holidays.

Local Politics

Thorney Close is represented on Sunderland City Council by three doyens of the local Labour Party. They are a committed, hard working and caring team, who have a traditional mind set - "I have been elected and I have the responsibility " (LOCAL COUNCILLOR). The councillors concentrate on ensuring that the estate receives efficient well run local authority services.

They appear to have an ambivalent attitude towards innovative community based approaches - "people come in with their social engineering ideas" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR) - but at the same time accept that change is necessary and that, for example, the Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre needs to have stronger community links - "there must be some kind of community organisation" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR). These attitudes inevitably leave them open to criticism - "of course,

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[27] op.cit. Sunderland Housing Department (1995). p. 41.

they are popular; they get council houses for people; they are a real problem for New Labour" (COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT WORKER).

Overview

The Thorney Close case study demonstrates that a reliance on traditional patterns of governance and service delivery is insufficient. The failure to innovate, to adopt preventative approaches, to encourage community involvement, and to adopt multi-agency approaches taken together with increasing poverty and social exclusion means that the estate, at best, suffers from benign neglect, and, at worst, is "in danger of facing further decline in its social and environmental conditions".[28]

10.8. Conclusion

A Neglected Estate

Thorney Close has been neglected in policy terms - it can be described as "a neglected estate". The estate is governed traditionally - "the welfare approach" remains dominant. That is reflected in the dominance of the public sector; the efficient delivery by it of mainstream services; and the reluctance of professionals and agencies, who perceive the need to change their approach, to do so in practice. "The welfare approach" continues to be under-pinned by local councillors who enthusiastically support the "welfare state" and are ambivalent about change.

Conditions on Thorney Close have declined in recent years. Whether Thorney Close has reached the nadir of its decline or will continue to do so is a crucial issue. The situation is well summed up in Sunderland City Council's bid to the Department of the Environment for Urban Programme funding for the Action and Enterprise Centre for the estate -

> "The Thorney Close area has been subject to an accelerating spiral of decline over the past few years. This has reached a critical point and unless it can be arrested now, is likely to give rise to serious social problems".[29]

This concern is shared by local politicians - "the estate is on a knife edge" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR), by professionals - "the next contender for having a run down

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[28] op.cit. Thorney Close Action Forum (1992).
[29] op.cit. Sunderland City Council (1992).

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reputation could be Thorney Close (POLICE INSPECTOR), and by the residents themselves - "this estate is getting as bad as Pennywell" (RESIDENT).

There is a clear need to regenerate Thorney Close. The estate's problems may not be as intense as those experienced on other estates but there is clear evidence of poverty and multiple deprivation. The estate, in fact, presents a strong case for immediate action. The study was undertaken at, what might turn out to be, a crucial phase in the estate's history when it was becoming important to reverse decline before conditions became more difficult.

The Lessons from Thorney Close

A number of lessons can be learned from the Thorney Close case study. These are -

- That the impacts of housing policy changes and industrial restructuring are mutually reinforcing and have resulted in considerable social change as discussed in general terms in section 4.3.

- Like Pennywell, physical improvement of the housing stock is not a key issue.

- The failure to attract private sector investment in the housing stock (section 10.3) reflects the difficulty in attracting private sector investment to peripheral estates - a problem encountered in Pennywell and on the Castle Vale Estate in Birmingham (section 7.3)

- A reliance on the traditional pattern of service delivery, however efficient, is not an adequate response to the problems on the estate.

- Services and facilities, such as schools and leisure and play facilities, that already exist on the estate need to be given a community dimension so that they can better support and cater for the needs of an impoverished community, and adapt realistically to social and economic problems prevalent on the estate.

- Benefits from an up-turn in the local economy have, as a whole, not reached the unemployed on the estate despite many of the new jobs being within ready access to the estate.

- There is considerable scope and potential to increase the role of the community based voluntary sector. The Sunderland Community Furniture Service demonstrates the potential of the voluntary sector if it is given adequate support.

- The failure of the Thorney Close Community Development Trust indicates a need for mechanisms that will facilitate the emergence of community regeneration organisations. Local authorities are unsuited for the lead role in helping establish these agencies.

- A network of community activists and estate based professionals exists on the estate with the potential and motivation to form the basis of an estate based partnership as discussed in section 6.5.

- Finally, this chapter demonstrates the shortcomings of approaches to regeneration which concentrate on the "worst" estates and thus *exclude* estates such as Thorney Close. If a preventative approach were to be adopted then Thorney Close, and estates like it, would need to be *included*.

11. TOWN END FARM ESTATE

11.1. Introduction

Town End Farm was built between 1960 and 1963 when Sunderland's slum clearance programme was in full swing. The estate differs, therefore, from Pennywell and Thorney Close which were used to cater for general housing needs in the immediate post-war period.

The Town End Farm Estate subsequently declined sharply and it was then targeted by a series of urban policy and housing initiatives - the Urban Programme, a proposed Housing Action Trust, and the largest single Estate Action funded regeneration scheme in the North East of England The estate was included in Sunderland's City Challenge area (for a summary of the schemes see table 11.2).

11.2. History of the Estate

Introduction

The Town End Farm estate is situated on the north west periphery of Sunderland and is about five miles from the city centre. The estate is bounded by the A 19 trunk road immediately to the west and higher ground to the north forms part of the South Tyneside green belt. The Downhill and Hylton Castle estates adjoin Town End Farm to the east and west.

The Town End Farm estate originally contained 2331 housing units of which 40% were flats. The current population is 4413 (see table 11.1 for key statistics). The estate consists of two and three storey development and its layout reflects the architectural and planning ideas of the time. The flats and houses are arranged in terraces in a semi-Radburn layout[1] with pedestrian areas, vehicular access from the rear, and garage courts (photographs 11.1.1 and 11.1.3).

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[1] The term "Radburn layout" is taken from a speculative housing development at Radburn, New Jersey in the later 1920s where an early attempt was made to separate cars from pedestrians. At Radburn the estate was set out so that houses fronted onto pedestrian paths while cars were contained to the rear with garaging in the form of garage courts.

When completed the estate was widely regarded as a showpiece. The Chairman of the Housing Committee was quoted, at the time, as describing the estate as "one of the

Table 11.1: Town End Farm - Key Statistics

Population	4413
Total number of households	2331
Unemployment - male (%)	31.2
female (%)	16.6
overall (%)	28.7
Tenure - local authority (%)	62.2
housing association (%)	5.8
owner occupation (%)	31.6
Socio-economic structure - managers/professionals (%)	5.7
other non-manual (%)	20.4
skilled manual (%)	22.9
semi-skilled (%)	21.7
unskilled (%)	10.4
Households without a car (%)	70.1
Ethnic minority groups (%)	0.6
Single parent families (%)	10.3
Tenants in receipt of housing benefit (%)	64.0
17 year olds in full-time education (%)	20.0
Children eligible for free school meals (%)	47.5
Right-to-buy sales (%)	26.0
Average price of three bedroomed semi-detached house (£)	31,000

(Sources: 1991 Census and various documents)

best in the country".[2] "We couldn't have outside television aerials because it was a model estate" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). However, the Sunderland Echo, although complimentary about Sunderland's newest estate, did comment that "the terraced houses are reminiscent of those from which the tenants have transferred".[3]

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[2] Sunderland Echo (1962). Experiment in Living. 16. June. p. 4.
[3] ibid.

The estate was built in three distinct phases at the height of Sunderland's slum clearance programme. The original residents were "shipped out en masse" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). They were literally moved street by street - "we had the same neighbours in Blythe Street as we had in Dame Dorothy Crescent" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). The original residents came from Monkwearmouth, the East End (Barbary Coasters) and Deptford, in clearly separate groups depending on how the slum clearance programme was progressing at the time. Residents still have strong loyalties to their past and their GPs, for example, may well be located in inner Sunderland. At the same time the estate also retains characteristics from its phased development - "those still exist today" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT).

The estate undoubtedly represented a vast improvement in the housing circumstances of those that came to live on it - "in comparison to those slums we had come from these were little palaces" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). It was a traditional working class community. There was a mass exodus of men each morning in the workers' buses. The women were at home - "my mother did the washing with a poss stick and tub and a copper boiler" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT) - but a significant number of women found production line jobs at post-war factories such as Plesseys which has since closed down. "It was quite a prosperous estate" (CLERGYMAN). Community based entertainment was also a feature of life on the estate - "we used to have fetes and firework displays and pie and peas suppers but all that has died out now. The young people are not organisers" (RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE MEMBER). The estate was popular - "one had to be vetted and inspected before you came here" (CLERGYMAN). As recently as 1981 the estate "still had a bit of the original glory about it" (LONG TIME RESIDENT).

The Decline of the Estate

The decline of the estate in the later 1970s and early 1980s is closely associated with the fortunes of the flats. The flats on Town End Farm were mainly incorporated into the terraced development and were placed throughout the estate. There were also some free standing three storey flat blocks on the northern and western peripheries of the estate - the somewhat notorious "S" blocks. The original inhabitants of the flats were a mix of young childless couples and older people. The flats worked well - "we took it in turns to wash out the common areas" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT).

However, as the original residents died or moved out into family houses they were replaced by younger single people. These incomers indulged in anti-social behaviour

and were described as being "misfits" and "the lower classes" (ORIGINAL RESIDENTS). The influx was on a large scale and the 1981 Census shows Town End Farm as having the second highest rate of youth unemployment in Tyne and Wear. The vicar, who lived on the estate at the time put it graphically - "I was snowed under baptising babies of single parent mothers who were living in the flats".

These changes impacted on an estate at the very time that there was "a very rapid decline as the factories and mines closed" (CLERGYMAN). The deterioration of the flats had a blighting effect throughout the estate and what had been a popular estate became unpopular - "The estate got a reputation for a while. They wouldn't have a house here for a fortune" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). A similar combination of circumstances leading to decline is to be found on the Bentilee Estate in Stoke-on-Trent (section 7.4).

Overview

Both the layout of the estate and the large number of flats on it were crucial causes of the estate's decline after its construction. The problems caused by Radburn layouts with their lack of "defensible" space are well known[4] and Town End Farm does not appear to be an exception. The flats created problems because they were inappropriately managed to house concentrations of young people. The situation was exacerbated by unsuitable initial design features such as "anonymous" communal entrances and rear drying areas. Inappropriate and expensive under-floor heating systems added to the problems - "you needed a lot of sophistication to live in them (the flats)" (CLERGYMAN).

From the outset the estate was marked by its peripherality and was furthest out on Sunderland's north western fringe. At the time of the estate's construction the Sunderland Echo noted that "many of the residents complain of the distance they have to travel into town and the infrequency of the buses. But most of them are more than pleased to be away from the smoke and grime of dockland and to enjoy, if only a taste of, the countryside".[5] Even today original residents recall that - "the estate was the other side of the world to Sunderland town" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT).

Strong feelings of territorial loyalty and a strong community spirit exist on Town End Farm - "people are born and bred on Town End Farm and they don't want to live

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[4] Sim D (1993). British Housing Design. Harlow, Longman. Chap. 5.
[5] op.cit. Sunderland Echo (1962.

anywhere else .... there is a strong community spirit which is defined by the boundaries of the estate" (POLICE OFFICER). The strong community spirit and the feelings of territoriality on Town End Farm may be the result of the estate's location and boundaries but they may also be the direct consequence of the redevelopment process in which it seems whole neighbourhoods containing extended families were moved to the Town End Farm estate.[6] Extended families continue to exist on Town End Farm - "I have the forth generation of Town End Farmers in my boys" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT). Town End Farm bears out a comment by Peter Willmott that "most localities in present day Britain for most of their residents have some of the characteristics of a community of attachment .... Territorial communities are seldom just that and nothing more".[7]

11.3. Housing

Introduction

Since 1985 efforts have been made to reverse the estate's decline (a summary of the regeneration activities is contained in table 11.2). These have concentrated on remodelling the estate's layout and the housing stock, particularly the flats, has been restructured and improved. Housing regeneration has been led by the local authority with Estate Action approval in partnership with the private sector. In 1988, however, local authority led action was interrupted by a proposal from the government to include Town End Farm in a Housing Action Trust.

Regeneration on Town End Farm illustrates two key features of housing regeneration policy in the 1980s - a concentration on the worst estates which presented the most acute problems (section 3.6), and a focus on the physical or built environment both in terms of the layout and the housing stock (section 6.3).

The proposed Housing Action Trust

In 1988 the Town End Farm Estate together with the adjoining Downhill and Hylton Castle Estates was included in one of six proposed Housing Action Trusts. The government's proposal came three years after the local authority had begun to convert

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[6]This contradicts suggestions made over the years by writers such as Young M., and Willmott P.(1957) Family and Kinship in East London. Harmondsworth, Penguin, that the redevelopment process, certainly in London, resulted in the break up of traditional working class communities.

[7] Willmott P. (1989). Community Initiatives - Patterns and Prospects. Shaftesbury, Blackmore Press. p. 34.

the problematic flats on Town End Farm and the adjoining Downhill Estate with the assistance of the private sector using mainstream Housing Investment Programme

Table 11.2. Town End Farm: Regeneration Schemes - Summary.

Scheme	Date	Cost	Area Covered	Comment
Urban Programme	1988	£0.5 mil. approx.	Sunderland Inner Area extended to include Town End Farm in 1988. Targeted as a priority area in 1992.	Funding for training related initiatives provided by the voluntary sector - Sunderland North Community Business Centre, Women on the Move, and Turning Point.
Proposed Housing Action Trust	1988	£170 mil.	Town End Farm, Downhill and Hylton Castle Estates.	Comprehensive housing renewal and environmental improvement. Related employment and shopping proposals.
Estate Action	1990	£29 mil.	Town End Farm	Conversion of flats to houses for sale. Improvement of existing housing stock. Additional funding via City Grants and mainstream Housing Investment Programme (approx. additional cost = £11 mil.).
City Challenge	1992	£37.5 mil.	North Sunderland.	Comprehensive regeneration. Improvement of Town End Farm's shopping area. Participation via estate based community assembly.

funding and Urban Development Grants[8], and when only a limited degree of progress had been made.

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[8] Urban Development Grants were introduced in 1982. The aim of the grant was to assist commercial, industrial or housing developments which could not have proceeded without public subsidy. In 1988 the Urban Development Grant was merged with the Urban Regeneration Grant to form the City Grant.

The estate was not "the second worst estate in the country" as described by the then Secretary for the Environment, Nicholas Ridley, but nor was it "an example of council regeneration at its best".[9] Although not convinced of the overall severity of the housing problems within the proposed HAT, the consultants Peat Marwick Mc.Lintock did note that "parts of the estates do unquestionably display many of the symptoms that HATs are designed to treat".[10]

The proposed HAT was opposed by the Sunderland Borough Council which felt that it could achieve the same outcomes if it were to be given the resources.[11] The proposal led to an active tenants' campaign - HATSTAND (HAT Sunderland Tenants Against No Democracy). The HAT was subsequently rejected overwhelmingly by the tenants by ballot in 1990 because they were concerned about future rent levels and security of tenure.

Subsequent Regeneration of the Estate

Following the rejection of the Housing Action Trust proposal the entire estate has now been improved by a local authority led improvement scheme supported by Estate Action funding (table 11.2). The scheme is very much in keeping with the Estate Action Ministerial Guidelines published by the Department of the Environment.[12] The last phase of house and environmental improvements was completed in October 1996.

The number of flats has been drastically reduced. Of the original 900, only 117 remain all of which have been improved. The remainder have been sold to the private sector for conversion to houses (photograph 11.1.2), sold to housing associations for use as sheltered accommodation, and a number have been converted to houses and bungalows and retained in council ownership. The houses on the estate have been improved by the provision of central heating, double glazing and kitchen improvements.

Tenure diversification and improvement of the local authority housing stock has been accompanied by a comprehensive programme of environmental improvements (photographs 11.1.1 and 11.1.3). The improvements have aimed to improve the

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[9] op.cit. Sunderland Echo (1962).
[10] Peat Marwick McLintock (1989). Letter to the Regional Director, Department of the Environment on the proposed HAT in Sunderland. 6. February.
[11] Borough of Sunderland (1989). A HAT for Sunderland? Sunderland, Sunderland Borough Council.
[12] Department of the Environment (1988). Estate Action: Ministerial Guidelines for Local Housing Authorities. London, HMSO.

appearance of the estate in general and to specifically overcome the problems associated with the semi-Radburn layout. The environmental improvements place emphasis on "defensible space" type improvements including the provision of in-curtilage car parking, the break up of hard landscaped surfaces, the stopping up of footpaths, the inclusion of communal grassed areas into front gardens, the renewal of boundary walls and fences, and new street lighting.

The cost of the housing and environmental improvements is approximately £40 million. The Estate Action contribution is £29 million and other substantial sources are the local authority's own housing monies, investment by two housing associations and by Wimpey Homes Holdings encouraged by an Urban Development Grant and then by a City Grant. Wimpey have used the grants to convert 450 flats into houses for sale. Taken together with the 26% of the housing stock which has been sold under the "Right to Buy" provisions of the 1980 Housing Act, the result has been a significant reduction in the local authority housing stock from 2331 units to 1328 units together with an equally significant degree of tenure diversification.

The Outcome of Estate Action

As a consequence of the Estate Action scheme the estate has been turned round, certainly in housing management terms. The number of applications for housing on the estate is now high. Housing officers summed up the change as follows - "It has gone from having the blackest name in Sunderland to one of the most popular" "it is no longer a council estate in appearance" "it is the Rolls Royce of Sunderland's council estates".

The satisfaction of the housing department is widely shared. "Town End Farm is the envy of people on the estates around it" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST). "People have got a pride in the area again" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR). And a police officer summed up the changes in the following words - "I remember Town End Farm as a horrendous place. There were boarded up houses all over the place. Now it is very attractive".

However, social and economic indicators (table 11.1) suggest that Town End Farm continues to experience adverse circumstances over a wide range of indicators. Although the data based on the 1991 Census was obtained before the completion of the Estate Action scheme more recent figures are in keeping. For example, in January 1995 53% of the children at Town End Farm Primary School and 56.2% at Bexhill Primary School were entitled to free school meals. This suggests, taken together with

the low car ownership rate, the skewed class structure, and the high rates of unemployment, that many of the residents of Town End Farm are poor and dependent on welfare payments.

Overview

The intensity of the housing management problems masked the worsening social and economic circumstances of those living on the estate. As these circumstances have not altered, there must be concern whether physical improvement alone will be sustainable in the longer term. "The houses are already looking as if they are neglected again because the same people are living in them" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST). "Any money that is spent on the fabric doesn't change the structure of the place. All the problems of crime, unemployment, boredom etc. etc. haven't changed" (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKER).

The programme of physical improvements funded by Estate Action consent typifies a process described by Anne Power in her most recent book.[13] Regeneration has involved short term, ameliorative action aimed at "estate rescue" and not actions geared to achieving stable, secure, and economically viable areas.

11.4. Crime

Town End Farm is not a high crime area. It appears to be an average outer estate - "Town End Farm is nothing as bad as Pennywell" (POLICE INSPECTOR). Graffiti and vandalism is limited in extent and the recent environmental improvements remain largely intact. Any problems are put down to the activities of a few - "it's only a handful of youths that give the estate a bad name" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST).

A multi-agency crime prevention initiative was established under the aegis of City Challenge. It consisted of a police task force, youth development work and collaborative involvement with the voluntary sector. The "ring fenced" Task Force of 10 officers was jointly funded by City Challenge and Northumbria police. The Task Force provided an additional proactive policing facility engaged in "intelligence driven policing". The police claims a 31% crime reduction throughout the City Challenge area over the three years of the Task Force's existence and "real success in

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[13] Power A. (1997). Estates on the Edge. The Social Consequences of Mass Housing in Northern Europe. London, Macmillan.

Town End Farm" (POLICE OFFICER). A fact cautiously confirmed in the Sunderland City Challenge Final Annual Review.[14] However, falling crime rates in Sunderland as a whole since 1993 make a definitive assessment difficult.

The reasons for this success may be a combination of improvements to the housing stock, tactical changes in policing, multi-agency co-ordination with good working relationships, a separate office, and better relationships between the police and the community. The presence of a known separate police force - "you know who you are talking to" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST) - and the opportunity to attend City Challenge Assembly meetings, which has been taken by the police, is immensely helpful in establishing a basis for improved intelligence.

The City Challenge Crime Prevention Initiative was the first of its kind in Sunderland. Lessons had been learned from the Pennywell Urban Crime initiative (section 7.4) which was staunchly top down. The project was well received - "the command block within Northumbria Police are impressed and encouraged" (POLICE OFFICER). There was no exit strategy.

11.5. Unemployment and Economic Development

Introduction

The unemployment rates on the Town End Farm Estate are high (table 11.1) - for example, male unemployment is 31.2%. The high figures are not only a reflection of the cessation of Sunderland's traditional industries but also of the closure of branch factories such as Plessey's in the 1970s.

As a result of the job creation programmes aimed at Sunderland, Town End Farm can now be described as being surrounded by "potentially the largest concentration of economic activity and growth in the North East"[15] or what City Challenge has described as a "ring of opportunity". The Boldon Business Park lies to the north, the Nissan car factory is immediately across the A19, and there are two enterprise zones within a short distance. Town End Farm is, therefore, in as strong a position as any disadvantaged community to take advantage of incoming job opportunities.

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[14] Harvey E., and Robinson F. (1997). Sunderland City Challenge. Final Annual Review. Universities of Northumbria and Durham.
[15] Carr J., and Wood J. (1989). Town End Farm - An Employment and Training Initiative Feasibility Study. Sunderland North Community Business Centre. p. 5.

The Shortcomings of Local Economic Development

The unemployment situation has eased on Town End Farm since 1991 in line with the upturn in the Sunderland economy (section 8.3) but the gap between Town End Farm and the rest of Sunderland may, if anything, have increased a little.[16] There is a mismatch between the demands of incoming industry and the skills and attitudes of the residents of Town End Farm - for example, 10% of the unemployed on the estate used to be miners. The mismatch is symbolised by Nissan. Few, if any of the better paid jobs have gone to local residents - "people come all the way from Cleveland on the A19 to snap up the best jobs" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST). "Nissan has made bugger all difference" (CLERGYMAN).

The three estate based voluntary organisations concerned with local economic development (section 11.6) have ceased to exist and the lack of estate based economic development has not been filled by City Challenge. City Challenge provided funding for training and job seeking activity at its three Aim High Centres - centres in former schools which provide locally based training, pre-employment education and job search facilities. None of these are located on the Town End Farm Estate. The services provided by the Aim High Centres emphasise mainstream provision by the Employment Service and the Wearside TEC. Town End Farm residents miss out in three ways - they have to travel out of the estate, the existing voluntary sector contribution has ceased, and there is now a complete lack of any innovative community based economic development and training activity.

Overview

The Town End Farm case study confirms the findings of the Thorney Close study that conventional local economic development has largely failed to reach the unemployed on peripheral estates. On Town End Farm the situation could hardly have been more propitious. Not only are there new jobs but Sunderland City Challenge attempted, as did City Challenge schemes elsewhere,[17] to help local people obtain them and thereby re-integrate the estate into the mainstream city economy.

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[16] op.cit. Harvey E., and Robinson F. (1997).
[17] Oakley N. (1995). Competitive urban policy and the regeneration game. Town Planning Review. Vol. 66. No. 1. pp. 1-14.

The failure of Nissan to help the local unemployed is not unique. For example, the new Dickinson's DIY retail warehouse in Newcastle, which adjoins Newcastle's City Challenge area, only employed 17 City Challenge residents out of a total of 170 new jobs. The comment made by Robinson and Shaw about this outcome in Newcastle would seem to apply to Town End Farm -

> "It will take a lot more effort and resources to regenerate communities like this (the West End in Newcastle) and overcome and overturn the experience of more than two decades of economic decline and marginalisation."[18]

11.6. The Voluntary Sector

Introduction

Three estate based voluntary organisations - Turning Point, Women on the Move, and the Sunderland North Community Business centre - have been established since 1983 to help overcome the obstacles to obtaining employment and to help generate new businesses. All three have been heavily dependent on Urban Programme funding.

Turning Point focused on youth unemployment. Women on the Move concentrated on health promotion and women's issues. Both organisations attracted adverse criticism. They were viewed as being unrepresentative, not serving local interests, and being run by outside professionals who had their own agendas. The opposition of local councillors was crucial when on the cessation of Urban Programme funding, the local authority decided not to continue funding these two organisations. Both have folded up. However, there has been a recent revival of community involvement on the estate based upon the Residents' Association and the Community Assembly.

Sunderland North Community Business Centre
(Fact Sheet 11.1 and Photograph 11.1.4)

The Sunderland North Community Business Centre is located in a former block of flats. It received substantial Urban Programme funding and provided a range of local development activity including pre-employment courses, training schemes, and premises and support for community businesses. Urban Programme funding ceased in April 1995 and ward councillors proposed setting up a community development trust.

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[18] Robinson F., and Shaw K. (1997). What works in those inner cities? Town and Country Planning. June.

However, pressure to ensure adequate local representation resulted in the idea being dropped. "They (the councillors) got rid of that idea after what happened at Thorney Close" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST) where the local authority abandoned the idea of a community development trust following disputes with local people (section 10.6).

The Sunderland North Community Business Centre is now a "community business centre" in name only. With the assistance of mainstream local authority finance it offers a base for City Challenge projects and a location for start-up businesses.

The Residents' Association (Fact Sheet 11.2)

Town End Farm Residents' Association emerged as a successor to STAND (section 11.3) after the Housing Action Trust proposal had been successfully defeated. The Residents' Association has a committee of 18 divided in approximately equal numbers between those renting and those who have bought their council houses. Owner occupiers who live in the houses converted by Wimpey do not participate in the Residents' Association.

The Residents' Association operates from premises above a shop provided rent free from the Housing Department. The Housing Department actively consulted it during the redevelopment process but now that the scheme is largely completed has reduced its level of contact. There is a feeling that "they (the Housing Department) don't want active citizens. They want puppets they can bring out of the cupboard" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST).

The Residents' Association deals mainly with housing matters but also acts as an informal Citizens' Advice Bureau. Referrals seem to be made to it often in preference to the Housing Department itself or to the ward councillors - "it's much easier; they are at the shops; the councillors are never in; they get nothing done" (RESIDENTS).

In the last year or so the Residents' Association has taken on an additional proactive role. The Town End Farm Caravan Association which provides cheap subsidised holidays on the Northumberland coast acts under the aegis of the Residents' Association. The Residents' Association helps to run "Off the Streets" which organises after-school activities for primary school children and a Breakfast Club at Town End Primary School which provides breakfast and pre-school activities for the children - "it encourages them to eat breakfast and to come to school on time" (RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE MEMBER).

TOWN END FARM - FACT SHEET 11.1

Name of Organisation	**SUNDERLAND NORTH COMMUNITY BUSINESS CENTRE**
Description	Founded in 1988 with urban programme funding. Located in a block of former flats. Started as a local economic development agency providing pre-employment training, and premises for community businesses. On expiry of urban programme funding in April 1995 it received mainstream local authority finance. Now functioning as a resource centre for the estate and as premises for some City Challenge sponsored schemes including the community health facilities.
Sources of Funding	Local authority economic development budget £51,000 City Challenge £20,000 Rents and other sources £10,000 -- Total Annual Turnover £81,000 (figures for 1995-6 financial year)
Features of Interest	• Time expired urban programme funded project. • Change of role from local economic development agency to estate based resource centre. • Moves to establish a community development trust failed. • Local political influence in the centre's change of function.

Local councillors appear to have "a strong resentment " (CLERGYMAN) towards the Residents' Association. Certainly relations are not as positive as they could be - "we would like to get involved with the councillors but they won't get involved with us" (RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE MEMBERS). However, the Residents, Association's embryonic development into a multi-objective agency which is generating new projects on an opportunistic basis is in keeping with the characteristics

of community regeneration organisations as set out both by Thake[19] and Wilcox and Warburton.[20]

TOWN END FARM - FACT SHEET 11.2

Name of Organisation	**TOWN END FARM RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION**
Description	Formed in 1989 to replace the pressure group which fought the Housing Action Trust proposal. Located in a former flat provided for the purpose by the Housing Department. Represents residents' and tenants' interests; deals with housing complaints; provides space for monthly meetings of the Benefits Agency and liaison meetings for home helps and carers. No involvement in housing management. Helps run the Town End Farm Caravan Association, after school activities, and a pre-school Breakfast Club. Management committee divided equally between those renting and those buying their council houses.
Sources of Funding	Subscriptions.
Features of Interest	- Relies entirely on volunteers - Lack of involvement with local councillors - Acts as an informal "Citizens Advice Bureau" but has no housing management function - Diversifying to provide community based services - Owner occupiers of new houses as opposed to those who have bought their council houses have been invited to participate but do not.

Town End Farm Community Assembly

City Challenge set up nine community assemblies including one for the Town End Farm Estate. Community assemblies were to contribute to decision making within the City Challenge framework by electing representatives to a Community Forum which in turn was represented on the board of City Challenge.

Community assemblies as originally envisaged had full spending powers but these powers became far more tightly controlled by the City Council early in 1995. The community assemblies' spending powers may well have been perceived as a threat by

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[19] Thake S. (1995). Staying the Course. The role and structures of community regeneration organisations. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
[20] Wilcox D., and Warburton D. (1988). Partnership for local development. Town and Country Planning. January.

Photographs 11.1. Town End Farm Estate

11.1.1. Typical view - two storey housing and environmental improvements

11.1.2. Sale and conversion of flats into houses for sale

Photographs 11.1. Town End Farm Estate

11.1.3. Typical view - landscaping on former garage court

11.1.4. Sunderland North Community Business Centre.

were the elected members; the hand of the local authority was reimposed" (YOUTH WORKER).

A Community Assembly has encouraged activism - "they are bringing people together again" "City Challenge seems to have brought out the community spirit" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST). City Challenge has provided a training ground - "you realise how controlling the political local government system is; it builds up your awareness of politics" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST). City Challenge meetings are well attended. (Town End Farm Community Assemblies attract about 75 people while Labour Party ward meetings are attended by about 10 party members only).

City Challenge has encouraged the emergence of a potential political leadership by providing experience in a political setting at the very time when traditional trade union activity has been curtailed by the demise of mining and heavy industry. A long standing community activist had this to say-

> "City Challenge reps are more accessible and approachable to the people. They are socialists and are interested in what Tony Blair is doing. They are not interested in self-power. They are interested in the communities they are living in and they want to help".

The outcome is a marked clash between the councillors and their attitudes, and a new generation of community activists who have emerged on Town End Farm.

Local Councillors and the Voluntary Sector

Town End Farm is represented on Sunderland City Council by three Labour councillors. There is electoral apathy and the turnout at recent local elections has been as low as 14%. At the last election but one (May1996) the Labour candidate was returned unopposed.

The local councillors are articulate, active and committed. All three live on the estate. All three have trade union backgrounds. They hold a firm belief in their own representative role - "we get elected every four years to do a job" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR) and they fully support local authority expenditure and wish to control it - "the councillors control all the money that comes into the estate" (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKER). The ward councillors are competent but in a solidly "Old Labour" or "Welfarist" tradition. The councillors believe in *traditional* local government and in its capacity to deliver services for working class people (section 6.4).[21]

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[21] Cole I., and Furbey R. (1994). The Eclipse of Council Housing. London, Routledge.

The Town End Farm councillors are widely accused of holding back, frustrating and obstructing the voluntary sector and community groups - "whenever people have stood up and been counted, they have been knocked down" (COMMUNITY WORKER). Community activists complain about their councillors - "they are invited to City Challenge meetings but they don't dare show their faces; they don't give us support; it's shocking". Councillors, on the other hand, express an ambivalent attitude towards community activism - "the principle of empowering the people is excellent but it gets Shanghaied by a few" (LOCAL COUNCILLOR).

The characteristics of the local councillors on Town End Farm which they share, if not quite so stridently, with their counterparts at Pennywell and Thorney Close suggest that peripheral estates are represented by councillors who emerge from ward Labour Parties whose membership reflects the homogeneous working class structure of the estates. Inner city Labour Parties, however, are likely to reflect a wider cross section of the community and that, in turn, will effect the characteristics of the councillors. Thus, political representation for outer and inner housing areas is likely to be different and, possibly reflect different attitudes to key issues such as those towards the community based voluntary sector (see section 4.5 for a comparison between outer and inner estates).

Overview

In chapter 6 the conflicts between community based voluntary organisations and local authorities were discussed. The evidence from the Town End Farm case study which in turn is supported by the experience at Thorney Close and, to a lesser extent at Pennywell, indicates that these conflicts are very real and inhibit the development of the community based voluntary sector. It also reinforces the hesitation expressed in chapter 6 about involving local government directly in innovative service delivery based on a pluralistic approach which it was suggested (chapter 5) was needed to tackle social exclusion.

The Community Assemblies set up under the aegis of City Challenge were, in effect, an additional tier of local democracy operating at the neighbourhood level. As with the more well known attempts to do this (section 6.4) the clash with the existing system of representative government resulted in conflict and subsequent emasculation (section 6.3). The failure of the Community Assembly taken with the success and growth of the Residents' Association is clear evidence in support of the suggestion that an alternative approach to community development based on community regeneration organisations might be more productive.

11.7. Services

Introduction

Town End Farm is almost completely lacking in estate based leisure, social, and health facilities. There is little more than a parade of shops, one pub, and a working man's club. There are, for example, no health care facilities, GP surgeries, dentists, opticians, or banks on the estate. Similarly the provision of social services such as play groups, nurseries, and registered child minders are minimal. The problems created by this lack of provision are exacerbated by the sheer problem of peripherality. Many services are only available at Southwick Green which is three miles away.

Play and Youth Provision

There is very little provision for youngsters on Town End Farm. A play area has recently been built with City Challenge funding on land adjoining Town End Primary School. It cost £40,000 and is "hugely popular" (CITY CHALLENGE EMPLOYEE). The children made an input to its design via the City Challenge Arts Project. The play area has not been vandalised - "the children are very protective of it" (TEACHER).

There is nothing for youth on the estate apart from the Town End Farm Youth Project which has received Urban Programme funding in the past and, more recently, £127,000 from National Lottery funds. It emphasises music and it is suggested "reflects the interests of those running it" (COMMUNITY WORKER). The comprehensive school at Castletown has an attached youth wing but it is not on the estate and is closed at present pending the construction of a £850,000 City Challenge funded leisure centre.

A major new leisure facility - the Downhill Sports Complex - has recently been opened on land adjoining Town End Farm at a cost of £3.7 million under the aegis of City Challenge. It provides a full range of sports facilities. But, local children may not be able to afford to go there and it is located outside the estate. A youth worker expressed concern that it might be firebombed.

Child Care - "Time for Kids!" (Fact Sheet 11.3)

A comprehensive child care strategy has been introduced throughout the City Challenge area and therefore includes Town End Farm. Entitled "Time for Kids!" and costing £750,000 over five years it provides child care, employs 10 full time and 60 sessional workers, trains creche and play workers, provides resources and a toy library, runs an Out of School Hours play scheme; and is willing to operate as an umbrella organisation for any other child care activity in the City Challenge area.

TOWN END FARM - FACT SHEET 11.3

Name of Organisation	**TIME FOR KIDS!**
Description	Provision of child care infrastructure throughout Sunderland City Challenge area. Provides training, employment, child care facilities, out of hours provision, resources, and support and information. Located at City Challenge's Hylton Castle Aim High Centre (former primary school). Funded by City Challenge. Answerable to Sunderland City Council's Social Services Committee.
Sources of Funding	City Challenge £750,000 (over 5 year period)
Features of Interest	• "Arms Length" Social Services provision. • Preventative and targeted Social Services facility. • Community development approach adopted. • Incorporates several features of good practice including creation of local employment and the encouragement of volunteers. • Varied exit strategies envisaged.

Although funded entirely by City Challenge "Time for Kids!" is managed by Sunderland City Council's Social Services Department but at arm's length - "we have the freedom to make mistakes" (CHILD CARE DEVELOPMENT WORKER). It maintains its independent image and thus avoids the stigma associated with social service provision. "Time for Kids!" represents real "additionality" and genuine service decentralisation.

"Time for Kids!" embodies several good practice features. It creates local employment, encourages volunteers, adopts an outreach approach when appropriate,

is comprehensive, and has a community development approach. The staff are most enthusiastic - "We are doing a wonderful job. There was nothing before us" (CHILD CARE DEVELOPMENT WORKER). This enthusiasm is infectious.

A varied exit strategy has been adopted. Some parts of the scheme have been incorporated fully into the Social Services Department while others are to function as an independent "user owned" organisation on contract to the department.

Health

"The health situation is terrible" (COMMUNITY WORKER). In fact, Phillimore and Beattie's study[22] of health and inequality in the Northern Region found that the health statistics for Town End Farm were the second worst of 678 wards in the region. Town End Farm typifies the connection between poor health, and unemployment and poverty (section 5.5).[23]

The Sunderland Family Health Services Authority had previously commissioned a report[24] about the situation. That report suggested that a combination of factors was responsible including unemployment, a lack of community based amenities to counteract the problems associated with unemployment, and a lack of health services. There is no doctor, dentist or chiropodist on the estate. The report also highlighted the lack of preventative health provision on the estate such as counselling, sex education, and family planning. The report recommended the creation of a health centre on the estate which would adopt an holistic approach, provide leisure, welfare and other services, and would be owned in part by local residents. The case for community control of any health centre was firmly stated -

> "Many .... had a cynical view of the "authorities" including government, the council, and health and social services. Moreover, they were deprived, through social circumstances, of most avenues for developing self-esteem through controlling their own lives. It is therefore essential that residents are involved in the development and control of any health and community care centre and feel a sense of ownership".[25]

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[22] Phillimore P. and Beattie A. (1994). Health and Inequality in the Northern Region 1981-1991. Department of Social Policy. University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
[23] Wilson S., and Walker G. (1993). Unemployment and Health: A Review. Public Health. Vol. 107. pp. 153-162.
[24] Heyman B. (1993). The Health Needs of the Residents of Town End Farm. Report of a Focus Group Investigation commissioned by Sunderland Family Health Services Authority. Institute of Health Sciences. University of Northumbria.
[25] ibid. p. 25.

A primary care facility - it includes the availability of a nurse practitioner on a part time basis, a mental health team, and a health promotion project have been established to serve the whole of the City Challenge area. They are located in the Sunderland North Community Business Centre. Funding is complicated but the most important sources are City Challenge, Priority Healthcare Wearside, and the local authority's social services committee. Staffing for these projects consists of secondees from the social services department and Priority Healthcare Wearside.

The project is only having a limited impact - "The message isn't getting through. They have their own aims and objectives which they keep to themselves" (YOUTH WORKER). The initiatives are hampered by a combination of factors including an out of the way location. Seconded staff who have "never worked in a community environment before" (ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKER) are open to the criticism that "there is a reluctance on the part of some people working in the professional agencies to help people develop the skills to help themselves" (COMMUNITY HEALTH WORKER). An "amazingly complicated management structure " (COMMUNITY HEALTH WORKER) reflecting the different contributing agencies and which itself is independent of City Challenge leads to the criticism that "there is no co-ordination, no overview and no overall policies" (COMMUNITY HEALTH WORKER).

A proposed health and community centre, along the lines recommended in the report produced by Northumbria University[26] has not materialised despite apparent commitment by the Sunderland Health Authority. Community activists suggested that the explanation for the lack of progress was to do with ownership - "they (the councillors) want it all up in the Sunderland North Community Centre because it is council run".

The difficulties in developing a range of primary care facilities based on effective community involvement are the consequence of three circumstances - the dominance of the professionally oriented curative medical treatment model (section 5.5), the resistance by the local authority to community led projects, and a complicated and somewhat unhelpful funding context. Thus to achieve changes in practice requires a change in attitudes and in the institutional context together with an appropriate funding regime - all issues which will be discussed in chapter 13.

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[26] ibid.

Education

Town End Farm has three primary schools. There is no secondary school on the estate. The children on Town End Farm often come from poor and deprived backgrounds. The children have "very limited social skills" (EDUCATION SOCIAL WORKER) and "the starting point is very low" (HEAD TEACHER). "Children are left to bring up themselves" (EDUCATION SOCIAL WORKER) because there is a low level of parenting skills. Often there is no father present not necessarily because there is only a single parent but because "many of the kids' fathers are in prison" (EDUCATION SOCIAL WORKER).

Despite the context of disadvantage both LEA schools - Town End and Bexhill - provide a good standard of education and Town End Primary School, in particular, encourages community involvement. The most recent OFSTED report on the Town End School stated that "Town End is a good school that serves its pupils well".[27] The report also said that "the school is a valuable part of the local community and the survey of parents revealed very strong support for the school".[28]

Until recently most children from Town End Farm proceeded to Castleview Comprehensive School which is on the adjoining Hylton Castle Estate. But that school has become less popular - "Castleview has changed since I went there. There's no discipline whatsoever now. The teachers are frightened of the kids" (PARENT). Children from Town End Farm now go in roughly equal numbers to Hylton Redhouse Comprehensive School and Boldon Comprehensive in neighbouring South Tyneside as well as to Castleview. The schools are big and there are problems with bullying. The two Sunderland schools perform indifferently academically.

Special Education Projects

City Challenge is providing funding for a number of education linked special projects. Included are a "Partnership in Reading Project" and a multi-faceted project which aims to improve school attendance. The latter project is concentrating on anti-bullying activity and, uniquely in Sunderland, provides funding for two Education Social Workers to engage solely on preventative work with schools. Co-operation between the education projects and with other City Challenge projects, such as Time for Kids! and the Crime Prevention Initiative, is good.

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[27] Office for Standards in Education (1993). Town End Primary School. London, OFSTED.
[28] ibid. p. 5.

The City Challenge funded schemes offered additional elements to the existing mainstream programmes and, in this respect, City Challenge continued a line of time limited government funded grant regimes which have been targeted at areas with educational difficulties - "baton change" as the process has been described by Fordham.[29] City Challenge has facilitated co-operation which would have been unlikely to occur if the projects had been part of mainstream provision. The schemes funded through City Challenge are unlikely to continue.

Overview

Despite success with child care and the emergence of some valuable if ephemeral schemes as a consequence of City Challenge, service provision at Town End Farm is noticeable, as it is at Thorney Close, by a failure to innovate and to adopt the multi-agency preventative approaches which it was suggested in chapter 5 would help tackle the problems of disadvantaged neighbourhoods such as Town End Farm.

The Town End Farm case study suggests that "flagship" projects need to be thought through carefully. There is a strong case, for example, for a multi-purpose centre but "flagship" projects such as the Aim High Centres (section 11.5) and the Downhill Sports Complex are projects that residents do not necessarily want and which, because of Town End Farm' peripherality, are located elsewhere. The continuing lack of estate based provision means that accessible facilities that exploit the strong feelings of territoriality and the wish of some residents to be involved - "there are plenty of people willing to help" (COMMUNITY ACTIVIST) - are not being provided.

11.8. City Challenge

Introduction

Town End Farm was included in Sunderland's City Challenge which came to an end in April 1998 (for a general summary of the City Challenge scheme see table 11.2). The City Challenge area covered a large part of Sunderland north of the River Wear. Apart from two longer established former mining communities the designated area consisted entirely of peripheral estates. The population of the City Challenge area was 37,000.

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[29] Fordham G. (1995). <u>Made to Last. Creating sustainable neighbourhood estate regeneration. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.</u>

"The Vision" of City Challenge was ambitious. It envisaged "the restoration of pride and confidence"[30] of the whole community which was to be achieved by a multi-objective programme. The context for Sunderland's City Challenge was what the bidding document described as "The Ring of Opportunity"[31] - that is, the additional jobs attracted to Sunderland as a result of the various job creation activities which had been aimed at Sunderland since the closure of the last ship yard in 1988.

City Challenge was managed by Community North (Sunderland) which was a small company limited by guarantee with a chief executive and a support team of seconded officers. It had a multi-sector board of 20 including 9 community representatives.

The Impact on Town End Farm

City Challenge expenditure *specifically* on Town End Farm was largely confined to street lighting, tree planting, refurbishment of the estate's principal shopping parade and other environmental improvements. These can be viewed as supporting, in environmental terms, the Estate Action funded investment in the estate's housing stock.

Other projects were limited both in terms of expenditure and in their impact. There are a variety of reasons for this. Projects either operated over the City Challenge area as a whole - for example, the Crime Prevention Initiative and the employment and training measures - or were targeted at the open land immediately around the estate. The focus on flagship projects resulted in capital projects more centrally located on other estates (for example, the Aim High Centres mentioned in section 11.5 and the Downhill Sports Complex - section 11.7). No doubt there was also a feeling that any capital investment deserved to go to the estates which had not received Town End Farm's housing investment.

The Realignment of City Challenge

Within a few months in 1995 a number of changes were made which affected the organisation of City Challenge. The chief executive of City Challenge who had come from the private sector was replaced by the then Deputy City Housing Officer, the Community Forum was abolished, the Community Assemblies had their delegated

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[30] Borough of Sunderland (1992). Sunderland City Challenge 1992. Bidding Document submitted to the Department of the Environment. Sunderland, Sunderland Borough Council.
[31] ibid.

spending powers severely curtailed, and a City Council sub-committee took over virtual control from the board of Community North.

The underlying issues concerned power and control. A local councillor described the background in the following words -"The community reps tried to take over the role of local councillors; they were encouraged by the officers of City Challenge; a separate power base was being established". The same councillor then outlined the consequences of the changes that had been made - "Since it has been realigned there is more expertise going in from the city council and better use is being made of resources". In fact, City Challenge funds were used to pay for projects and service additions that the local authority would not otherwise have been able to afford. Sunderland City Challenge was said to have become - "a government sponsored siphoning system" (CITY CHALLENGE EMPLOYEE). That outcome is not surprising given the spending pressures on mainstream departments and the inclinations of local councillors.

The local authority not only took control over the content of City Challenge but also over the level of community involvement. Despite City Challenge Bidding Guidance that "the management and organisational arrangements outlined in the bid must reflect the partnership nature of City Challenge"[32] the local authority had, in effect, stopped the attempt to involve the community as a partner.[33] The community sector became marginalised - "it (the City Council) pays lip service to community involvement" (CITY CHALLENGE EMPLOYEE).

Overview

Sunderland City Challenge was unique, among City Challenge schemes, in its attempt to regenerate an area consisting almost entirely of peripheral estates. The City Challenge scheme in Sunderland consisted of a number of separate projects and was lacking in a strategic input. Some projects, the health projects for example, were clearly opportunistic and a response by contributing agencies to a one-off opportunity but other projects such as the Crime Prevention Initiative and Time for Kids! were well thought out and represented real innovations in practice.

There was no overall "exit" strategy. The continuation of individual projects has depended almost entirely on the capacity and willingness of the sponsoring agencies, particularly the local authority, to absorb any additional revenue costs. There must be

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[32] Department of the Environment (1992). City Challenge. Bidding Guidance 1993. London, DoE.
[33] Smith H (1996). Partnerships in Urban Regeneration. A Case Study of Sunderland City Challenge. Unpublished undergraduate dissertation. University of Sunderland.

concern that much of City Challenge will be lost - "it's going to slide back" (EDUCATION SOCIAL WORKER).

The experience on Town End Farm may well not be reflected elsewhere in the City Challenge area but surprising progress was made in community development despite the antipathy of the local authority. It is a pity that City Challenge had a short time span of only five years. "It's taken two years for people to realise what would have been achieved with it and now it's at an end" (COMMUNITY NORTH COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVE).

The experience of City Challenge in Sunderland suggests that the grouping of estates into one single regeneration scheme has disadvantages. Town End Farm missed out because of its peripherality. Many of the projects did not reflect local wishes and the feelings of territoriality that do exist. The City Challenge experience in Sunderland adds support to the argument outlined in section 6.2 which is supported by the experience of the Waltham Forest HAT (section 7.2) that relatively small areas are more suitable for regeneration programmes which stress an integrated approach and place emphasis on community based action.

11.9. Conclusion

A "Rescued" Estate

In physical terms the Town End Farm Estate has been transformed. The Estate Action project dealt with a clearly defined problem created by the large number of flats and had an equally clear solution - the removal of the flats. This strategy has been successful, certainly in immediate housing management terms. The estate's morale and desirability has improved considerably. The large scale sell off was assisted by the estate's peripherality which made it possible to sell off houses on the edge of the estate where they could form a physically separate entity.

However, despite City Challenge, the estate remains in need of regeneration not only to reduce or eliminate the incidence of unemployment, poverty, and multiple deprivation that threatens the progress that has been made but in a wider sense to find a new role and function for an estate that was a "show piece" of post-war town planning and housing policy.

The original community on Town End Farm was a heterogeneous community in which there was full employment and most of the inhabitants experienced similar social and economic circumstances. That community is changing into a "Post-Fordist" one as a result of economic and social change reinforced by government policy. Town End Farm is becoming what might be described as "a dual community" - "we used to all be on the same level but now there is strong social and economic differentiation" (ORIGINAL RESIDENT).

Residents are increasingly divided between those who have jobs, are buying their council houses, own cars and are therefore able to drive their children to Boldon Comprehensive School, and have access to a wide range of services and opportunities; and those that are unemployed, rent their houses, do not possess a car and whose poverty makes them estate dependent. A process of polarisation appears to be occurring on an estate where substantial number of council house sales have taken place.

Polarisation is accompanied by strong positive attributes. Feelings of working class solidarity, the presence of inter-generational family structures, and the presence of the more successful working class who have bought their houses and who have a stake in the capital value of their houses. Thus, Town End Farm displays both the polarisation and the strengths noted by Meegan in his study of Merseyside's outer estates (section 4.4).[34]

The Lessons from Town End Farm.

A number of lessons can be learned from the Town End Farm case study. These are -

- Physical improvement in propitious circumstances - namely difficult-to-let housing stock in locations where they were attractive to the private sector and when improvement led to the removal of a relatively large number of anti-social - can result in positive change, certainly in the short term.

- As at Thorney Close, the benefits from conventional local economic development have not, as a generalisation, reached the unemployed on the estate despite, again, many of the new jobs being within easy reach of the estate. Symbolically Plessey's

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[34] Meegan R. (1989). Paradise Postponed: the Growth and Decline of Merseyside's Outer Estates; in Cooke P. (ed.). Localities: The Changing Face of Britain. London, Unwin, Hyman.

contributed to the economic well being of the estate in the 1960s but Nissan, literally across the road, failed to do so in the later 1980s.

- The partial eclipse of the Town End Farm Community Assembly is indicative of the problems that are encountered when a formal tier of governance is established at the neighbourhood level (section 6.3).

- The Residents' Association demonstrates the potential of the community based voluntary sector.

- The increase in community activity on the estate demonstrates the potential role that can be played by a local community on a peripheral estate if it is given support and stimulus.

- Mainstream service provision is adequate but, as the Pennywell and Thorney Close case studies also demonstrate, the major bureaucracies within the public sector find it difficult to innovate and adopt preventative programmes on the basis of partnership. The Time for Kids! project is a notable exception.

- Flagship projects need to be thought out carefully and do not necessarily represent the most appropriate response.

- There is a strained relationship between the local authority and the community based voluntary sector as there is on the other estates studied in Sunderland. On Town End Farm the problems are sufficiently intense to have seriously inhibited development of this sector. The reasons for the difficulties that emerge from the case study confirm the reasons suggested in section 6.4.

- Both the characteristics and the actions of Town End Farm's local councillors suggest that councillors representing peripheral estates are likely to have attitudes associated with traditional local government and the welfare approach and will, therefore, be somewhat unresponsive to community based approaches.

- Finally, the City Challenge experience together with the feelings of territorial loyalty and community spirit which undoubtedly exist on the estate indicate that a small area approach - one or two estates? - is suitable for the delivery of integrated regeneration programmes.

12. SUNDERLAND CASE STUDY
- SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW

12.1. Introduction - towards a typology of estates

A four-fold typology of estates emerges from the case study. Such a typology is *indicative* and can only be stated together with the necessary caveat that all estates present unique circumstances. The first type is the "stigmatised" estate often associated with a high incidence of criminal behaviour or specific housing problems which has resulted in the estate having a high policy profile. This category is exemplified by Pennywell which, in fact, has similar characteristics to those estates outlined in the study by Power and Tunstall[1] of the 13 estates that experienced major urban disturbances in 1991 and 1992. In addition to Pennywell, of the estates listed in table 8.3, Southwick may also have similar problems but on a smaller scale.

The second type of estate which presents similar if less intense problems might be described as being "neglected" in policy terms. Some of these estates are on a knife edge and are in danger of declining further. Thorney Close, for example, can be so described - "Thorney Close isn't far behind Pennywell; where will Thorney Close be in five years' time?" (SUNDERLAND'S DIRECTOR OF HOUSING). There are other such estates in Sunderland - The Home Housing Association's Plains Farm Estate may be likewise at risk. These might be labelled " knife-edge neglected" estates

Town End Farm, the third estate studied, has now become a relatively stable community again and its housing stock is relatively popular. Although it has been "rescued" the incidence of multiple deprivation has remained high. There are several other estates in Sunderland that present broadly similar circumstances. Without further study it is not possible to state firmly which estates fall into this category but 10 - 12 of Sunderland's peripheral estates may well do so. Town End Farm Estate and others like it could be called "stable neglected " estates.

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[1] Power A., and Tunstall R. (1995). <u>Dangerous Disorder. Riots and violent disturbances in 13 areas of Britain, 1991-92.</u> York, York Publishing Services.

The last type consists of estates, usually relatively small, where the majority of the houses have been sold to sitting tenants and where there are few problems connected with social exclusion - estates that can best be described as being "suburban". In Sunderland only the Hill View and Hall Farm Estates appear to be in this category (on both estates about 60% of the houses have been sold). But in the South of England, again making a broad generalisation, such peripheral estates are likely to be more prevalent.

It is the first three types - the "stigmatised" estate, the "knife-edge neglected" estate and the "stable neglected" estate - that together form the majority of estates in Sunderland and present an agenda for regeneration. Policies for regeneration and the principles upon which they are based need, therefore, to be "replicable" so as to encompass the relatively large number of estates involved and, at the same time, be flexible enough to deal with a range of circumstances. The case study suggests that an emphasis on the "worst" estates (section 3.6) would fail to include many estates that would benefit by being included within a regeneration strategy.

12.2. Regeneration and Economic Development

Sunderland is being most successful in attracting inward investment. Although the number of jobs in 1996 still falls short of the 1973 number (table 8.2) the Sunderland economy is booming. These successes can be put down to a vigorous local authority led by a chief executive who was described as "being very ruthless and focused" (CITY COUNCIL OFFICIAL); dynamic inter-corporate working through the City of Sunderland Partnership - an innovative City-wide partnership (section 12.7); and high profile marketing and promotional activity - "Sunderland is in the top tier for marketing" (GOVERNMENT OFFICE OFFICIAL). The local authority, in particular, has been most successful - "the local authority is superb at the traditional regeneration agenda" (CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF THE TEC).

However, there is the downside. The benefits have not filtered down to the peripheral estates. Talking of the 750 jobs recently coming into the Doxford International Enterprise Zone, the Deputy Leader of the Council said - "they (the jobs) will not touch the people on the estates" and he went on to mention how the Nissan development had failed to connect with the adjoining peripheral estates - "it's as if a flying saucer had landed". People on the estates lack the skills; lack the perception - "they are into hitting things with hammers" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL); and

are accustomed to obtaining jobs through contacts rather than through the formalities of job applications.

The reasons why people living on the estates have not been able to access the new jobs are no doubt the same as elsewhere but the problems on Sunderland's estates may be reinforced by local cultural factors. Significantly the Nissan development and all three Enterprise Zones are adjacent to or within comfortable walking distance of peripheral estates. Peripherality in a geographical sense[2] does not appear to be the problem. The Chief Executive of the TEC referring to the difficulties people living on the estates were experiencing commented that "there are jobs in Washington District 6 but it's beyond their ken".

The failure of the new jobs to reach the most disadvantaged in the labour market updates a plethora of evidence to this effect from the 1980s onwards.[3] Webster, who based his comments on research undertaken in Glasgow,[4] has suggested that increasing the number of jobs is of crucial concern. That may be but the Sunderland case study indicates that job creation is not sufficient. Unemployment is not a single issue and needs to be approached on a holistic basis and as part of a concerted approach to tackling social exclusion.

Attempts in Sunderland to generate estate based jobs are not encouraging either. Development has been dogged by funding problems, in-fighting within the voluntary sector, disputes between local councillors and proponents of the schemes, and poor management (see in particular the Town End Farm experience outlined in section 11.6). There have been notable failures. In fact, on the three estates studied only Pennywell Community Business (section 9.6) and Sunderland Community Furniture Service (section 10.6) can be said to have successfully created jobs on a sustained basis. The more comprehensive package provided by City Challenge (section 11.5) has also been disappointing and has failed to reduce the unemployment gap between the City Challenge area and Sunderland as a whole.[5]

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[2] Peter Hall is of the opinion that peripherality in a geographical sense is important. See Hall P. (1997) Regeneration Policies for Peripheral Housing Estates: Inward- and Outward- Looking Approaches. Urban Studies. Vol. 34. Nos. 5/6. pp. 873-890.

[3] See, for example - (i) House of Commons Employment Committee (1988). Third Report: The Employment Effects of the Urban Development Corporations London, HMSO; and (ii) Audit Commission (1989). Urban Regeneration and Economic Development, London, Audit Commission.

[4] Webster D. (1997). Welfare to Work: why the theories behind the policies don't work. Working Brief. June.

[5] Harvey E., and Robinson F. (1997). Sunderland City Challenge. Final Annual Review. Universities of Northumbria and Durham.

The case study indicates the need for integrated approaches in which employment and training are linked, and form part of a holistic regeneration programme. The SRB funded Intermediate Labour Market scheme at Pennywell adopts such an approach and the prospects are promising (section 9.9).

12.3. Housing Management and Housing Led Regeneration

Introduction

The Sunderland Housing Department has been responding to changing circumstances. It has adapted its management practices in response to intense housing management pressure caused by the unpopularity of both groups of houses and the decline in the demand generally for houses on some estates particularly on the Pennywell Estate where demand has recently plummeted.

Housing Management

Housing management stresses "Customer Care" and efficiency - there is a firm concern with performance indicators (section 8.5). Improvements in housing management are a response to the "bad housing management in the 1970s and early 1980s when we managed the houses without looking at the people in them" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL).

In the last 18 months what was described as "an authoritarian swing" (SENIOR HOUSING MANAGER) has been introduced into housing management. The Housing Department is setting standards for its tenants - "we are setting standards that we are prepared to tolerate; we are prepared to say 'no we don't want you'; it's about good neighbours" (DIRECTOR OF HOUSING).

There is a new determination to enforce tenancy agreements. The Safer Estates Task Force on the Pennywell Estate (section 9.4) has as its prime objective the removal of anti-social and unneighbourly tenants. Although a multi-agency approach is being adopted with the police and the housing department in the lead, it is significant that the project is led by a housing professional with line management responsibilities to the Housing Department.

Estate Action and Tenure Diversification

There have been a number of housing led regeneration schemes on the peripheral estates. The Estate Action funded schemes at Town End Farm (section 11.3) and a similar scheme at Downhill have involved major changes in the layouts of the estates and comprehensive improvement of the housing stock. There has also been a considerable amount of tenure diversification.

The experience with housing led regeneration has been mixed. At Town End Farm the Estate Action scheme has resulted in the successful turning around of the estate. A problematic and unpopular estate has been transformed into one for which there is now considerable demand (section 11.3). However, tenure diversification does not appear to have been a key element in achieving this success. The Director of Housing described tenure diversification as "nonsense; it is just divisive". He suggested that "tenure diversification had been grant led". However, restructuring has occasioned the removal of difficult and anti-social tenants that used to live in the flats. The result has been a "better balanced community" (DIRECTOR OF HOUSING). At Pennywell the Estate Action scheme did not result in a change of tenants and the outcome has been disastrous (section 9.3).

Overview

The Sunderland Housing Department has as its key task the "reversal of two decades worth of stigma which has turned the average person away from what we do" (DIRECTOR OF HOUSING) and in the process make renting from the local authority a popular option and reverse the trends towards residualisation. Improvements to the housing stock, improved housing management, and the removal of bad neighbours both by the enforcement of tenancy agreements and as a by-product of physical restructuring, are all crucial components of this strategy.

Sunderland Housing Department is an example of an efficient mainstream service department of a large local authority. It also exemplifies departmentalism. The department has a narrow housing focus and has made only a limited contribution to inter-departmental working and inter-agency partnerships.

12.4. Regeneration of the Peripheral Estates

Introduction

A number of regeneration schemes have been targeted at Sunderland's peripheral estates. Estate Action funded schemes have been implemented on several estates (table 8.3) the most significant of which were at Town End Farm and Downhill (see section above). The City Challenge scheme (section 11.8) covered eight estates north of the River Wear and currently SRB Challenge Fund money is being targeted at Pennywell (see sections 8.4 and 9.9).

City Challenge

Despite the favourable circumstances created by incoming employment opportunities on several sites adjoining the City Challenge area, the evidence collected by Harvey and Robinson[6] suggests that the gap in all the key indicators between the City Challenge area and the city-wide area has tended to remain. The unemployment figures for the City Challenge area, in particular, reflect city-wide trends. Moreover, Harvey and Robinson suggest that the biggest achievements of City Challenge have been in land reclamation, the improvement of land and buildings. and the development of business and commercial units - physical development. The outcome of City Challenge is similar to that experienced in Scotland. Mc.Carthy writing about the outcome of the Scottish Partnerships has commented that -

> "Physical achievements were not matched by corresponding social and economic
> improvements. In particular, the incidence of poverty in the partnership areas
> remained high and household incomes were largely unaffected by the work of
> partnerships".[7]

The City Challenge scheme is as notable for the conflicts and power struggles as for its approach or content. The causes of the disputes almost certainly are the short lead time and the palpable inexperience and lack of capacity of all the principal actors in developing and delivering a generic regeneration programme. Councillors, both in their role as ward representatives and as committee members were able to successfully defend their role of endorsing expenditure in their own wards, and defending and promoting the interests of the committees on which they sat ("The City Challenge siphoning system" as it was described in section 11.8).

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[6] ibid.
[7] Mc.Carthy J. (1997). Empowerment or Exclusion. Town and Country Planning. January.

However, City Challenge scheme has resulted in worthwhile constituent projects - "a good many things including the best work which was done in the schools" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL). Excellent special education projects, a comprehensive community based child-care scheme, intermediate job linkage projects which "were pursued with some vigour" (GOVERNMENT OFFICE OFFICIAL), and the Crime Prevention Initiative are among City Challenge's contribution to innovative practice.

Single Regeneration Budget

The successful Round Three Bid under the SRB Challenge Fund grant regime for regeneration of the Pennywell Estate[8] (section 9.9), unlike City Challenge, represents a *small* area focus to comprehensive regeneration. The contents of the scheme[9] contain a mixture of innovatory schemes involving revenue expenditure and more conventional proposals of a capital led nature. The multi-agency programme is the formal responsibility of the City of Sunderland Partnership (section 9.7).

Given the intensity and extent of Pennywell's problems and the previous history of repeated policy failure the optimism is striking - "We will attract innovative and adventurous people" (HEALTH PROFESSIONAL); "the scheme contains a range of ingredients that should help" (DIRECTOR OF HOUSING); "we will make a significant improvement" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL). This optimism is accompanied by commitment - "there's a lot of commitment to getting it right" (LOCAL AUTHORITY OFFICIAL); "I am going to demonstrate that it can work on a local scale. I am going to lead by example" (HEALTH PROFESSIONAL);

Efforts are being made to deliver programmes sensitively via the community based voluntary sector. However, although offering opportunities for local people to comment and for voluntary sector involvement via the City of Sunderland Partnership, the local authority is keeping a tight rein over the agenda - "the agenda is the council's although it should be the Partnership's" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP CHAIRMAN). And the voluntary sector voices its concern - "I have no real idea of what is going on; the real power is with the officers' working group" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP VOLUNTARY SECTOR REPRESENTATIVE). A comment made by Pearce about partnership schemes in general may well apply to Pennywell -

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[8] City of Sunderland Partnership (1996). Pride in Pennywell. Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund 1996/97. Final Bid. City of Sunderland Council.
[9] City of Sunderland Partnership (1997a). City of Sunderland Partnership SRB III. Challenge Fund. Pride in Pennywell. Delivery Plan 1997-8. City of Sunderland Council.

"the multi-agency approach will go ahead anyway, and on paper, it is always easy to make the structure look as if the community is involved".[10]

The Strategic Context

A noticeable feature of regeneration activity in Sunderland is the lack of strategy - regeneration can be described as operating in a strategic vacuum. The absence of a strategic tier of government and the multiplicity and competitive nature of the funding regimes are not conducive to the development of a wider strategic perspective.

The Government Office for the North East (GONE) set up in April 1994 is an attempt to fill this gap. The "Regional Guidance"[11] published by GONE in July 1997 simply reiterates priorities in the most general terms. The content of bids is determined almost entirely by the local authorities - "The SRB is driven by local politicians" (GOVERNMENT OFFICE OFFICIAL). The government office despite transparently good intentions and a wish to influence the content of bids remains a passive recipient to a large extent - "we are disappointed that the schemes aren't as radical as they could be given the record of repeated failure" (GOVERNMENT OFFICE OFFICIAL). GONE may be inhibited by the civil service culture but it anyway lacks the crucial professional capacity to enable it to contribute meaningfully to the development of strategy.

Sunderland City Council attempts to fulfil a strategic role but is unable to do so either. The local authority's annually updated City Strategy[12] although concerned with regeneration has as its principal aim the corporate working of the council's separate service committees. The Regeneration Framework documents[13] produced by the Chief Executive's Department concentrate on describing problems and stating opportunities and do not address strategic issues. It can be argued that Sunderland in common with other local authorities focuses on area based regeneration in response to grant regimes[14] and short term political expediency.[15]

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[10] Pearce J. (1993). At the heart of the community economy. London, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. p. 229.

[11] Government Office for the North East (1997). Single Regeneration Budget Challenge Fund Round 4. Regional Guidance. Newcastle, GONE. July.

[12] op.cit. City of Sunderland Council (1997a).

[13] City of Sunderland (1997 b,c,d,e,f,g). Sunderland Coalfield, Sunderland East, Sunderland North, Sunderland South, Sunderland West and Washington Area Regeneration Frameworks. Sunderland, Sunderland City Council.

[14] Stewart M. (1996). Urban Regeneration, chap. in Leach S., Davis H., and Associates. Enabling or Disabling Local Government. Buckingham, Open University Press.

[15] The choice by the City Council of an inner city area for its SRB Round 4 bid seems to have been determined as much by the fact that the area includes the ward represented on the council by both the leader and deputy leader as by strategic considerations.

Overview

The stimulus and momentum for change created by City Challenge and the Pennywell SRB funded project has been enormous. Thus, despite the limitations of City Challenge in Sunderland and concerns about the current project at Pennywell the Sunderland case study reinforces the case for area based initiatives resourced by additional "ring-fenced" funding.

> "'Funny money' schemes like the SRB Challenge Fund are absolutely essential to draw out and harness local initiatives. There has to be dedicated funding to tackle inter-related problems, holistically, in specific geographical areas." (Robinson and Shaw).[16]

12.5. The Local Authority

Introduction

Sunderland City Council is a large metropolitan local authority controlled by the Labour Party. The council has responsibility for the delivery of mainstream services and it also has a professional regeneration capacity which has been developed over a number of years. The local authority has a record of pragmatism and is prepared to work with central government - it co-operated effectively with the last government - and in partnership with other agencies (section 8.6).

Regeneration - the Internal Arrangements

Regeneration is the direct responsibility of the council's Chief Executive. As regeneration has expanded to include "social as well as physical and economic issues"[17] so has the Chief Executive's Department. It now has a separate regeneration team which is responsible for regeneration issues. The council has a Strategic Initiatives Budget with an annual expenditure programme of nearly £4 million to tackle "priority issues and key service developments".[18] In 1995/96 £1.2 million was spent on establishing a programme of nursery education.

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[16] Robinson F., and Shaw K. (1997). What works in those inner cities? Town and Country Planning. June. p. 178.
[17] ibid. p. 13
[18] op.cit. City of Sunderland Council (1997a) p. 12.

Regeneration policy is, in practice, determined by the Chief Executive. Other departments tend to lack the capacity to make a substantial contribution. They are handicapped by the "narrow training of local government officers" and by the fact that "the senior tier in the departments are not sufficiently strong to carry regeneration" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL). The regeneration team is also aware of the difficulties - "It's about building up relations; a sea change won't happen overnight" (CITY COUNCIL REGENERATION TEAM REPRESENTATIVE). Given the quiescence of the politicians and the patchy involvement by other departments regeneration is inevitably dominated by the Chief Executive's Department and is essentially managerial and technocratic in its approach - features that one associates with the welfare approach.

Inter-Agency Working

Despite the inter-relatedness of problems on the estates and the various exhortations to adopt a multi-agency approach the three estate studies reveal that although co-operation between agencies and departments does occur, a multi-agency approach to the formulation and delivery of programmes is not being adopted. The Safer Estates Task Force at Pennywell (section 9.4) is an exception. The proposed Health Centre at Pennywell may also adopt a meaningful multi-agency approach. If it succeeds in doing so the pressure has come from the grass-roots - "the drive is coming from the field workers" (HEALTH PROFESSIONAL).

The Councillors

The characteristics of the council members emerge clearly from the case study. They are elderly, have served for some time, are hard working, and well intentioned. They are imbued with attitudes associated with Labour Welfarism. A key committee chair was, for example, described as follows - "he is not clear about the agenda but he is very supportive" (LOCAL AUTHORITY OFFICIAL). The councillors find regeneration difficult to cope with. "The vast number of members don't understand regeneration; they don't understand the concept" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL). Any move towards active community involvement not only threatens the representative role of councillors but brings them into new territory - "when you move from surgery work to working with vibrant groups it becomes a different ball game" (LOCAL AUTHORITY OFFICIAL).

Overview

"Sunderland is one of the last traditional Labour authorities" (LOCAL AUTHORITY OFFICIAL) and displays many of the characteristics one would expect of a local authority steeped in the welfare tradition. It believes in the importance of its own role - "the council knows best; it's all about control" (GOVERNMENT OFFICE OFFICIAL); is well intentioned - "they will do whatever is right for the people of Sunderland" (CITY COUNCIL POLICY TEAM REPRESENTATIVE); and is run by its chief officers "the members here listen to the officers and take their advice" (CITY COUNCIL POLICY TEAM OFFICER). The council depends on its chief executive - "a key player" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP CHAIRMAN) - who acts in close co-operation with its leading councillors who were described as being - "City bosses" and "Sunderland supremos" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP VOLUNTARY SECTOR REPRESENTATIVE).

There is no reason why Sunderland should not be treated as having much in common with other large urban local authorities. The local authority in Sunderland is impeded by a strongly entrenched belief in *traditional* local government which it is argued is inimical to the emergence of innovative pluralistic approaches to tackling social exclusion at the local level. The three estate based studies demonstrate how these attitudes manifest themselves at the neighbourhood level and have tended to stultify innovation and community based approaches - "in practice, democratic accountability provides no guarantees of responsiveness, either to individuals or to local groups" (Deakin and Edwards).[19]

However, the Sunderland council does have a long-standing capacity and expertise in regeneration which stems from the introduction of corporate planning in 1974 and was reinforced by the designation of the local authority as a Programme Authority eligible to submit bids for urban programme funds from 1977 onwards. This capacity is important if used appropriately. The Bentilee initiative at Stoke-on-Trent outlined in section 7.4 is indicative of the problems that can be encountered if the local authority lacks a regeneration capacity.

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[19] Deakin N., and Edwards J.(1993). The Enterprise Culture and the Wider City. London, Routledge. p. 254.

12.6. The Community and Voluntary Sector

Introduction

The voluntary and community based sector is weak in Sunderland and the sector only has a significant presence in Pennywell, and in parts of Sunderland's inner city area. This is perhaps because these areas have been eligible for Urban Aid and then Urban Programme funding continuously since 1968.

Recently the community and voluntary sector has shown marked signs of revitalisation. Change has been initiated by the Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service (SCVS) who appointed a new secretary three years ago with a business background with Pilkington PLC and who had acted as consultant to the St. Helen's Trust, a private sector enterprise agency.

Revitalisation of the Voluntary Sector

Under its new management the SCVS has changed its role from being a direct provider of services to acting as a voluntary sector development agency on a city-wide basis.[20] The SCVS was instrumental in setting up the Sunderland Voluntary Sector Partnership (SVSP) in 1995. This partnership consists of an amalgam of 20 area based and city-wide organisations. The SVSP has a broad community development remit and a commitment to the provision of quality services. Included in its aims and objectives is to -

> "develop alternative models for service delivery that do not necessarily reinforce the status quo but offer a perspective of what can be achieved through support of the community and voluntary sector".[21]

Secretarial support is provided by the SCVS. The SVSP has been given 2 places on the City of Sunderland Partnership (section 12.7).

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[20] The Labour Planning and Environment Group suggested extending the role of Councils for Voluntary Service in this way. See Labour Planning and Environment Group (1994). Empowering Urban Communities. London, Labour Planning and Environment Group.
[21] Sunderland Voluntary Sector Partnership (undated). Aims and Objectives. Sunderland, SCVS. No. 5.

Regeneration and the Voluntary Sector

The estate studies demonstrate that the community and voluntary sector has the potential to make a considerable contribution towards regeneration. Voluntary sector projects and organisations such as Town End Farm Residents' Association (section 11.6); the projects on Pennywell - the Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre, Ford and Pennywell Advice Centre, Pennywell Youth Project, and Pennywell Community Business (section 9.6); and the Sunderland Community Furniture Service (section 10.6); although limited in number provide valued and innovative services. The principal obstacles, which at present restrict the scope of the sector, are the insecure nature of the funding - "capacity in terms of cash is our problem" (SCVS SECRETARY) - and the strained and sometimes embattled relationship with the local authority (see below).

The capacity of the community and voluntary sector to contribute has been enhanced by its presence on the City of Sunderland Partnership where it can influence the debate and exert pressure on the local authority. The SCVS and the SVSP support the idea of local partnerships and want "to allow development which local people feel comfortable with rather than impose models" (SCVS SECRETARY). To that end the SVSP has recently (late 1997) made a successful bid to the National Lotteries Charities Board for £350,000 to pay for six community development workers who are to "facilitate a more co-ordinated approach to community development"[22] by establishing local partnerships. In Sunderland, therefore, the voluntary sector is developing an independent and invaluable capacity for community development.

The estate studies clearly indicate the presence on all three estates, including Thorney Close where little has occurred, of a network of community activists whose goodwill and expertise is there to be exploited in the interests of their estate. The projected six SVSP sponsored community development workers would seem to be ideally placed to exploit this undoubted potential.

The Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service has an important role to play in co-ordinating the voluntary sector, in promoting estate based partnerships, and in developing and supporting community regeneration organisations - the latter role

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[22] Sunderland Voluntary Sector Partnership (1997). Briefing Note. Sunderland, Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service.

being strongly advocated by Thake for voluntary sector umbrella organisations in general.[23]

Relations with the Local Authority

Fraught relations between the local authority and the community and voluntary sector are a feature of urban governance in Sunderland. For example, the local authority has not agreed to the continuation of funding for some urban programme supported projects (section 11.6); two community based development agencies - Sunderland North Community Business Centre (section 11.6) and Thorney Close Action and Enterprise centre (section 10.6) - have been incorporated by the local authority and their function has changed as a consequence; and the City Challenge scheme was drastically altered when the community development role of Community North, the arms' length agency with responsibility for the scheme, was in essence emasculated. Representatives of the voluntary sector refer to the City Council as being "authoritarian", "arrogant", and exercising "institutional imperialism".

The underlying reasons for the tension is open to discussion. The clash between community activists and councillors' representative role is one source of tension. Certainly the local authority views the sector with suspicion - "a small group of activists" (DIRECTOR OF HOUSING). "Community groups are manipulated by professionals from outside who are parachuted in; engineer social aspirations; and modify the aims of the people to their own ends" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL).

The voluntary sector views the conflict differently. "For the local authority regeneration is all about money, control, municipalisation and they are highly prescriptive" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP VOLUNTARY SECTOR REPRESENTATIVE). As mainstream expenditure has been restricted regeneration money becomes more important not only to provide additions to mainstream service provision but as a source of glamorous and prestigious extras - "I need to have some control over what the council is doing in disadvantaged areas" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL).

The situation is exacerbated by mutual misconceptions and lack of experience. The Chief Executive's Department with its responsibility for regeneration is not a service department and is, therefore, not used to dealing with the public. However, the need to

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[23] Thake S. (1995). Staying the Course. The role and structures of community organisations. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

fit in with grant regimes and to achieve sustainable regeneration creates pressure to improve the relationship. "It's getting better; we want to have a dialogue" (CITY COUNCIL REGENERATION TEAM REPRESENTATIVE). Although the local authority has taken action to ensure closer working with community groups at Pennywell, it remains in control.

Overview

Experience in Sunderland indicates that the community and voluntary sector has an important role to play in regeneration. The conclusion to chapter 6 which advocated an increased role for the sector is borne out by evidence from the case study.

Recently the capacity of the voluntary sector in Sunderland has increased considerably although, unlike Teesside (see section 7.5 about the Hardwick estate), no bids for SRB funding have been led by the voluntary sector. Considerable problems will have to be overcome if the voluntary sector is to become a major player in regeneration. Funding for both capacity building and project development is required. Above all the relationship and respective roles of the voluntary sector and local government need to be clarified and improved.

12.7. The City of Sunderland Partnership

The City of Sunderland Partnership has adapted its role from an exclusive concern with place marketing, image promotion and economic development to encompass wider social and economic concerns. The Partnership has, thus, led the two recent successful bids for SRB funds to support area based regeneration on a holistic basis - for Pennywell (Round 3)[24] and for the East End (Round 4).[25]

The partnership is possibly unique and undoubtedly a success. It has helped obtain inward investment and Sunderland has an impressive record in obtaining external funding from central government and European sources. "Partnership is one of the things they (Sunderland City Council) do best" (GOVERNMENT OFFICE OFFICIAL). The partnership derives its strength from its membership of like-minded individuals who "are united in a common purpose - a better City" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP CHAIRMAN). "The people on it are committed to Sunderland" (DEPUTY

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[24] op.cit. City of Sunderland Partnership (1996).
[25] City of Sunderland Partnership (1997b). Releasing Potential in the East End and Hendon. Final Bid. SRB Challenge Fund Round 4. Sunderland, City of Sunderland Council.

LEADER OF THE COUNCIL). The partnership, however, is led by the local authority - "the agenda is the Council's but it should be the partnerships" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP CHAIRMAN).

12.8. Conclusion

The Need for Regeneration

Post-war reconstruction in Sunderland typifies the "welfare approach" in all its aspects. The scale and optimism is astounding - the City Fathers no doubt felt that they were building "A New Jerusalem". The peripheral estates formed a vital element in the reconstruction programme. However, with the decline in Sunderland's economy which accelerated in the later 1970s, together with the residualisation of the local authority housing stock, the incidence of unemployment, poverty and multiple deprivation has become a feature of life on the estates.

Sunderland mirrors other large towns and cities in the conurbations (chapter 4) in experiencing an increase in poverty and multiple deprivation on its council estates. What the Sunderland case study also shows is that these problems are not confined to one or two notorious well known estates but extend to a larger number of "neglected" or "forgotten" estates.

The efforts of government to regenerate the local economy appear to be having only a limited impact on the peripheral estates. The benefits of "re-industrialisation" have not filtered down to the peripheral estates any more than in other similar situations in the United Kingdom. Sunderland is a "dual city" (section 3.3).[26] It now has a new university campus which has won an architectural award (photograph 8.1.1), a marina (photograph 8.1.2), and a new football stadium (photograph 8.1.4) which has just been opened; *and* a comparatively large number of "forgotten" peripheral estates.

A strong case is made for regenerating the estates on a holistic basis and, thus, reflect the comprehensive and inter-related nature of the problems. Regeneration, it is argued, needs to be targeted at a number of estates and therefore any regeneration activity ought to be "replicable".

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[26] Lawless P. (1996). The Inner Cities. Towards a new agenda. Town Panning Review. Vol. 67. No. 1.

The case study also indicates that the focus of regeneration should shift away from economic development with a city-wide focus and towards the peripheral estates. To some extent this has been happening. Both Sunderland's City Challenge scheme and the SRB funded "Pride in Pennywell" initiative are targeted at peripheral estates. The case for a shift in emphasis is unassailable.

Sunderland City Council is a Labour controlled local authority which is steeped in the welfare tradition and in attitudes associated with it. The local authority is, as a consequence, limited in its capacity to support innovative and holistic approaches to tackling social exclusion on a small area basis. However, the local authority has been working in partnership and has been instrumental in bringing inward investment to Sunderland. There is no reason why Sunderland and other local authorities like it should not fulfil a strategic role as outlined in section 6.6. The Sunderland Council has the capacity to do so.

The Outcome of Regeneration

Decision makers in Sunderland seemed unwilling or unable to speculate about the outcome of regeneration or about the future. That may have been because they were preoccupied by more immediate concerns and because regeneration action itself has been focusing on the need to bring about change in the relatively short term. Thus, the continuing problems on the estates - the marked spatial inequalities and the widespread incidence of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion - despite the efforts in Sunderland to improve service delivery and to regenerate both the local economy and some of the estates with the most pressing problems, appear to have led to a pragmatic problem-solving attitude towards regeneration.

But two characteristics of this attitude, which are of interest, emerged from the study. The first is that regeneration is likely to be a lengthy process "Regeneration is about life-time learning" (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE COUNCIL). "It's a very long term process. It's a generational process. Immediately we can do little more than scratch the surface but I have little doubt that we can level it out over a period of time ideally onto a higher plain but it will take a generation or more" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP CHAIRMAN). The second is that regeneration not only needs to focus on poverty and inequality but that it can almost be defined in those terms - "Regeneration is what we can provide for people in low income areas" (CITY OF SUNDERLAND PARTNERSHIP VOLUNTARY SECTOR REPRESENTATIVE).

The Lessons from the Case Study

The lessons from the three estate based studies are contained in the concluding sections of the three preceding chapters. In addition a number of further lessons emerge from this overview of the case study. These are -

- Although Sunderland's estates cannot be subjected to a rigid typology they divide into four types. "Stigmatised", "knife-edge neglected", "stable neglected" and "suburban". The 10 to 12 estates in the first three categories could be included in a regeneration programme for Sunderland's peripheral estates.

- Action needs to be taken to try and ensure that residents on the peripheral estates share the benefits of the upturn of the Sunderland economy and that they are able to access the "new" jobs. There is a need for integrated approaches in which unemployment and training are linked and form part of a holistic regeneration programme.

- Area based initiatives are needed which are resourced by funding which is protected and additional to mainstream funding.

- The community based voluntary sector has a vital role to play in the delivery of services and in the regeneration of estates. Voluntary sector projects and organisations although limited in number provide valued services in an innovative manner.

- The Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service demonstrates the potential strategic role that can be played by voluntary sector umbrella organisations.

- Finally, all three estates were shown to have networks consisting of field-based professionals and community activists that could form the basis of estate based partnerships.

Part IV.

Analysis and Conclusions

13. TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR REGENERATION

13.1. Introduction

Peripheral estates have been shown to no longer fulfil their original function as dormitories for an employed working class. In addition as a direct consequence of their decline peripheral estates have emerged as typically poor and disadvantaged neighbourhoods with problems of an inter-related nature associated with a high prevalence of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion (section 4.4). Regeneration has, therefore, to be involved with these latter issues as well as considering a new role and function for the estates. Regeneration has to be taken to mean not only the attempt to alleviate or reduce the immediate problems that have arisen on estates as a consequence of their decline but also the search for a new role and function (section 1.1).

The two interpretations of regeneration are related. Any framework which is set up to deal with more immediate problems, if it is effective, will inevitably lead to a change in role for peripheral estates. In fact, two different scenarios for the future were put forward in section 4.6 and were explored, as far as was possible, in the framework interviews (see section 12.8 and Appendix C). These two scenarios were that *either* estates would continue to function as working class communities but with an inevitable degree of polarisation among residents in their circumstances and life chances *or* estates would loose their distinctive characteristics and become like other suburbs experiencing full employment and high rates of car ownership.

This chapter considers how regeneration could best take place in the narrower sense - how the presenting problems could be tackled. This chapter does this by considering issues around service delivery and the case for a small area approach. It makes recommendations about the actions that would be required to bring about the changes in policy and institutions that would deliver effective regeneration in that narrower sense. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the possible consequences of these changes in practice and discusses the future role and function of estates as a consequence.

This chapter draws on evidence contained in the Literature and Practice Review (part II) and the Sunderland Case Study (part III). The key findings and recommendations are contained within each section.

13.2. The Need for Regeneration

Peripheral estates were a "flagship" of the welfare state. At the time they were constructed their economic and social function was to provide good quality "suburban" or "dormitory" estates for a heterogeneous white working class (section 4.1). The estates were able to fulfil this function for a time. However, the assumptions upon which the estates were based - namely, full employment and a social structure based on nuclear families - have become increasingly difficult to sustain and have become severely eroded.

Chapter 5 emphasised how council estates in general - whether the estates were located within existing urban cores (the inner cities) or on the peripheries of urban areas - had declined as a consequence of changing circumstances (section 4.3). The Sunderland Case study amply confirms that these changing circumstances and the consequences thereof apply specifically to peripheral estates. The history of the three estates studied in more detail (sections 9.2, 10.2 and 11.2) relate the decline and how it has affected the estates.

Furthermore, the Sunderland Case Study (part III) indicates that the incidence of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion which is the outcome of the syndrome of decline is widespread on Sunderland's estates. These problems are not confined to a small number of estates; in fact, they have become the norm (section 8.4). There is every reason to draw the conclusion that adverse circumstances are widespread on peripheral estates nationally, particularly so in Britain's older industrial heartlands

There is, therefore, a clear case for regenerating peripheral estates and for tackling the problems on them which are now widespread. Thus, there is a need to focus attention on the regeneration of estates both in a general sense to search for a new role and function for them, and more specifically to tackle multiple deprivation and social exclusion.

The key findings of this section are -

- *Peripheral estates no longer adequately fulfil the economic and social functions for which they were originally built.*

- *Poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion are widespread on peripheral estates.*

*The key **recommendation** is -*

- *Policies and actions should be implemented to assist in the regeneration of peripheral estates.*

13.3. Service Provision

Mainstream Provision

The peripheral estates are not only a product of the welfare state in terms of their conception and construction but they are also a reflection of the welfare state in the way that they were subsequently managed and in the way that services were delivered to those living on the estates. Service delivery has been dominated by services operating on a large-scale, standardised and professionalised basis and delivered mainly within the framework of local government. The pattern of service delivery can be described as epitomising the welfare approach (section 3.2).

However, the problems on the peripheral estates demonstrate, as did the "Rediscovery of Poverty" in the inner cities in the late 1960s and in the 1970s, that the welfare approach offers an inadequate response to multiple deprivation. The response to increasing social and economic problems and to the perceived inadequacies of the welfare approach has included a series of compensatory small area initiatives in the 1970s (section 3.5) and policy changes in the 1980s that stressed privatism and a plurality of provision (section 3.3). In conceptual terms it is this perceived failure of mainstream provision to address the problems of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion, which is among the factors underlying the communitarian approach with its emphasis on prevention and innovation, together with a call for government to be "reinvented" (section 3.4).

However, mainstream services, although inhibited by cutbacks, statutory pressures and tradition, and subject to continuing criticism, function efficiently on peripheral

estates. The evidence, whether contained in the literature and practice review (part II) or in the Sunderland Case Study indicates that this is the case. Sunderland has an efficient well run Housing Department which performs well on all the key performance indicators (section 12.2) and is not unpopular with its tenants (section 8.5); the local economic development function has been noticeably successful in regenerating the local economy (section 12.2); the schools which serve Sunderland's estates receive good and even glowing reports from OFSTED (sections 9.8, 10.7, and 11.7); and there was no evidence in the case study to suggest a lack of confidence in other key services such as health provision and policing.

Sunderland's peripheral estates are run on traditional lines as are estates elsewhere - for example, the Castle Vale Estate, Birmingham (section 7.3); the Bentilee Estate, Stoke-on-Trent (section 7.4); and the Hardwick Estate, Stockton-on-Tees (section 7.6). It is not surprising that mainstream provision has remained largely unchanged and has not adapted to changes on the estates. The dominance of the Welfare Model and the associated traditions of local government emerge clearly from the case study and help to explain the inertia (these factors are discussed below).

*The key **finding** on the provision of mainstream services is -*

- *Services are run efficiently and provide much needed assistance to residents on peripheral estates despite cutbacks statutory pressures and tradition.*

*The key **recommendation** on the provision of mainstream services is -*

- *No fundamental changes need to be made to the pattern of mainstream service delivery to peripheral estates.*

Alternative Modes of Service Delivery

While mainstream services are efficient and are needed they manifestly do not alone form an effective response to multiple deprivation and social exclusion. Thus, there is evidence of economic, educational, health, family and social problems on peripheral estates both in general (chapter 5) and specifically in Sunderland (part III). Thorney Close (chapter 10) epitomises the problem ; the estate which has had no additions to mainstream provision remains vulnerable and its problems remain unresolved. A similar reliance on mainstream provision at Bentilee, Stoke-on-Trent, (section 7.4) has led to similar neglect.

In Sunderland the schools are failing the most disadvantaged children - for example, Pennywell School has very low levels of academic attainment (section 9.8); local economic development and training initiatives have failed to reach the unemployed on all three estates studied despite propitious circumstances (sections 9.5, 10.5, 11.5 and 12.2); the health record on the three estates are among the worst in the North East (sections 9.2, 10.2 and 11.7) and the National Health Service has failed to innovate effectively in the City Challenge area when given the incentives, the opportunity and the funding to do so (section 11.7); and the crime prevention initiatives on Pennywell, certainly if the current Task Force scheme is discounted, demonstrate that a professionalised police force working on its own has not been able to make sustainable progress in improving the crime situation in a high crime area (section 9.4). This list is not exhaustive. Despite good intentions the problems are not being tackled effectively .

Thus, it is shown that mainstream services run on a uni-functional and professionalised basis are not able to solve, or often not even ameliorate, problems which are multi-functional and interwoven. It is this shortcoming that underpins the arguments in chapter 5 for additions to existing services and that these additional services should be innovative, place emphasis on prevention, and involve multi-agency working based on partnership.

Among the more specific suggestions made in chapter 5 which embodied this approach were - integrated local approaches to unemployment and training of which intermediate labour market initiatives are typical (section 5.2); crime prevention strategies based on the principle of community safety (section 5.3); the advocacy of community based social work from family centres (section 5.5); and inter-disciplinary community based health projects (section 5.5). In this way, a multi-faceted approach could be adopted towards tackling poverty, inequality and social exclusion.

In Sunderland there are only a limited number of projects that embody the characteristics described above. This is because of the dominance of the mainstream service tradition and the corollary - namely, the weakness of the alternative community based voluntary sector (section 12.6). However, the case study does provide examples of the approach which positively enhance the case for innovative community based projects. The case for change is also reinforced by examples from the practice review (chapter 7).

Thus it has been shown that estate based local economic development has been successfully undertaken at a relatively low cost by Waltham Forest HAT (section 7.2), the Castle Vale HAT (section 7.5), and by Hardwick Tomorrow (section 7.5). The estate based Pennywell Community Business in Sunderland has also been able to make some inroads into local unemployment and is now responsible for the implementation of an intermediate labour market initiative (section 9.5). Other encouraging examples from practice in Sunderland include the Pennywell Youth Project and its associated Breakout scheme (section 9.6) which has adopted a preventative strategy towards tackling the problems of a high crime area; the Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre (section 9.6) which is a pioneering community based family centre; the Sunderland Community Furniture Service (section 10.6) which is a good example of a community business; and finally the Town End Farm Residents' Association (section 11.6) which has the potential to develop into a multi-objective community regeneration organisation supporting a number of worthwhile projects .

The case for basing innovative projects firmly within the community is very strong. The case for community involvement was set out in chapter 6 and is justified by the need for services that are not restricted by the traditions of departmentalism and compartmentalism encountered in the public sector, and by the advantages to be gained from harnessing local skills and, in the process, to building up the communities' capacity to help itself (section 5.6). All the projects in Sunderland mentioned in the immediately preceding paragraph have a strong, if not exclusive, element of community participation and community control.

*The key **finding** of this section is -*

- *Mainstream service provision on its own cannot effectively respond to the problems of multiple deprivation and social exclusion on peripheral estates.*

*The key **recommendation** that results from this section is -*

- *The inadequacies of and gaps in mainstream provision should be filled by community based projects which incorporate the principles of multi-agency working, partnership, and community involvement.*

If innovative community based approaches are to make a more substantial contribution to service delivery and to the regeneration of the estates then the circumstances which currently inhibit development of the community based voluntary

sector will need to be overcome. The institutional and policy changes which will be required will be discussed further in this chapter.

13.4. The Spatial Dimension

The Case for a Small Area Approach

A small area approach has been a marked feature of urban policy and has acted as the basis for most regeneration activity since the late 1970s (section 6.2). The concentrated incidence of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion (section 4.6) suggests that regeneration policy should continue to have an important small area component. The concentration of problems on peripheral estates indicates that a small area approach should be adopted to the regeneration of the estates.

More specifically, the adoption of a small area approach will help to deal with problems on a family and individual basis, facilitate and co-ordinate action, develop supportive networks, and create opportunities for social integration (section 6.2). The case is reinforced by evidence from practice. All the innovative and challenging schemes encountered in the field-work had firm roots in their local communities - in the initial definition and analysis of the problem, in the approach to implementation and delivery, and in the schemes' management and supervision.

To take a few examples. Pennywell Community Business (section 9.6) focuses on the most disadvantaged in the labour market, is firmly committed to helping local people, adopts a case-work approach, and its management committee consists predominantly of local people. Hardwick Tomorrow's successes in local economic development are based on similar principles (section 7.6). Another example is the Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre (section 9.6) whose success and achievement are partly due to its role as a locally placed drop-in centre for local people who are helped by other local people employed by the centre. The Sunderland Community Furniture Service (section 10.6) seeks to employ local people and relies on estate based professionals for referrals.

Recent changes in governance (section 6.5) have increased the number and independence of field based professionals and have given increased opportunities for community activists to get involved. The three estate studies show that this resource definitely exists in the form of estate based networks of community activists and professionals both in the public and voluntary sector. The presence of such a network

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on the Thorney Close Estate (section 10.8) is especially noteworthy given the low policy profile of the estate. These networks need to be mobilised and their potential released. By definition this can only be done at the very local or neighbourhood level.

The case for a small area approach is further strengthened by the evidence of the existence of the territorial loyalties and family networks that exist on all three estates studied in detail thus confirming the findings of other researchers that such loyalties definitely exist and are of some significance (sections 6.2 and 11.2). Territorial sensitivities at the estate level are important in the planning and delivery of services that people living on the estates actually want - a key lesson from Sunderland's City Challenge initiative which focused on flagship projects serving a relatively large area and thus not adequately meeting the needs of residents (section 11.8).

Key findings that emerge from this section are -

- *Schemes and projects that have a firm base in the local community make a valued and effective contribution to service delivery.*

- *Estate based networks of field based professionals and community activists exist on peripheral estates.*

- *Feelings of territoriality exist on estates and are important.*

A key recommendation based on these findings is that -

- *A small area approach should be adopted towards the regeneration of peripheral estates.*

Size of Area

Other researchers and investigators have indicated that small area intervention should be based on area with a population size of 10,000 or under (section 6.2) - that is one or two estates. That research applied to disadvantaged areas in general.

My research confirms that intervention on peripheral estates, specifically, should also be based on a population catchment of about 10,000 people or under. It was striking how much progress had been made with community development by Waltham Forest HAT (section 7.2) operating with a population size of 6,500 and operating on estates

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of 400 to 800 dwellings. In Sunderland the choice of an area for the City Challenge initiative consisting of eight peripheral estates with a population of 37,000 was found in practice to be too large - the scheme was hampered by inter-estate rivalry, resulted in "under-wanted" flagship projects, and in a failure, albeit with exceptions, to achieve the synergy that results from multi-agency projects developed with community support and involvement (sections 11.8 and 12.4). The response to this problem in Sunderland has been to select an area with a population of 10,000 consisting of Pennywell and a chunk of the adjoining Ford Estate as the basis for the SRB funded regeneration scheme (sections 9.9 and 12.4).

Although one or two estates appears to be an appropriate size for regeneration schemes, flexibility is important. There may be circumstances, which admittedly did not emerge from this study, when a larger area might be appropriate. Action within a strategic framework (section 13.7 below) could ensure that certain projects, where necessary, would serve a larger catchment area.

The key finding on the size suitable for regeneration schemes is -

- *Relatively small areas - population size 10,000 or under - are appropriate for the regeneration of peripheral estates.*

The key recommendation that follows from this section is -

- *Regeneration schemes for peripheral estates should normally be based on one or two estates.*

13.5. The Content of Regeneration

Neither housing led regeneration alone nor sole reliance on local economic development has resulted in successful regeneration. Housing led initiatives have tended to result in repeated policy failure. At Pennywell housing led schemes have been disastrous (section 9.3) and at Town End Farm they have resulted merely in estate rescue with the fundamental problems remaining unsolved (section 12.3). Likewise, economic benefits have not filtered down to the estates (section 3.5 summarises the national experience which is clearly reinforced by the Sunderland Case Study).

The problems associated with multiple deprivation and social exclusion are inter-linked and require a multiple approach. The problems do not consist of a series of single issues. It is for these reasons that broader holistic approaches to regeneration were adopted by City Challenge, the Scottish Partnerships and by the SRB (section 6.3).

However, a holistic approach need not be comprehensive. Different estates will have different mixes of problems. Thus, Waltham Forest HAT has adopted a holistic approach while concentrating on its prime function - the redevelopment of high rise tower blocks - and the regeneration programme for Pennywell contains nothing for ethnic minorities for obvious reasons. Furthermore, estate based approaches are likely to develop on an opportunistic basis which stresses incremental policy development (Hardwick Tomorrow is an example of this approach).

*The key **findings** on the content of regeneration are -*

- *Narrowly focused regeneration schemes do not result in successful regeneration.*

- *Multiple deprivation and social exclusion are not single issues and require a multiple response.*

*A key **recommendation**, therefore, is -*

- *A holistic but not necessarily comprehensive approach should be adopted towards the regeneration of peripheral estates.*

Finally, in this section, it has to be noted that a holistic programme may still result in an emphasis on physical change as exemplified by the experience of the Scottish Partnerships (section 6.3) and of Sunderland's City Challenge scheme (section 12.4). To ensure that there is a holistic outcome, which includes innovative changes in practice together with an appropriate emphasis on community based projects, changes in the organisation and institutional arrangements for regeneration are required. Possible changes are considered later in this chapter.

13.6. Urban Governance

Local Government

In chapter 6 it was suggested that the traditions of local government - particularly the emphasis on mainstream service delivery via uni-functional professionalised departments - were inimical to a regeneration strategy which was based on innovative and holistic approaches and which involved the community based voluntary sector. This view is confirmed by the visits made to Castle Vale HAT (section 7.3) and to Hardwick Tomorrow (section 7.6) where, in both instances, working relationships with local government were fraught. The local government perspective gained from the visit to North Tyneside (section 7.5) showed the local authority to be adopting a staunchly top-down and controlling attitude towards consultation with the community.

The Sunderland Case Study (part III) shows Sunderland City Council, which is almost certainly typical of Labour controlled councils in the older industrial areas, to be imbued with the traditions of municipal socialism. The Sunderland Council is most definitely limited in its capacity to support innovative and holistic approaches to tackling social exclusion on a small area basis. In particular, the Sunderland Council appears to be unable to cope with, even to be hostile to, the possible emergence of community regeneration organisations. The saga of the Thorney Close Community Development Trust (section 10.6) is especially revealing.

But the Sunderland case study also shows the local authority as having an impressive record in traditional regeneration. The local authority acting, alone and in partnership, has been most successful in regenerating the local economy and obtaining inward investment (section 12.2). I conclude that the very managerial and technocratic qualities that result in successful local economic development are, in fact, inimical and counter-productive to the regeneration of disadvantaged areas such as peripheral estates.

The key finding on local government is -

The traditions of local government are inimical to tackling social exclusion on a small area basis.

*The key **recommendation** about local government is*

Local authorities should not play the lead role in the regeneration of peripheral estates.

Although local authorities should not take the lead role in the regeneration of the estates that does not mean that local authorities do not need to have a regeneration capacity or should not make a strategic contribution. These issues will be considered below.

Community Regeneration Organisations

The inadequacies of local government at the neighbourhood level have led to moves to set up a formal representative tier of local democracy at the neighbourhood level (section 6.4). However, the resulting clashes and conflicts with local government, which are illustrated by the failure of the Town End Farm Community Assembly (section 11.6) have led researchers and practitioners to advocate community regeneration organisations. These independent not-for-profit organisations have the capacity, it has been argued, to deliver a wide range of services of an innovative and preventative nature with the involvement of local people (section 6.4 again).

During this research encouraging examples of community regeneration organisations were encountered. The Waltham Forest HAT, although a quango responsible to central government, has many of the characteristics of a community regeneration organisation. The HAT has adopted an eclectic approach to implementation which consists of a mix of direct provision, enabling, and indirect influence and leadership with some success. Hardwick Tomorrow (section 7.5) is a more conventional community regeneration organisation with multiple objectives and developing on an incremental basis which is also achieving some success.

As circumstances in Sunderland have not been conducive to the development of such organisations (section 12.6) there are few examples on the ground. However, the Town End Farm Residents' Association (section 11.6) illustrates the potential of such organisations; what the Town End Farm Residents' Association lacks is support and encouragement. Any strategy based on the development of community regeneration organisations will need to ensure that the necessary enabling framework is in place to support their development.

A key finding is -

Community regeneration organisations have the potential to make an important contribution towards the regeneration of peripheral estates.

*A key **recommendation**, therefore, is -*

The necessary enabling framework should be put in place to support the development of community regeneration organisations.

Estate Based Partnerships

Partnership has become the accepted means of delivering regeneration schemes (section 6.5) and is a response to the need for multi-agency approaches whether, for example, towards crime prevention (section 5.2), local employment initiatives (section 5.3), or to local health provision (section 5.5). But the problem is that partnerships have been dominated by mainstream service providers. Sunderland's City Challenge (sections 11.8 and 12.4) has resulted in a partnership which has used the additional monies made available to enlarge mainstream budgets rather than to encourage innovative and preventative approaches. At the same time the dominance of the large public sector bureaucracies has led to the marginalisation of community groups and community activists. A response to this difficulty has been to advocate administrative changes to grant regimes (section 6.5) but that avoids the real issue which is concerned with how local communities can be given effective power and influence.

The need to devolve power and responsibility has resulted in an impressive amount of support for estate based partnerships (section 6.4) - that is for partnerships at the neighbourhood or estate level consisting of field-based professionals and community activists or partnerships between providers and users at the local level. This case is supported by examples of successful partnerships in practice - notably the Brownlow Trust in Northern Ireland which was funded by the EC's Poverty Three Programme (section 6.5). Recent changes in mainstream service delivery have given more responsibility to field workers and local people (section 5.6). In addition peripheral estates have features that encourage community activism - an element of population stability, the reconstruction of vertical kinship ties over time, the homogeneity of social class and a sense of geographical identity (section 6.4). Thus, it is not surprising that one of the principal findings to emerge from the Sunderland case study was the

existence of community based networks on all three of the estates studied (section 12.8).

Therefore, the circumstances are conducive to the development of estate based partnerships. The Case Study, in fact, highlights an interesting example - the Pride in Pennywell Campaign (section 9.7). The Pride in Pennywell Campaign was an estate based partnership which effectively galvanised community action over a range of activities and schemes. Of particular interest was the evidence of the enthusiasm of field workers from the local authority in a situation where support was not necessarily being given at the policy level.

However, the demise of Pride in Pennywell indicates the dangers of dependency on other organisations. Estate based partnerships should be independent but be able to tap into sources of advice and support which are separate from existing local service providers (see section 13.7 below), and have the capacity to employ their own staff rather than rely on others. The relationship with local government that would emerge would thus be on a collaborative and equal basis.

The key findings of this section on estate based partnerships are -

- *Effective multi-agency working may well be achieved at the local level by the creation of estate based partnerships.*

- *Recent changes in patterns of service delivery and circumstances on the estates are conducive to the creation of estate based partnerships.*

- *Estate based partnerships need to be independent and will require advice and support from sources which are separate from existing local service providers.*

The key recommendation on estate partnerships is -

- *The necessary support, advice and funding should be provided to help establish estate based partnerships which are independent of local government and other local organisations.*

13.7. Strategy and Strategic Issues

Local Government

Although the Sunderland council is well experienced and effective, as are other local authorities (section 6.6), in regeneration involving local economic development, and place marketing and promotion, area based regeneration was described as taking place in "a strategic vacuum" (section 12.4). The Sunderland experience appears to be typical and that is reinforced by the impressions gained by the visits to estate based regeneration schemes reviewed in chapter 7.

However, there is a wider or strategic contribution that can be made towards estate based regeneration by local authorities. Local authorities need to try and ensure that their separate departmental programmes are modified in order to help the regeneration of estates (section 6.6). Local authorities should also ensure that their separate departments are aware of the possibilities afforded by grant regimes to make innovative additions to their mainstream programmes (Time for Kids! which was outlined in section 11.7 is an excellent example from Sunderland). These changes could be facilitated by the development of a regeneration capacity within the local authority such as that provided by the regeneration team within the Chief Executive's Department at Sunderland (section 12.5).

Further roles for a regeneration team would be to service and assist community regeneration organisations and estate based partnerships and, in particular, to facilitate, and push for, the required departmental actions. Finally, local government is in a unique position because of its wide ranging activities and its inter-corporate contacts to overcome the current paucity of good quality disaggregated information (section 2.4). Such information disaggregated to an individual estate level could help other agencies involved in estate regeneration and help establish priorities for regeneration which are less subjective and prone to short term considerations than at present.

The finding of this section is -

- *Local authorities have an important wider strategic contribution to make to the regeneration of peripheral estates in addition to their delivery of mainstream services.*

*The key **recommendation** with the aim of enabling local authorities to play a wider role is -*

- *Local authorities should set up a regeneration capacity, or adapt an existing capacity, in order to help modify mainstream departmental programmes, encourage their involvement in innovative additions to mainstream programmes, to assist and facilitate community regeneration organisations and estate based partnerships, and, finally, to provide disaggregated information on an individual estate basis.*

The Community Based Voluntary Sector

It has been recommended that the community based voluntary sector should be given a crucial role in the regeneration of estates (sections 13.2 and 13.5). Community based projects, community regeneration organisations, and estate based partnerships all rely heavily, if not exclusively, on an effective community based voluntary sector.

However, the voluntary sector is hampered by a lack of capacity, unhelpful administrative arrangements, and a lack of ring-fenced funding. In fact, the current weaknesses of the sector are almost as much a theme of this study as the indications of the potential that the sector has to contribute to regeneration.

Thus, the Sunderland Case Study, while it highlights many strengths of the voluntary sector and demonstrates some encouraging examples from practice, also highlights a series of weaknesses - in-fighting within the voluntary sector (section 9.6); the failure of an estate based partnership (The Pride in Pennywell Campaign - section 9.7); the shortcomings of voluntary sector projects on Town End Farm (section 11.6); and the need for advice and guidance (The Sunderland Community Furniture Service - section 10.6).

Many of these problems could, it is argued, be overcome if there were agencies both within the public and voluntary sectors with a remit to establish a strategic context for the community based voluntary sector, and to provide advice, support and funding on a more reliable basis - all ingredients of a capacity building approach. Within the voluntary sector capacity building could be enhanced by the development of umbrella organisations (section 6.7). The recent history of the Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service (section 12.6) provides firm evidence of the potential of such organisations. The changes made by the Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service

aim to make it into an effective district wide voluntary sector development agency - aims which it is likely to achieve at a relatively low cost. There is every reason, therefore, for emulating this example elsewhere.

Key findings that arise from this section are -

- *The community based voluntary sector is hampered by a lack of capacity and requires support, guidance, adequate funding and a strategic context within which to operate if it is to make an effective contribution towards the regeneration of peripheral estates.*

- *District wide voluntary sector organisations could help provide a strategic context for estate based organisations and be a source of support and advice.*

The recommendation of this section is -

- *Encouragement and funding should be made available to give the voluntary sector a strategic and capacity building role.*

The Regional Dimension.

In Scotland there has been a strong element of regional governance. Despite the abolition of the Regional Councils and the Scottish Development Agency, the Scottish Office, together with the relevant regionally based quangos, has continued to provide a strategic input to regeneration which has had a social remit in addition to responsibilities for economic development and obtaining inward investment (section 6.6). Thus, despite a failure to achieve a holistic outcome (section 6.3) and the adoption of a minimalist attitude to partnership, the Scottish Office has been able to give strategic guidance to the regeneration of peripheral estates and has provided considerable momentum for regeneration.

Regional Development Agencies or Regional Assemblies by adopting a social remit in addition to a conventional economic development role, as proposed in the recent White Paper on Regional Development Agencies (section 6.6), could help ensure that the benefits from inward investment and new jobs reach disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Rather than bolt on area based regeneration almost as an afterthought to take advantage of successful local economic development as epitomised by Sunderland City Challenge (section 11.8), estate based employment and training

initiatives such as those discussed in section 5.2 and illustrated by the Intermediate Labour Market initiative in Pennywell (section 9.9) could be timed and put in place so as to take advantage of new investment.

Another important potential function for a regional agency would be to give advice and support to the community based voluntary sector and give help to estate based partnerships and community regeneration organisations - the role that the Stockton and Thornaby Task Force played in helping establish Hardwick Tomorrow (section 7.6) - in preference to local government or to the Government Regional Offices with their limitations (section 6.6) as illustrated specifically by the Government Office for the North East (GONE) (section 12.4). A regional agency would also be preferable to a separate nationally based quango with responsibility for community based regeneration as has been advocated by other researchers (section 6.4) because of the dangers associated with parachuting in experts in community development (section 6.4 again).

In addition a regional agency could be given responsibility for setting priorities, distributing funds for estate based regeneration made available by central government, and taking the lead in bids for monies from other European and national sources.

The key finding on the role of regional government is -

- *A regional tier of government could make an important and multi-faceted contribution towards the regeneration of peripheral estates.*

The key recommendations that arise from this section are -

- *Regional Development Agencies or Regional Assemblies should play a key role in estate based regeneration in addition to a conventional economic development role.*

- *Regional Development Agencies or Regional Assemblies should have a community development function and be able to give advice and guidance to the community based voluntary sector and support to estate based partnerships and community regeneration organisations.*

- *Regional Development Agencies or Regional Assemblies should set priorities and distribute funds for estate based regeneration.*

13.8. Targeting

Regeneration activity has been targeted at the "worst" estates (section 3.6). However, peripheral estates have been adversely effected by changes in housing policy and by the impacts of industrial restructuring. Peripheral estates have become examples of disadvantaged neighbourhoods - a phenomenon mentioned by researchers (section 4.3). And so, poverty and multiple deprivation are now widespread on peripheral estates (section 4.4).

The Sunderland case study confirms that there is a widespread incidence of deprivation on peripheral estates (section 8.4) and the three estate based studies add quite specific confirmation of the fact (chapters 9,10 and 11).

From the case study a four fold typology of estates emerged (section 12.1) - the "stigmatised" or "worst" estate (Pennywell - chapter 9); the "neglected and knife-edge" estate (Thorney Close - chapter 10) ; the "neglected and stable" estate (Town End Farm - chapter 11); and the suburban estate. Although such a typology can only be *indicative* of the differences between estates, it does suggest that an emphasis on the worst or stigmatised estates would fail to include many estates that would benefit from being included within a regeneration strategy.

A regeneration policy for peripheral estates certainly needs to include both the "worst" estates and those estates, like Thorney Close, whose fortunes lie in the balance. It also ought to include as many of the "neglected and stable" estates as possible (funding issues are discussed in the next section).

The key finding from this section is -

- *There is a four-fold typology of estates - (i) the "stigmatised" estate, (ii) the "neglected and knife-edge" estate, (iii) the "neglected and stable" estate, and (iv) the "suburban" estate.*

*It is, therefore, **recommended** that -*

- *The regeneration of peripheral estates should encompass all the "worst" or "stigmatised" estates and those estates that have the characteristics of "neglected and knife-edge" estates. As many "neglected and stable" estates should also be included as is possible.*

13.9. Funding.

Current regeneration programmes tend to favour physical improvements (section 6.3) and capital or flagship projects (section 11.7) which are relatively expensive. To take examples from Sunderland - Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre cost £1 million (section 10.6), and the cost of the Downhill Sports Complex funded by City Challenge was £3.7 million. If, however, the emphasis of regeneration were to be redirected towards a community based approach revenue projects would be encouraged at lower cost.

There are several examples in this study that illustrate the point that community based projects give good value at low cost. Hardwick Tomorrow (section 7.6) is based in a redundant vicarage and its training centre was donated by ICI, and the annual turnover of Hardwick Tomorrow is approximately £100,000. Pennywell Neighbourhood centre (section 9.6) has an annual turnover of £120,500 and is located in two former council houses, and Time for Kids! (section 11.76) provides a comprehensive child care service for Sunderland north of the River Wear for £150,000 per annum. Waltham Forest HAT calculates that its training and employment service costs about £9,000 for each job obtained.

Strategies based on preventative and innovative multi-agency projects implemented principally by community regeneration organisations and estate based partnerships are likely to be reasonably cheap. Thus, although I cannot give detailed costings I would argue that a community based framework for regeneration incorporates the idea of budget containment. Although the regeneration framework outlined in this chapter is bound to lead to increases in public expenditure, if only because of the suggestion that a larger number of estates should be targeted than at present, the resulting demands for increases in public expenditure should be relatively limited especially as it would be possible to tap into the additional resources being made available by the government in various ways to deal with social exclusion (the relationship between regeneration and other government programmes is discussed further in the final chapter).

A key finding is -

• *A regeneration framework which encourages a community based approach need not entail unacceptable demands for increases in public expenditure.*

A key recommendation is -

• *The emphasis of funding should be on innovative and preventative revenue projects.*

Regeneration schemes which are led by local authorities or by public sector dominated partnerships tend to result in a process of plunder on the part of the large public sector bureaucracies. Regeneration budgets get used to add to and to top-up mainstream service budgets. This happened in Sunderland's City Challenge (section 11.8), for example, and might well happen again with the SRB funded regeneration scheme for Pennywell (section 9.9). Any funding for regeneration needs, therefore, to be made available directly to community regeneration organisations (see Hardwick Tomorrow - section 7.6) and it needs to be clearly ring-fenced.

A key finding is -

• *Public sector led schemes have a tendency to top-up and add to mainstream programmes.*

Therefore, a key recommendation on funding is -

• *Funding for regeneration should be made available directly to community regeneration organisations and to estate based partnerships.*

13.10. The Outcome of Regeneration

It is difficult to speculate on the future of estates because their future is connected with a whole range of external circumstances which are all themselves difficult to predict and all of which are subject to a large degree of uncertainty. The future of the estates is connected, for example, with changes in national housing and social policies and is linked with the future of the national economy. Prediction is further complicated by a tradition of regenerating estates which is based on initiatives made

in response to immediately apparent problems (section 3.6) and which has lacked, justifiably or otherwise, a longer term vision of the future. Not surprisingly decision makers in Sunderland found it difficult to speculate about or even consider the future role of estates (section 12.8). They are absorbed with the pressures associated with delivering services to disadvantaged areas and are accustomed to regeneration initiatives, whether housing led or urban policy led, which have a short-term life.

However, two factors, in particular, emerge from the Literature and Practice Review and from the Sunderland Case study which would appear to be pertinent. These are -

- Peripheral estates now house a relatively large number of people who are disadvantaged and the residual role now being fulfilled by council housing suggests that this group, although hopefully achieving a better and more inclusive lifestyle, will continue to rent their home from the local authority.

- The sale of council houses has had the paradoxical effect, particularly on peripheral estates, of stabilising the estates as working class, if somewhat polarised, communities (section 4.3) - a point that was illustrated in the Town End Farm study which has a polarised working class community accompanied by strong feelings of class solidarity (section 11.9).

The suggested regeneration framework contained in this chapter by tackling the inter-related problems to be found on peripheral estates might, it is hoped, lead to improved education, lower crime rates, better employment prospects, improvements in health and so on, and so in general result in a better quality of life for the residents of peripheral estates.

*Thus, with the provisos that forecasting is a hazardous process and that there inevitably will be exceptions, and on the assumption that action is taken to regenerate estates it is **suggested** that in the future -*

- *Peripheral estates will function as stable working class communities with an inevitable degree of polarisation in personal circumstances and life chances.*

- *There will be improvements to education, lower crime rates, better employment prospects, and improvements to health, and in general residents will have a better quality of life.*

- *It is unlikely that peripheral estates will loose their distinctive characteristics and become like other suburbs.*

13.11. Conclusion

The framework for regeneration contained in this chapter is essentially a systematic adoption of a community based approach at all scales of governance. The evidence used to justify this approach is limited because the experience of community based approaches has been limited in practice and experimental in scope. Furthermore community based approaches have not been adopted within a strategic context. However, it has been contended in this chapter that there is sufficient reinforcing evidence from the Literature and Practice Review and from the Sunderland Case Study to justify the adoption of a community based approach on a systematic basis.

The case for adopting a community based approach is strengthened by the failure, by and large, of previous housing led and urban policy led initiatives to regenerate peripheral estates both on a lasting and sustainable basis, and on a scale which is commensurate with the problem. The adoption of a community based approach, therefore, not only offers the opportunity to break out of the cycle of repeated policy failure but also would enable estates that have been neglected in policy terms to receive the advantages of regeneration.

Since the later 1970s regeneration has been marked by a series of successive initiatives. Periodically a fresh attempt is made to deal with the problems and then on a narrow basis which has concentrated on the estates displaying the most immediate problems - the "worst problems". The framework recommended in this study, although it relies on estate based action for its implementation, involves structural changes in the pattern of institutions which are responsible for regeneration. In this way the changes recommended in this study mark a distinct break with previous approaches towards the regeneration of peripheral estates.

But perhaps more significantly it involves a shift in power away from centrally run local authorities and other large scale agencies in the public sector that have been responsible for service delivery and for regeneration on peripheral estates. A community based approach involves *empowering* the local community - people who live on the estates, field workers and community activists. The proposals made in this study are therefore, radical on two grounds - namely, they entail a different type of response to the problems presented by the estates and they involve a shift in power away from those who have traditionally delivered policy towards those who have been the recipients of it.

14. CONCLUSIONS

14.1. A Communitarian Approach?

The previous chapter established the need to regenerate peripheral estates and set out a framework within which, it was argued, effective and lasting, regeneration could take place. Many of the ideas contained in that chapter can be associated with a community based or communitarian approach (section 3.4). In fact, the package of proposals is in keeping with mainstream British thought and practice as it has been applied to community based approaches. The framework, it is argued, represents an extension and refinement of "radical communitarian egalitarianism" (section 3.4 again) applied to the regeneration agenda presented by peripheral estates.

The main principles associated with communitarianism are contained in the framework. There is an emphasis on *community based* projects which stress service delivery of a *preventative* nature (section 13.2) and which are to be delivered and implemented by estate based partnerships and community regeneration organisations (section 13.5). The principle of *subsidiarity* is contained in the proposal to give Regional Development Agencies or Regional Assemblies an important multi-faceted role in the regeneration of peripheral estates (section 13.6), and in the suggestion that what, in effect, amounts to a lower tier of governance should be established at the neighbourhood level (see section 13.5 again). And, finally, the proposals for funding (section 13.9) incorporate the concept of *budget containment* although inevitably requiring an increase in public expenditure.

Although the ideas for regeneration set out in the previous chapter are in line with conventional communitarian thought and practice the ideas contained in the chapter vary and extend the community based or communitarian approach in three ways -

1. The regeneration of estates in practice is placed on a *systematic* basis rather than on the ad hoc one-off basis as at present.

2. The approach advocated in chapter 13 is *inclusive* in its emphasis on multi-agency working and multi-sectoral involvement; the inclusion of all tiers of government including the voluntary sector at both the neighbourhood level (section 13.5) and at the city-wide level (section 13.6); and in the suggested extension of regeneration activity to include not only the "worst" or "stigmatised" estates but

also those estates where there is a widespread incidence of poverty and multiple deprivation (section 13.7).

3. There is no attempt to *reinvent government*. The current role of local government which is to deliver mainstream services should continue (section 13.3). Similarly no attempt has been made to suggest any changes in the structure of central government.

14.2. The Implications for Urban Policy

The framework for regeneration set out in chapter 13 is a continuation of the twin-track approach to urban policy which has been a feature of policy since the 1970s (section 3.5). This approach was incorporated into the Scottish Partnerships, City Challenge and the SRB. Urban policy needs to continue to encourage local economic development aimed at strengthening city- and district- wide economies while at the same time promoting specific action to tackle areas where there are serious housing, economic and social problems. In fact, the concern with spatially concentrated poverty and multiple deprivation, and more recently social exclusion, has meant that small area approaches have been a marked feature of urban policy. Given the evidence of widespread deprivation on peripheral estates this study has recommended that the small area approach should be given a quite specific peripheral estate focus (section 13.2).

Regeneration policies have been criticised for failing to mount an effective attack on the problems to be found in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (section 13.5). It is for this reason that changes to urban policies have been recommended which are intended to promote innovative and preventative service delivery based on multi-agency working. Given the limiting traditions of local government it has been suggested that the lead role for estate based regeneration should be given to estate based partnerships and implementation to community regeneration organisations rather than to local government (section 13.6).

The trend in urban policy to emphasise the role of partnerships (section 6.5) is extended by the proposal to give an important role to the proposed estate based partnerships. This proposal has implications for co-ordination - a concern if multi-agency working is to be achieved. Estate based partnerships are proposed on the basis that co-ordination is best achieved from the grass-roots - from the "bottom up" - with strong community involvement rather than from the "top-down". Previous urban

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policy initiatives have attempted to achieve co-ordination by direct action from central and local government.

The proposals which aim to place the regeneration of estates within a strategic framework (section 13.7) by giving Regional Development Agencies or Regional Assemblies a specific remit to regenerate peripheral estates; by encouraging a capacity building approach; and by suggesting that most, if not all the estates, which display symptoms of multiple deprivation should be targeted (section 13.8) have implications for selection. Although a bidding system needs to be retained the dispensing of funds for regeneration will, in practice, be based primarily on need. This would reverse the trend towards distributing funds on the basis of competition which has been associated with urban policy since the early 1990s.

14.3. Inner City Housing Estates.

This study has been concerned with the regeneration of peripheral estates. An issue that, therefore, arises is whether the approach advocated in the previous chapter applies equally to inner city estates and whether the framework could, therefore, form the basis for the regeneration of estates regardless of location.

Inner city estates have many characteristics in common with peripheral estates (a comparison between inner and peripheral or outer estates is contained in section 4.5). There are three key differences - inner city estates often house ethnic minorities whereas peripheral estates do not tend to do this; few if any of the housing units have been sold whereas on all peripheral estates a substantial number have been; and housing conditions often present a major difficulty on inner city flatted developments compared to the housing stock on peripheral estates which, taken as a whole, usually does not present problems. It is the latter point, namely housing problems, that led to inner city estates receiving more attention from such funding regimes as Estate Action which stressed a housing led approach to regeneration (see section 3.6).

This study contains no specific *empirical* evidence upon which to judge whether the differences are significant or which could be used to back an argument in favour of applying the same principles to the regeneration of inner city estates as to outer estates. But the Waltham Forest HAT (section 7.2) is a scheme, if it is not *in* the inner city, is *of* the inner city. The estates that comprise the Waltham Forest HAT have all the characteristics of inner city estates as described in section 3.6. In particular the estates have those characteristics that are not associated with peripheral estates. There

is a high ethnic minority population, very few, if any, of the flats have been sold, and the whole raison d'être of the HAT is the elimination of severe housing problems.

The success, therefore, of the HAT in sustaining a holistic approach to regeneration which is based on many of the principles set out in the previous chapter and which includes comprehensive redevelopment, taken together with the *prima facie* evidence presented in chapters 4 and 5 much of which would appear to apply to any estate suggests that the regeneration framework is equally applicable to estates in the inner city.

However, it has been suggested that the regeneration of housing estates should no longer focus on the "worst" estates but should include a larger number of estates where there is evidence of multiple deprivation (section 13.8). Section 13.9 which discussed funding found that the recommended framework for the regeneration of peripheral estates need not entail demands for unacceptably large increases in public expenditure. Although the same approach could be used to regenerate inner city estates their regeneration would require a commitment from the government to substantially increase expenditure on estate regeneration because of the increased prevalence of housing, and therefore expensive, problems.

14.4. New Labour - the Prospects for Change.

The circumstances which could lead to changes in urban policy and related practice (section 3.6) can certainly be said to exist at present. The Welfare Approach (section 3.2) and its associated institutions - principally local government - has been unable to provide services which form an adequate response to the problems of poverty, multiple deprivation and social exclusion (section 13.5). Recent initiatives - for which the expression "modified privatism" was used (section 3.5) - namely the Scottish Partnerships, City Challenge and the SRB have also been unable either to affect changes in service delivery or to effect the way in which estates are governed. A shift in approach or paradigm would, therefore, be a logical response.

The New Labour government has, in fact, realised the need to modify the welfare state and in the process has adopted elements of a communitarian approach (section 3.9). The government has gone for devolved governance (Regional Development Agencies and devolution in Scotland and Wales), for targeted responses to social problems (Health Action Zones and Education Action Zones), and has re-iterated its belief in budget containment.

There have been a number of initiatives[1] both dealing with macro policy and a number of small area initiatives including Health Action Zones, Education Action Zones and six Area Co-ordination Experiments. The emphasis of the small area proposals is on partnership, the bending of mainstream programmes, and on business involvement. The areas chosen tend to be large - local authority wide or even larger. Joan Higgins has suggested that these initiatives represent a return to the social engineering approach of the programmes of the Labour governments of the 1960s and 1970s.[2] To this approach the government might be said to have added the rhetoric of "modified privatism".

There has to be concern, therefore, that the government is about to repeat the shortcomings of previous initiatives. For example, the government has not shown any inclination to set-up intermediate institutions of governance at a tier below local government nor to view "community" as a resource for action at the local or neighbourhood level. Thus, for example, the New Deal, may repeat the failings of previous employment and training initiatives (section 5.2) and be unable to help the most disadvantaged in the labour market because the programme lacks a small area community based dimension.[3] Neither has the government shown an intention to move the focus of regeneration of housing estates away from a concentration on the "worst" estates to include those estates with similar social and economic problems but which do not present a predominantly housing agenda.

The reasons for these inhibiting attitudes on the part of the government are open to conjecture. But it could be to do with the powerful influences of the local government interest and the social housing lobby both of which are restricted in outlook by their own well developed attitudes. Thus, if policy is to change there will be a need to construct a consensus for the changes advocated in this study by influencing the necessary political processes.

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[1] Up to date information on the wide range of policy initiatives currently at various stages of development can be obtained from Number 10 Downing Street [http://www.number-10.gov.uk/index.html] and from the CCTA Government Information Service [http://www.open.gov.uk] via the internet.

[2] Higgins J. (1998). HAZs warning. Health Services Journal. 16. April.

[3] Willis L. (1998). Tackling Unemployment within Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods. University of Sunderland, unpublished undergraduate dissertation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.
LIST OF INTERVIEWS.

TOWN END FARM

Initial Interviews.

28. April 1994. Sandra Young, Project Officer; Denise Erevik, Housing Officer; and Simon Ferry, Housing Officer, Town End Farm Housing Sub-Office.

9. May 1994. Mark Huitson, Tenant Development Officer, Sunderland Housing Department

17. May 1994. Nicky Vokes, seconded to Sunderland North Community Business Centre from the Wearside TEC.

19. May 1994. Linda Hepworth, Team Manager, Children and Families Team, Sunderland Social Services Department.

23. May 1994. Jean Bramham, Secretary, and Debra Sanderson, Town End Farm Residents' Association.

24. May 1994. Ruth Mc.Keown, Locality Manager for Health Promotion, and Lynne Willis, Health Promotion Officer, Sunderland City Challenge.

10. June 1994. Julie Walls, Director, Sunderland North Community Business Centre.

14. June 1994. Ian Porter, Acting Area Controller North Area Team, Sunderland Housing Department.

24. June 1994. Kevin Smith, North Team Area Co-ordinator, Sunderland Community Education Service.

28. June 1994. David Smith, Head Teacher, Bexhill Primary School.

4. July 1994. Malcolm Cave, City Challenge Task Force.

4. July 1994. David Foster, Regional Renewal Manager, and Ann Tubb, Urban Renewal Manager, Wimpey Homes.

5. July 1994. Mike Davey, Senior Probation Officer, Sunderland Probation Service.

14. July 1994. Jo Cogden, Ward Councillor, Town End Farm.

Second Interviews.

14. May 1996. John Husband, Project Manager, Sunderland North Community Business Centre.

15. May 1996. Barbara Mc.Lennan, Public Relations Manager, Sunderland City Challenge.

17. May 1996. Sandra Young, Housing Officer, Chris Watson, Housing Officer, and Tony Pazynsky, Housing Manager, Downhill Area Housing Team.

20. May 1996. Susan Ord, Co-ordinator, Castletown Aim High Centre, Sunderland City Challenge.

20. May 1996. Bob Simmonds, Councillor, Town End Farm ward.

28. May 1996. Julie Phillips, Education Social Worker, Special Projects Officer, City Challenge.

28. May 1996. May Chevington, Jean Howie, Valerie Simpson, Iris Dale, Lilly Pink and Bel Bainbridge; residents, Town End Farm Community Association.

31. May 1996. Stuart Ingram, Social Worker (mental health) and Mark Burns, Social Worker (health promotion), City Challenge Health Team.

31. May 1996. Sergeant Ritson, City Challenge Task Force

1. June 1996. Albert Day, June Crute, Susan Graham and Richard Crute; residents, Town End Farm Residents' Association.

3. June 1996. Gowan Scott, Ward Councillor, Town End Farm.

7. June 1996. Inspector Mackay, Sunderland North Area Command, Northumbria Police.

10. June 1996. Richard Hepburn, Head Teacher, Town End Farm Primary school.

17. June 1996. Margaret Quinan, resident.

19. June 1996. Kevin Smith, North Team Area Co-ordinator, Sunderland Community Education Service.

19. June 1996. John Poulter, Vicar, Church of England.

20. June 1996. Kath Philipson, Child Care Development Officer, Time for Kids!

THORNEY CLOSE

Interviews.

26. October 1995 (continued 31. October). Fred Wyatt, Community Education Development Worker, Thorney Close, Community Education Centre.

31. October 1995. Inspector Thomson, Northumbria Police, West Sunderland Area Command.

10. November 1995. Philip Curtis, Head Teacher, Hasting Hill Primary School.

10. November 1995. Helen Townsend, Project Manager, Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre.

13. November 1995. Rev. Philip North, Church of England Curate, St. Mary's and St. Peter's Parish.

16. November 1995. Martin Bolt, pastor, Bethel Christian Fellowship.

21. November 1995. Maureen Winter and Judith Gregory, residents.

28. November 1995. Liz Clark and Judith Pratt, nursery nurses, Thorney Close Nursery Centre.

29. November 1995. Bill Mc.Kinnie, Area Team Co-ordinator, Community Education Service.

1. December 1995. Yvonne Cain and Carol Burns, residents.

1. December 1995. Brian Spooner, Senior Housing Officer, Thorney Close Housing Sub-Office.

12. December 1995. Julie Blackie, formerly Manager, Thorney Close Community Development Trust.

13. December 1995. Dave Mc.George. Project Manager, Sunderland Community Furniture Service Ltd.

13. December 1995. Alison Kellett and Sandra Mc.Donald, Welfare Rights Officers, Thorney Close Advice Centre.

14. December 1995. Superintendent Ian Todd, West Sunderland Area Command, Northumbria Police.
15. December 1995. Ken Field, Senior Teacher and Head of Pastoral Services, Sandhill View School.
15. December (continued 18. December). Bob Armit, Economic Development Worker, Thorney Close Action and Enterprise Centre.
20. December 1995. Sally Hancox, Area Manager, North Moor Housing Office.
17. January 1996. Councillor Dave Allen, Thorney Close ward.
20. January 1996. Ann Blakelock, resident.

PENNYWELL

Initial Interviews.

31. January 1995. Mark Saddington and Andrew Seekins, Pennywell Community Business Centre.
3. February 1995. Alan Duffy, Housing Officer, Havelock Area Housing Team.
3. February 1995. Constable Mike Wilbert, West Sunderland Area Command, Northumbria Police.
9. February 1995. Superintendent Ron Hogg, West Sunderland Area Command, Northumbria Police.
9. February 1995. Denise Barna, Manager, Pennywell Neighbourhood Centre.
20. February 1995. Steve Barna, Project Leader, Pennywell Youth Project.
23. February 1995. Doctor Colin Waine, Director of Primary Care, Sunderland Health Commission.
6. March 1995. Vi Moran, Team Manager, and John Arthurs, Group Manager, Havelock Area Social Services team.
9. March 1995. Jean Mc.Gough, Co-ordinator, and Bill Leach, Community Education Tutor, South East Team Community Education Service.
9. March 1995. Jim King, Director, and Billy Jackson, Team Leader, Ford and Pennywell Advice Centre.
15. March 1995. David Wilkinson, Head Teacher, Pennywell School.
28. March 1995. Margery Atkinson, resident, chair, Ford and Pennywell Advice Centre.
5. April 1995. Beverley Bulmer and June Milner, residents.
6. April 1995. Lisette Pearson, formerly Tenant Development Officer, Swifden Drive Housing Sub-Office.
6. April 1995. Frank Nicolson, Director, Vaux Breweries and Chair, Pride in Pennywell Campaign
7. June 1995. Colin Riley, Housing Manager, Pennywell, Havelock Area Housing Team.

Second Interviews.

10. June 1997. Tracy Bates, Tenant Development Officer, Swifden Drive Housing Sub-Office.

10. June 1997. Mark Saddington, Pennywell Community Business.
10. June 1997. Steve Barna, Project Leader, Pennywell Youth Project.
10. June 1997. Jim Scott, Ward Councillor, Grindon Ward.
13. June 1997. Billy Jackson, Senior Projects Manager, Ford and Pennywell Advice Centre.
15. June 1997. Caroline Gitcham, Co-ordinator, Pennywell Task Force.
15. June 1997. Andrew Seekins, Area Co-ordinator, Pennywell SRB Scheme.

FRAMEWORK INTERVIEWS.

17. July 1997. Edmund Smith, Head of Research and Policy, and Raj Singh, Policy Officer, Department of Education and Community Services, Sunderland City Council.
17. July 1997. Frank Nicholson, Director of Vaux Breweries and Chairman, City of Sunderland Partnership.
21. July 1997. Ken Richardson, Health Promotion Officer, Priority Care Wearside; Ruth Mc.Keown, Head of Health Promotion, Priority Care Wearside; and Dr. Will Richardson, General Practitioner and Project Leader, Pennywell Health Centre.
21. July 1997. Dick Ellison, Managing Director, East Training Education and Community.
21. July 1997. Graham Farnworth, Senior Policy Officer, Chief Executive's Department, Sunderland City Council.
22. July 1997. David Fallon, Secretary, Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service.
22. July 1997. John Blackburn, Director, Hendon 2000.
23. July 1997. Stephen Downs and Pam Moffitt, Government Office for the North East.
25. July 1997. Pat Ritchie, Senior Policy Officer, Regeneration Team, Chief Executive's Department, Sunderland City Council.
25. July 1997. David Fallon, Secretary, Sunderland Council for Voluntary Service (further discussion).
28. July 1997. Peter Walls, Director of Housing, Sunderland City Council.
28. July 1997. John Thurlbeck, Head of Youth Service, Department of Education and Community Services, Sunderland City Council.
29. July 1997. Brian Hailes, Sunderland's Industrial Chaplain, and William Ang'aisa, Senior Lecturer, Sunderland Business School, University of Sunderland.
29. July 1997. Councillor Colin Anderson, Deputy Leader, Sunderland City Council.
1. August 1997. Jules Preston, Chief Executive, Wearside Training and Enterprise Council.
1. August 1997. Maureen Begley, Principal Development Manager, Sunderland City Council Social Services Department.
7. August 1997. Councillor Colin Anderson, Deputy Leader, Sunderland City Council (further discussion).
8. August 1997. Jim Rafferty, Wear and Tees Regional Director, Home Housing Association.
12. August 1997. Dr. Michael Donnolly, Consultant in Public Health, Sunderland Health Authority.

APPENDIX B.

Visits to Regeneration Schemes.

Scheme	Date	Contact	Position
Waltham Forest Housing Action Trust	26. February 1997	Mike Wilson	Chief Executive
Bentilee Estate - "The Villages Initiative" - Stoke-on-Trent	26. March 1997	David Gibson	Project Manager
Castle Vale Housing Action Trust	27. March 1997	Angus Kennedy	Chief Executive
North Tyneside	13. June 1997	Alan Robson	Project Officer
Hardwick Tomorrow	2. March 1998	Bridget Gardner	Manager

APPENDIX C.
BRIEFING NOTE - FRAMEWORK
INTERVIEWS.

The Regeneration of Peripheral Estates - a Case Study in Sunderland - Framework Interviews.

Thank you for offering to help me with my research. I would like to discuss the following broadly based "statements" or "hypotheses" with you. These statements are intended to help focus the discussion and to stimulate thought. *They are not intended to constrain ideas in any way.*

My research is about the regeneration of peripheral estates. The research is based on a review of the literature and of current practice. The reading has been followed up by a detailed investigation of three estates in Sunderland - Town End Farm, Pennywell and Thorney Close - by interviewing estate based professionals and community activists on each estate. The framework interviews are with policy makers in Sunderland. The broad aim is to explore and refine the issues raised both by the reading and the estate based interviews.

Five statements or hypotheses which set out the key themes underlying the research are set out below and can form the basis for discussion. Included under each statement is a brief contextual summary of the issues that have arisen. These summaries outline the relevant background to the discussion and help provide the focus for the discussion.

1. Sunderland's peripheral estates can no longer fulfil the purpose for which they were constructed - that is, to house working class families employed in Sunderland's traditional industries - because those industries have ceased to exist and people on the estates have not been able to find jobs in the 'new' light manufacturing and service sectors of the local economy.

> Heavy unemployment caused by the decline in traditional industries and in post-war light industry is a feature of the peripheral estates. Residents are handicapped in obtaining jobs for a variety of reasons - the lack of suitable skills, the lack of a work ethic, lack of confidence and job seeking skills, peer group pressure, inappropriate education, limited child care provision, high travel costs and "poverty traps".

These problems are particularly pronounced on peripheral estates because of distances to work, inadequate transport links, the culture of reliance on unskilled jobs in heavy industry and the lack of social diversity.

2. Long term unemployment has brought with it economic, social and cultural change, which has been compounded by government policy. The result is widespread poverty and a range of social and economic problems which are increasingly concentrated on the peripheral estates.

There have been many consequences to the diminished job prospects and to poverty. There has been an increase in criminality, and anti-social behaviour. The increase in single parent families is another response. The government's housing policies have resulted in the increasing use of council housing as a residual tenure for those who cannot afford to buy their houses. Increasing choice of housing tenure, education, shopping and other services has resulted in increasing polarisation between those who can choose and those who cannot, and the "exclusion" of many from a wide range of services and opportunities. The problems on estates are, therefore, multiple and inter-related.

3. The public and voluntary sectors have been unable to respond effectively to these problems because they are constrained in a variety of ways.

Agencies are hampered in their capacity to respond by a number of factors. Services are provided by professionalised departments which are efficient at producing services but find it difficult to innovate. The uni-functional structure of local government departments and of such agencies as the police inhibit the development of inter-disciplinary and multi-agency approaches. Further difficulties are created by the history of uneasy relations between the public sector bureaucracies and the voluntary and community based sectors. In practice, innovative projects and methods of working tend to be restricted and temporary.

4. A 'communitarian' or 'community based' approach is required to regenerate the peripheral estates. This would entail the adoption of communitarian principles which include subsidiarity, prevention rather than reaction, community involvement and ownership, voluntary effort, and local neighbourhood based services that reflect the needs of residents with a focus on the family.

Evidence suggests that the application of communitarian principles may result in effective action of a long lasting nature. Subsidiarity implies a combination of "top down" and "bottom up" approaches. This could be brought about by decentralisation to a regional tier of "governance" as well as to the neighbourhood or estate level. Estate based approaches could build on the networks of community activists and field work professionals that exist on peripheral estates. The evidence also suggests that involvement of the community is more likely to result in innovative and imaginative approaches that are sensitive to local needs and problems. Services that reflect the needs of families include improvements to child care, youth work, community care, training for the long term unemployed and

crime prevention. These have a preventative emphasis and could be provided and owned by the community based voluntary sector.

5. To adopt a 'communitarian' or 'community based' approach requires changes in practice and attitudes which can only be brought about by changes in the institutional arrangements for regeneration.

Experience shows that, unless policy changes are made, any intervention will continue to be ineffective and limited in impact and not result in lasting change. The evidence suggests the need for a strategic framework; for a co-ordinated approach which is reflected both in inter-agency working and in the content of regeneration; and that multi-faceted support needs to be given to the voluntary and community based sector. Ideas include setting up a Regional Development Agency or a tier of regional government with responsibilities for regeneration; the setting up of a quango and/or quangos to supervise and co-ordinate community and estate based regeneration; and the adaptation of the existing SRB funding regime to encourage regeneration to be targeted at peripheral estates and for a community based approach to be adopted.

6. The future of peripheral estates is as suburbs where there is full employment and high rates of car ownership.

The logical outcome to regeneration is that peripheral estates will loose their distinct features which are essentially negative and concerned with poverty, multiple deprivation and stigma. Such an outcome may be unrealistic and perhaps it is more realistic to hope that peripheral estates will become stable working class communities in which some residents will continue to be marginalised but where the worst impacts of industrial change have been ameliorated to a significant extent.

Anthony Schlesinger
7 July 1997.