Health, Well-being and Social Dynamics in Mixed Communities

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Abstract

The promotion of a 'home-owning democracy' in Britain was bolstered by the Thatcher government's Right-to-Buy policy and from this point onwards a chasm opened up between housing tenures. This broadly speaking resulted in the categorization of owner-occupation as the tenure of choice and the social rented sector as the 'tenure of last resort' (Daly *et al.,* 2005, p. 328). When New Labour came to power in 1997 the creation of mixed tenure communities was regarded as a key policy tool for tackling the interconnected problems or social exclusion manifest in the most disadvantaged and residualized mono-tenure, social rented housing estates. The thesis is concentrated on New Labour's mixed community policies from 1997 until 2007.

A key strand of the mixed community policy agenda suggests that the insertion of home ownership in deprived, social rented neighbourhoods can help to overcome area effects in several ways (Tunstall, 2003). Area effects hypotheses emphasize the additional impacts of living in a deprived neighbourhood and how these can conspire to prevent individuals from escaping poverty (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001). These area effects span physical, social, cultural and service environments in a neighbourhood and can impact on individuals' life chances with regard to socio-economic status, educational attainment, employment opportunities, and social mobility and health outcomes.

The perceived benefits of mixed communities can be split into two distinct categories, the first category relates to the more concrete or physical benefits of mixed communities and includes:- improved housing, improved physical environment, improved local economy and provision of better local services. The second category is centred on a set of more idealized benefits which are nebulous in nature and difficult to both articulate and to measure. These

encompass: improved social cohesion; increased social capital; reduction in stigma and raised aspirations as a result of a 'role-model' effect.

The evidence on mixed communities is in itself mixed. Some research findings suggest that the introduction of tenure diversification is generally allied to improvements in the physical environment (Page and Broughton, 1997; Cole *et al.*, 1997; Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Jupp, 1999) and to improving a neighbourhood's reputation and decreasing stigmatization (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Forrest and Kearns, 1999; Martin and Watkinson, 2003). However, policy claims around some of the more intangible aspects of mixed communities such as the 'role-model' effect remain un-substantiated in the academic literature (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; (Kleinhans, 2004). Additionally very little research literature exists on the potential health and wellbeing impacts of living in a mixed community and this was a facet of tenure diversified neighbourhoods which the PhD study sought to explore.

The study drew on the policy and academic literatures (area-effects, social exclusion and sustainability) which inform the concept of mixed communities and on health and place literatures (health inequalities, relative deprivation) to develop an analytical framework. A model for exploring health and well-being in residential neighbourhoods was constructed using the analytical framework as a foundation. The over-arching aim of the thesis was to explore the ways in which features of neighbourhood may impact upon health and well-being in the context of mixed communities. The research was conducted between August 2006-April 2007 in three case study neighbourhoods and incorporated environmental neighbourhood assessments as well as one-to-one interviews and focus groups with residents and local actors in three mixed communities.

In the three case-study communities it was difficult to separate the impacts of tenure mix from wider neighbourhood regeneration changes which had occurred.

Nevertheless, the findings suggest that mixed communities can, to some extent, help to redress the residualization of the social rented sector by encouraging owner-occupier residents into previously social-rented neighbourhoods, particularly with regard to reversing stigmatization. Furthermore, positive perceptions around certain aspects of neighbourhood particularly aesthetic improvements in the physical environment and changes to the wider cultural environment allied to tenure mix emerged as being positive influences on individuals' psychosocial health outcomes and to a lesser extent on health behaviours. In addition the research has contributed to our understanding of the various health pathways - physical, social and psychosocial – and how these often converge to influence individuals' health and well-being at a neighbourhood level.

The research concludes that with regards to the bigger policy picture the mixed community policy agenda has put communities and especially disadvantaged communities at the heart of urban regeneration, social inclusion and housing policy. However, although this is to be welcomed the danger is that tenure diversification is seen as the 'silver bullet' which can be used to combat all of the problems which are often manifest in disadvantaged social rented housing estates. In her historical review of social mix policies Sarkissian (1976) cautioned that planners and policy makers must be cautious about adopting simplistic solutions to complicated problems and the same sentiment can be applied to current tenure mix policies. Tenure mix can be a useful component of wider regeneration and urban renewal strategies but is an insufficient solution in itself.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis "Health Well-being and Social Dynamics in Mixed Communities" is the direct result of my own work except where referenced to others, and that all references and sources cited have been appropriately acknowledged in the work. Furthermore this thesis has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Introduction

In the story of British housing policy the notion of mixed communities has appeared in intermittent chapters. It has fallen in and out of favour with policy makers and at times receded totally from view. The interpretation of what a mixed community signifies has also changed. For Bevan and the policy architects of the New Towns the term referred to class mix; the policy aims following World War Two were geared towards creating neighbourhoods where individuals from different classes lived contentedly alongside one another. History tells us that, by and large, this mixed community utopia was not realized and as the chasm between the owner-occupied and social rented sector continued to grow from the 1980s onwards the idea of creating communities mixed along class-lines seemed to lose its appeal for policy makers.

When New Labour came to power in 1997 the concept of mixed communities was revived with the focus on tenure rather than class mixing. Tenure diversified communities containing a mix of owner-occupiers and social renters were perceived by New Labour politicians and policy makers as offering a solution to the inherent problems facing many socially excluded communities.

For New Labour tenure-diversified, mixed communities were an important policy tool which could be used to dilute the impacts of poverty in mono-tenure social rented neighbourhoods. At the same time these mixed communities were equated with sustainable communities 'places where people want to live and will continue to want to live' (Tony Blair, 1997) and in turn this was connected to the aim of building healthier communities. Surprisingly, perhaps, explicit New Labour policy aims for mixed communities in relation to health and well-being were nonexistent. In addition although other aspects of mixed communities, such as cross-tenure social interaction (Atkinson and Kintrea,

1998), levels of mixing (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006) and tenure distribution and layout (Page and Broughton, 1997; Jupp, 1999; Beekman *et al,* 2001; Allen *et al,* 2005) have been investigated in some depth there is a dearth of research into the impacts of mixed communities on the health and well-being of the individuals who live in them. This study seeks to redress this deficit. Fundamentally, the over-arching aim of the thesis is to explore the ways in which features of neighbourhood may impact upon health and well-being in the context of mixed communities. In order to achieve this overall aim four key objectives were identified, these were:

- To devise an analytical framework for exploring the potential links between neighbourhood and health which would firstly be suitable for studying mixed communities, and, secondly improve our understanding of them.

- To compare three different types of mixed community: two systematically mixed (one a 'segmented' mixed community, one an 'integrated' mixed community), and, the other a sparsely mixed community (mostly social rented where owner-occupation has occurred as the result of Right-To-Buy). To consider how and why tenure layout impacts on health and well-being.

- To identify any positive or negative effects for both owner-occupiers and social renters associated with living in a mixed community.

- To evaluate residents' perceptions of the relative significance of different features and functions of their neighbourhoods and of neighbourhood change in relation to health and well-being.

The PhD study encompassed a review of complex and intertwined bodies of literature. These were: health and place, health inequalities, relative deprivation, area effects and social exclusion literatures. The study placed firmly at its centre people's perceptions of life in their mixed communities, their day-to-day lived experiences and how these impacted on their health and well-being. An outline of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 1-*The Mixed Community Narrative and Contemporary Mixed Tenure Policies* explores various discourses around notions of community and how these have helped to frame policy. The chapter also reviews the evolution of mixed community policies and examines the underpinning ideologies and rationales which influenced New Labour's mixed community policy agenda.

Chapter 2-*Health and Well-being* unpacks the concepts of health and well-being by considering different models of health and how these have influenced policy. The chapter also considers discourses on health and place as well as establishing the relevance of the academic (and policy) literatures on health inequalities to our research study. The concept of relative deprivation is utilized as a lens for examining material and social health pathways. The tensions between relative deprivation theory and area effects hypotheses and the implications of these for mixed communities are also highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter 3-*Mixed Communities: a Review of the Evidence Base* looks at the area effects literature in relation to the mixed community agenda. Two distinct sets of objectives are identified in mixed community policies; one 'tangible' and the other 'intangible'. Using the evidence from the academic literature the chapter seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of mixed communities as a tool for over-riding area effects and in doing so achieving both the 'tangible' and 'intangible' policy aims.

Chapter 4-*Integrating the Literatures on Health Inequalities and Area Effects* summarizes the main concepts and discourses examined in the preceding chapters. The chapter pulls together the key messages from the separate bodies of literature and provides three models which act as an analytical framework for our study into mixed communities.

Chapter 5-*A Discussion of Research Methodology and Methods* initially focuses on the qualitative research tradition, looking at its philosophical underpinnings and its inherent research methods. The chapter also establishes why a qualitative approach is the 'best-fit' for this study and offers a discussion of research methodology and specific research methods.

Chapter 6-*Neighbourhood Profiles* provides background information on the three mixed communities in which our study was conducted. A 'photo-gallery' documenting changes which have occurred over time in the three neighbourhoods is included here.

Chapter 7-*Perceptions of Neighbourhood Change and Stigma* presents the findings on a range of issues connected to changes which had taken place in the communities. These include: new housing; the wider neighbourhood environment; safety and security and a sense of community. The findings on perceptions of stigma are also considered as are the impacts of neighbourhood change and stigma on health and well-being.

Chapter 8-*Perceptions of Tenure mix and the Social Environment* details the findings on a number of themes connected to respondents' perceptions of tenure mix and the social environment in the three communities. These include: neighbourhood demographics; turnover and stability; relative deprivation and equality; as well as health and well-being impacts.

Chapter 9-*Discussion of Findings* reflects upon the findings in relation to the literature and reviews the research design and methods. The chapter also offers some theoretical considerations as well as recommendations for policy.

Chapter 1: The Mixed Community Narrative and Contemporary Mixed Tenure Policies

> **Introduction**
>
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> **1.2 An historical overview of social mix policies**
> **1.3 A critique of New Labour's mixed community policy agenda**
> **1.4 Mixed communities and health and well-being**
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> **Chapter summary**

Introduction

Policies directed at communities have long been a focus for politicians across the political spectrum and the received policy emphasis associates strong communities with positive impacts for the people who live in them. It is this emergence of community as a ubiquitous tool of policy makers (Cowan and Marsh, 2004) which affords it such a central role in any assessment of government policies. Community, in one form or another is a key ingredient of both urban and neighbourhood regeneration policies as well as housing and sustainable development strategies.

The creation of mixed tenure communities is seen as being a key policy mechanism which can help to produce these stronger communities, and in doing so lead to a range of improved outcomes. Mixed communities and their impacts on health and well-being is the issue which concerns us here. To that end this preliminary chapter has several aims: to explore the concept of community and its use in policy and academic discourses; to trace the development of mixed communities in Britain; and to critique New Labour's tenure diversification approach. The chapter will also reflect upon the potential links between mixed communities and health and well-being.

To begin with we have to examine the divergent discourses around community and attempt to explain the concept's attraction for policy makers since only then can we attempt to unpack the contemporary mixed community policy agenda.

We then consider how current mixed community policies have evolved by tracing the history of mixed communities from Howard's Garden Cities to New Labour's 'sustainable communities'. In doing so we will discuss the emergence of tenure in the mixed community discourse, and how tenure diversification has come to hold centre-stage in recent mixed community discourses.

Whilst it seems to be a given assumption for policy makers that mixed communities are a good thing some academics are more cautious. For instance Atkinson advises that, although on an intuitive level social diversity in a community would appear to be intrinsically a good thing, in reality this assumption has scarcely been investigated in academic research (Atkinson, 2005). We will review the academic evidence base on mixed communities in Chapter 3, however in this penultimate section of Chapter 1 we will assess the influences on, and policy aims of, New Labour's mixed community policy agenda.

The chapter ends by considering mixed communities in relation to health and well-being. Here we look at potential benefits and policy aspirations in this regard.

1.1 The concept of community

The notion of 'community' is an elastic concept which has been used extensively by philosophers, sociologists, social scientists and policy makers, so that it has become a ubiquitous term in academic discourse. Thinkers on both the right and left of the political spectrum have interpreted the term in various

ways in order to adapt it to fit their respective ideologies; and therefore 'community' is essentially a contested concept, a nebulous term which can be expanded to encompass such radically different perspectives, from the Marxist belief in a classless, communist society to the New Right view of society focusing on individual freedoms. Theories on the meaning of community continue to flourish amongst academics, politicians and policy-makers and as Delanty notes there are a myriad of community types:

> "Communities have been based on ethnicity, religion, class or politics; they may be large or small; 'thin' or 'thick' attachments may underlie them; they may be locally based and globally organized; affirmative or subversive in their relation to the established order; they may be traditional, modern or even postmodern, reactionary and progressive." (Delanty, 2003 p.7)

Furthermore the concept of community is one which has remained at the heart of academic discourse for over a century. Tonnies' (1887) discussion on *'gemeinschaft'* (community) and *'gesellscheft'* (society) in which the former depicts the relationship between the individual and 'groups with which he/she shares common beliefs and close affiliations, and the latter refers to wider 'groups' with which the individual has no shared 'mores' remains an important source for scholars of community. Hillery's (1955) work on the study of community and the contested nature of the concept also continues to be influential. Hillery defines community as:

> "Persons in social interaction within a geographic area and having one or more additional ties." (Hillery, 1955 p.111)

Obviously perceptions of what constitutes community continually shift and transform over time. When Hillery was writing locally-based communities or neighbourhoods provided the context in which most people lived their lives. One strand of current academic discourse questions whether the concept of community still holds the same relevance today. Kennet and Forrest (2006) suggest that in a world of increased mobility and fluidity, particularly with regard to contemporary social relations, locally based interactions hold

decreasing significance in shaping identities and shared norms and values. The implication here being that the notion of community or neighbourhood is in fact redundant and, furthermore, that a raft of policy initiatives are therefore based on anachronistic assumptions about people and communities (ibid).

Another key influence in shaping today's academic and policy debates around community is the notion of citizenship, and, in particular, T.H. Marshall's (1963) 'social citizenship' hypothesis. Marshall argued that all individuals within a society (defined as a nation) are members of a politico-legal community and that this membership is usually taken for granted. Marshall's social citizenship theory set out to explore the rights and duties of citizens in relation to the welfare state. The idea of social citizenship is still relevant although it was re-configured by New Labour. The New Labour take on citizenship was closely allied to its Welfare to Work policy, where work was seen as the route out of poverty and welfare became more conditional in nature; in New Labour's Britain citizens were offered 'a hand-up but not a hand-out' (Prime Minister Tony Blair, Lecture 1999) and did not enjoy 'rights without responsibilities' (Home Secretary Jack Straw, Lecture 1999). Cowan and Marsh (2004) maintain that just as community and neighbourhood have become 'ubiquitous features of the political landscape' so too has responsibility. As we will see these are themes which were writ large in New Labour's mixed community policy agenda and we will unpack them further in both our policy review (later in this chapter) and in our literature review (in Chapter 3).

Community as a policy focus

The well-rehearsed debates around social exclusion and the alleged 'Underclass' are bound-up with notions of 'problem neighbourhoods' and, as Fremeaux (2005) argues, in this context community has come to mean poor, disadvantaged or socially excluded communities. The policy prescriptions for 'ailing' neighbourhoods also have the ubiquitous community label, such as: community regeneration, community empowerment, community participation and community cohesion. This policy response is not a new one and community or neighbourhood-based policies have dominated housing and regeneration policies since the 1970s onwards, as Jones (1977) comments when he describes "'community' as the 'aerosol word of the 1970s because of the hopeful way it [was] sprayed over deteriorating institutions."

Sampson (2004) observes that community continues to be prescribed for much of what ails modern society and notes that today's calls for a return to community values are following in a long tradition of similar pleas from academics, policy makers and politicians across the political spectrum (p.106). Sampson also notes that in the mid-20th century Nisbet (1953) observed 'the ideology of lament' or widespread concern that something had been lost in modern society, and that a return to community was in order. The community mourned for in this scenario, and which contemporary policy solutions attempt to re-create, is the community of a bygone age, comprising a relatively small community of the neighbourhood, the immediate and extended family and close friends and acquaintances. Furthermore, this idealized 'model' of community is one where social cohesion and community spirit abound; where neighbours trust one another and where 'no-one has to lock the door'.

However, this 'rose-tinted' version of neighbourhood and community is 'mired in myth' (Sampson, 2004). Sampson also cautions against attempting to return to this 'mythical past' since this could be likened to 'returning to no-where' or to a 'suffocating' yesterday' (p.107).

In the academic and policy literatures the concepts of neighbourhood and community are interchangeable and most commentators agree that a functioning neighbourhood is the product of a strong community, and vice-versa. For Kearns and Parkes (2001) the contemporary notion of neighbourhood rests on the perception that the neighbourhood represents an environment which is 'familiar and predictable'. The writers propose that the neighbourhood can be viewed as both a source of opportunity and constraint. (ibid), and this dichotomy can be applied to the two sides of the community discourse. Whereas the policy field has embraced the concept of community, the academic literature has tended to inject a strong dose of scepticism into the debate (Kennett and Forrest, 2006). Policy has utilized the concept of community and related phenomena, such as social cohesion and social capital as mechanisms for 'fixing' or improving neighbourhoods which do not fit the ideal community mould.

Policy interventions at the community or neighbourhood scale seek to encourage community participation and engagement, and the policy message is that community is unequivocally a good thing. However, the use of community can also be exclusionary (Bauman, 2001; Cowan and Marsh, 2004) since strong groups or individuals *within* communities can deny access to those in the community or neighbourhood whom they do not perceive as belonging. In the same way this process might occur *between* communities; as excessively cohesive communities might become inward-looking and withdraw from surrounding communities. As we will discover this claim is made about disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the social capital literature and the same logic could be applied to affluent 'gated' communities where the residents have 'contracted out of broader local communities' (Atkinson and Flint, 2004).

 At a societal level if certain communities do not fit the blueprint of the normalized community then this can result in those communities being cast as

deviant and as operating out-with society. This process might occur in relation to particular groups of individuals, for instance with minority ethnic groups or the gay or travelling communities. Geographic communities, in the form of disadvantaged neighbourhoods are also cast in the role of the 'other'; in this community policy discourse the policy prescription focuses on creating active communities where more collective responsibility will be taken by a community for tackling issues like anti-social behaviour. There are obvious implications for health and well-being of either belonging to, or being denied access to, a community and we will explore these more fully further on in the chapter.

Sampson (2004) remarks that while the ideal of residents joining forces in order to build community and maintain social order is largely a positive one, neighbourhoods are shaped to a large degree by outside or 'extra-local' forces, such as the wider political economy and citywide spatial dynamics. Sampson (2004) urges that in addition to encouraging communities to mobilize via strategies of social control, strategies are needed to address the larger social and ecological changes [facing communities] especially the contrasts between and within communities imposed by resource inequality, racial segregation and concentrated poverty.

In Britain the social pathology explanation whereby individuals are blamed for their own circumstances such as being unemployed or being poor has largely been rejected, and policy-makers tend to focus on the characteristics of poor areas, and the ways in which they can compound individual disadvantage rather than on individual pathologies (Lupton, 2003). Community, however, retained a powerful appeal for New Labour and since this perspective on community underpinned New Labour's mixed community agenda it will be instructive for us to reflect on it in more depth.

New Labour and community

Communities held centre stage in New Labour policy as Raco observes.

> "In essence, what we see is communities of one form or another playing a key part in the New Labour project but, in turn being subjected to contradictory roles, definitions and pressures." (Raco, 2003 p.248)

Fremeaux (2005) suggests that New Labour appropriated the term community and concerns with the notion straddled a range of its policy areas, including economic, environmental and regeneration policies. The key influences which shaped New Labor ideology all emphasize the importance of community. Gidden's (1998) 'Third Way' from which New Labour developed its own 'Third Way' stresses that community doesn't simply imply trying to re-capture lost forms of social solidarity, but also refers to practical means of furthering the social and material refurbishment of neighbourhoods, towns and larger local areas. The practical means employed are a combination of 'bottom-up' (such as community participation strategies) and 'top-down' policies (for instance the New Deal programmes). The New Labour discourse on community was closely tied to its social exclusion agenda where 'ailing' neighbourhoods were viewed as being both a manifestation and a cause of social exclusion. The policy response was to take a more holistic approach to dealing with the myriad of problems which often face individuals living in neighbourhoods described by New Labour as those which have "become progressively more cut off from the prosperity and opportunities which most of us take for granted" (A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal, 2001)

Unsurprisingly then communitarianism as an ideology is one which strongly influenced New Labour thinking and policy. Communitarianism, in one form or another, has interested philosophers and academics including Tonnies and Durkheim since the 19th century. Etzioni (2003) defines communitarianism as follows:

> "Communitarianism is a social philosophy that maintains that society should articulate what is good-that such articulations are both needed and legitimate." (Etzioni, 2003 p.224)

In the 1990s a new form of communitarianism emerged; pioneered by Amitai Etzioni, this brand of communitarianism would be a key ideological influence on New Labour. Etzioni's communitarianism was developed as an antidote to what he perceived as the excessive individualism of neo-liberalism which had been given free-reign under the Thatcher and Reagan administrations, and which had, he argued, led to a breakdown in the moral fabric of society.

Etzioni founded the Communitarian Network to study and promote communitarian approaches to social policy. Etzioni's communitarian ideology perceives the 'good society' as one where there is a sound moral infrastructure with shared historical values and traditions. In this vision communities represent 'societal units which transmit and enforce values' (Etzioni, 2003). The family, local neighbourhoods, schools and churches are all types of community which can play their part in the transmission of communitarian values. In other words community norms regulate or govern individuals' behaviours. (This might include health behaviours and could be achieved through a 'role-model effect' and these are issues which we will go on to discuss).

For communitarians individuals who are well-integrated into their communities are able to reason and act in a more responsible way than isolated individuals. It is not difficult to see the communitarian influences on New Labour which were reflected in its social exclusion policy and its anti-social behaviour strategies. In the Respect Agenda which was launched in January 2006 with the slogan 'Give respect, Get respect' and which aimed to teach young people about the etiquette of respect within society, communitarian influences were easily detectable, as was apparent in Tony Blair's speech at the campaign launch.

> "Respect is a way of describing the very possibility of life in a community…It is about our reciprocal belonging to a society, the covenant that we have with one another." (Tony Blair, Speech January 2006)

The Respect Agenda and other New Labour policies combine attempts to connect or re-connect isolated groups or individuals to their communities with sanctions against groups or individuals who are perceived as flouting the community codes of conduct.

Critiques of the communitarian philosophy include allegations that proponents of the theory choose to ignore the fact that the bygone close-knit communities invoked by communitarians were often oppressive and authoritarian in nature; and that these types of communities posed a threat to individual rights. In extreme cases these types of communities demonized those individuals who were perceived as not belonging. Gutmann (1985) argued that communitarians 'want us to live in Salem'. This is perhaps a polemical view and one which communitarians repudiate. In response to these criticisms communitarians argue that their notion of community is not one which simply refers to a geographically bounded community or neighbourhood, since in today's world individuals have far more choice and ease of mobility (both geographically and socially); and as a result have multi-community membership (for example at work and in a myriad of social settings).

Communitarianism promotes the vision of a society where community is essentially the moral foundation and the expression of a citizenship of responsibility and of participation, as opposed to one of rights. (Etzioni, 1995) Etzioni's appeal for a recovery of community has distinctly moral implications since it is assumed that a well-functioning community reinforces the civic obligations and moral commitments of its members to one another and to society as a whole. Again we can detect echoes of the communitarian

philosophy in New Labour's policy agenda and its focus on responsible social citizenship.[1]

The policy aims and rationales for mixed housing communities also have communitarian undertones, for instance that "Upwardly mobile residents moving or buying within the same area are considered as potential role models" and that "Tenure mix can lead to a "new atmosphere and attitude" (DETR: 2000). Similar concerns were also an integral component of past social mix policies and, since it will be helpful in developing our understanding and insight into recent mixed community policies we will now trace the evolution of mixed communities.

1.2 A Historical overview of social mix policies

The notion of mixing communities pre-dates state intervention in housing policy by several decades. In order to trace the evolution of social mix policies we must 'go back to the beginning' as it were. In doing so we must journey through the 'model villages' built by the philanthropic industrialists: Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities; Bevan's post-war vision for social housing; the creation of the New Towns; the retreat from suburbia in the 1950s and 1960s; the Thatcher government's Right-To-buy policy; and, New Labour's sustainable communities agenda. Our investigation will allow us to develop greater insight into 'mixed communities'- where the concept came from and what it represents today.

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[1] It should be noted however that other discourses on communitarianism have also influenced New Labour ideology including the works of John Gray and John MacMurray - for a fuller discussion see Levitas (2005) 'The Inclusive Society' (Chapter 5) Palgrave Macmillan

The 'model' villages

Although social pioneer Robert Owen's[2] New Lanark village (built in 1785) pre-ceded George Cadbury's Bournville factory-town by almost a century the latter, which was completed in 1879, is regarded as the first successful planning experiment with social mix at its heart. In keeping with Cadbury's Quaker beliefs the Bournville community was intended to provide a well-built environment of 'decent quality homes' which would help to raise the workers' 'standards of health and morality'. However, innovatively Cadbury did not want Bournville to be for his workers only and he was adamant that Bournville should 'gather together as mixed a community as possible applied to character and interests as well as to income and social class' (Bournville Village Trust, 1956).

 Cadbury was criticized at the time for attempting to engineer a class and social mix, with many planners and social commentators suggesting that the village should have remained an environment exclusively for his workers. Cadbury remained 'absolutely inflexible on the subject of the estate's mix (Sarkissian, 1976) but he did not explicitly set out the reasons for social mix at Bournville, therefore 'the objects of this mixture must be divined rather than read in the founding charters. (Eversley, 1973)

The success of Bournville led other socially-minded industrialists to follow in Cadbury's footsteps and create their own 'model' villages. The Lever brothers' Port Sunlight in 1888 and Rowntree's New Earnswick in 1901 adhered to the Bournville blue-print, combining a good quality built environment with local amenities in a semi-rural setting and emphasizing the need for social mix. Sarkissian (1976) noted that the perceived benefits of social mix were

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[2] Owen's vision also had an indirect impact on the social reformer Octavia Hill (her father was a proponent of his). Although Hill's early experiment at slum transformation in London from 1864 onwards was pioneering and established housing management and social work precedents it does not merit inclusion here since although middle class 'fellow workers' administered the rental housing and 'provided models for improvement' they returned to their own homes at night (Sarkissian, 1976).

recognized from this point onwards and many of these original aspirations such as 'raising the standards of the lower classes' and 'encouraging cross cultural fertilization' have remained as policy objectives with regard to mixed communities, although the terminology may have altered. All of the model villages were predecessors of the Garden City Movement.

Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City Movement

Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) was the pioneer of the garden city movement and the figurehead of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (which would later become the Town Planning Association). Howard, who was employed as a shorthand writer and parliamentary reporter when he conceived the concept of the Garden City had no formal planning background, however, like many of his peers involved in the early planning movement, he was concerned with the 'evils of the congested Victorian slum city' (Hall, 2002). His plan for eradicating the evils of overcrowding, poor housing and unsanitary living conditions rested upon the creation of new Garden Cities, to be constructed outside existing cities.

These new developments would be designed for up to 32,000 people and would cover an area of around 1000 acres and crucially would combine the best of town and country, in a 'new kind of settlement' which Howard named 'Town-Country' (Hall: 2002). Essentially, the Garden City would be a mixed-use, medium-density, fixed-size development where jobs, schools, shops, parks and countryside were all within walking distance (Hall and Ward: 1998) Furthermore, the creator of the Garden City anticipated that these new communities would be built using a combination of funding from private investors, community collaboratives and the state.

The first Garden City was built at Letchworth in 1903, using Howard's basic blueprint. However, Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, the architects who

designed Letchworth did not want it to be a development where all the houses looked alike, and accordingly they based their vision for the development on a combination of a traditional English village and a German hill town (Hall and Ward, 1998) Letchworth therefore contained a variety of different house types, which the developers hoped would appeal to a range of individuals from different classes and professions, indeed Howard himself lived in Letchworth for a while. The Garden City, as we can see then was always intended to be a 'mixed' or 'balanced' community, and Unwin would later assert "[b]oth in town planning and site planning it is important to prevent the complete separation of different classes of people which is such a feature of the modern English town" (Unwin: 1920). This theory was put into practice and Frederic J. Osborn, who, from 1912, was the secretary and manager of the Howard Cottage Society at Letchworth (and who would later champion the idea of the New Towns) noted that at Letchworth everybody knew everybody, and met nearly everybody in some activity or other, and that class and income barriers were at a minimum (Osborn and Whittick: 1963).

More than a century later aspects of Howard's vision can be glimpsed in new Labour's strategy for sustainable communities especially when we consider 'garden cities' as being the first examples of planned 'mixed communities'. The first of these is that in Howard's vision and in New Labour's policy approach 'mixed communities' were regarded as a potential solution to the problems of poverty (for Howard) and social exclusion (New Labour). Howard believed that by giving people the opportunity to move to one of his new 'Town-Country' developments he was providing the means to escape the overcrowded living conditions, poor working conditions and low wages that many had to endure in the city. Furthermore, he imagined a community where, since the social classes were not segregated, 'social opportunity, freedom and co-operation' would develop (Howard: 1898).

New Labour was convinced that mixed communities could help tackle deprivation by reducing the additional disadvantages that affect poorer people when they are concentrated in poor neighbourhoods, (HMSO: 2005) Coleman describes the 'garden city' ethos as "the belief that if the environment is changed in the ways prescribed by these ideologies, human behaviour will improve and human happiness will increase" (Coleman: 1990) and it does seem that Howard was prescient in his views with regard to the links between place and health. Hall and Ward (1998) comment that the Garden City was really all about sustainability, and the authors note "The astonishing fact about Howard's plan is how faithfully it follows the precepts of good planning a century later: this is a walking-scale settlement, within which no one needs a car to go anywhere: the densities are high by modern standards, thus economizing on land; and yet the entire settlement is suffused by open space both within and outside, thus sustaining a natural habitat."

It is easy to relate Howard's 'garden cities' to sustainable communities today and the definition of a 'garden city' adopted by the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1919 demonstrates the scope of Howard's vision. The definition states that "A Garden City is a Town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community." The 'healthy living' aspect of the 'garden city' was a major consideration and physical environment played a significant role here, In his Three Magnets Diagram (See **Figure 1.1**) Howard highlighted some key environmental elements, linked to health benefits, these include:- Beauty of nature, pure air and water, good drainage, bright homes and gardens, no smoke, and no slums.

THE
THREE MAGNETS.

TOWN
COUNTRY.

THE PEOPLE.
WHERE WILL THEY GO?

TOWN-COUNTRY.
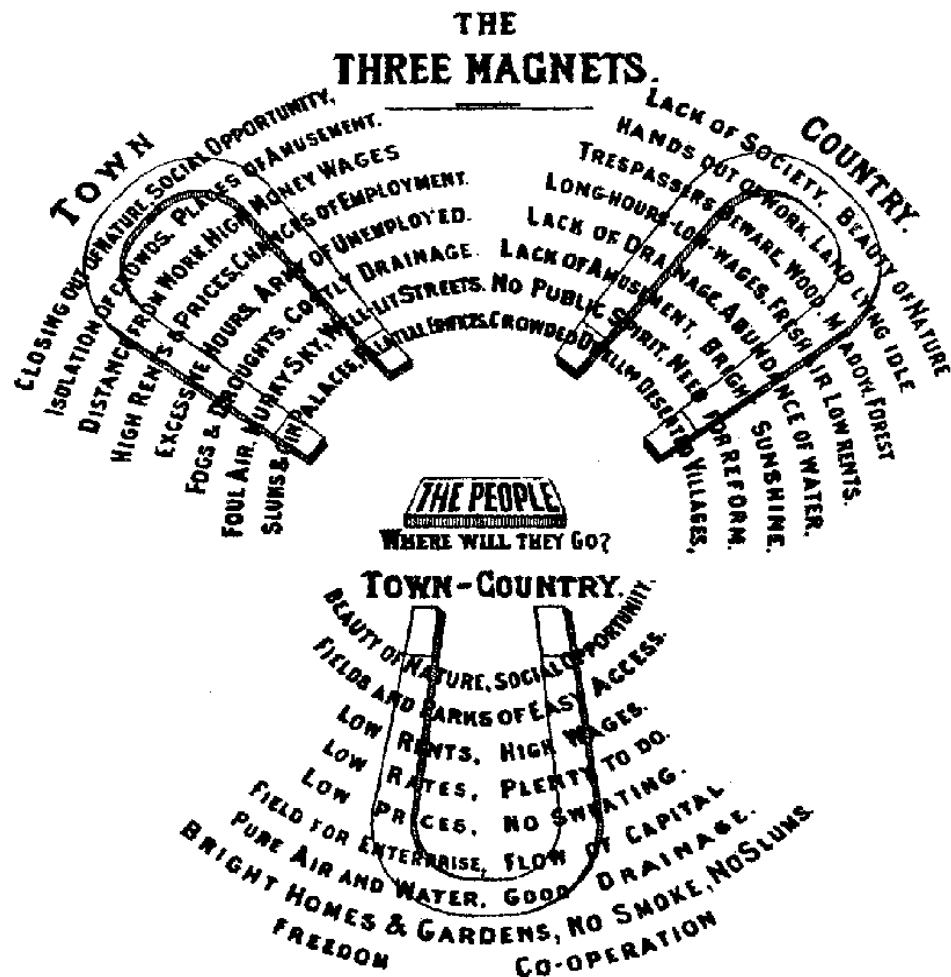
Figure 1.1-Howard's Three Magnet's Diagram (Source: Hall, 2002; p.93)

Alongside a good quality physical environment Howard also identified other key features such as co-operation and opportunities which he considered to be necessary for the promotion of health and well-being in his Garden City communities. In a modern context the government's sustainable development

strategy centres on many of the same features as those promoted in Howard's Garden Cities'- for instance the creation of safer and stronger communities, improving the quality of life for all, meeting transport needs more effectively, promoting healthier communities and narrowing health inequalities (HMSO: 2005)

The holistic approach to health in the Garden City movement meant that, along with physical health, the social well-being, of both the individual and the community, was always a key consideration. Howard placed great emphasis on concepts like personal happiness, and objectives such as freedom and co-operation were at the core of his plan (Howard: 1898). In this respect, Howard once again demonstrated how far-sighted his ideology really was, for he recognized that health and well-being were intrinsically linked and he designed his communities with this in mind. This association between health and well-being and aspects of the communities which people live in has fluctuated as a policy priority over the decades since Howards's Garden City experiment.

Post-war housing policy

After Howard's Garden Cities the next relevant period which pertains to mixed communities is the post-war period and housing policy under the Labour government which swept to power in 1945. At this time housing was under the remit of the Ministry of Health, which was perhaps not surprising, given the links between poor housing conditions and diseases like tuberculosis and emphysema, so the task of providing the houses fell to Bevan, on top of the massive task of founding the NHS (Timmins: 1995).

As well as increasing the numbers of new houses being built Bevan also improved standards with regard to council housing. He raised the minimum standard from 750 square feet of room space to 900 square feet and he also insisted that new houses be built with lavatories upstairs as well as down (although this innovation was later revoked by Dalton, the Chancellor, in 1951).

For Bevan producing mixed communities was also tied in with raising the general standard of council housing, and he counselled against allowing 'working class ghettos' to develop. His famous (and much-quoted) speech on mixed communities captures the fundamental character of what he was trying to achieve, Bevan stated:

> "We should try to introduce into our modern villages and towns what was always the lovely feature of English and Welsh villages, where the doctor, the grocer, the butcher and the farm labourer all lived in the same street. I believe that it is essential for the full life of a citizen … to see the living tapestry of a mixed community." (Bevan quoted in Foot, 1975)

At that time Bevan's objective with regards to the creation of more mixed communities was perhaps easier to achieve since renting was considered acceptable amongst a wider strata of society, and this was reflected in the range of incomes and classes who took up residence in the new council houses. Bevan's administration also set a precedent, as Timmins notes, 'for the pattern of local authority building for rent that was to be followed for a generation by both Tories and Labour' (Timmins, 1995), although Bevan himself noted the potential disadvantages which could arise if local authorities built houses for only low income groups and private speculators built houses for the higher income groups (Forrest and Murie, 1991). These concerns would be realized in future decades when some residualized council housing areas evolved into mono-tenure, 'problem estates'- which were the very antithesis of Bevan's vision of council housing mixed communities.

The New Towns

The creation of the New Towns, under the New Towns Act of 1946, is the next significant chapter in the 'mixed communities' narrative. According to Bennett 'The New Towns approach was underpinned by a strong vision for the types of new community that they sought to create, albeit one limited to a focus on a mix of social classes . This vision was influenced by the theories of Ebenezer

Howard and the practical need to relocate industries away from London' (Bennett, 2005). In his report 'From New Towns to Growth Areas. Learning from the Past' the same author compares and contrasts the New Towns Programme with the New Labour's 'Growth Areas' (identified under its sustainability agenda) in an attempt to establish key lessons which might be applied to the development of 'Growth Areas' today. Bennett examines three main spheres in relation to both the New Towns and Growth Areas, these are; community, economy and delivery and he concludes that there are many parallels between these past and contemporary policies (Bennett: (2005).

The New Towns programme was 'part of the brave new culture of the post-war period' (Cowling, 1997) and was a 'response to the problems of housing failure and inner-city crowding' (ibid). Lord Reith's 'New Town's Committee Report' (1945) recommended that fourteen New Towns were to be designated between 1946 and 1950 (A further thirteen were designated between 1961 and 1970). The key recommendations of the 'New Towns Committee Report' are replicated in **Figure 1.2**

- **New towns should be located sufficiently far from their mother city at least 40km from London and 20km from other metropolises**
- **They should target a population of 20,000 to 60,000 inhabitants**
- **They should feature predominately single family housing, at low densities**
- **They should be built, as far as possible, on quality greenfield sites, but outside areas of exceptional natural beauty, which had to be preserved**
- **A green belt should be created around the New Towns**
- **Housing should be organized in neighbourhood units around a primary and a nursery school, a pub and shops selling staple goods, and a meeting-room for clubs and voluntary groups to meet**
- **The New Towns should seek to attract a balance of all socio-economic groups**
- **In order to self-contained, the development corporation must offer every business moving into the New Town one housing unit for each job created**

Figure 1.2 -Key Recommendations of the New Town's Committee Report 1945

Bennett asserts that the New Town's programme shares similarities with New Labour's sustainable communities plan in that a key objective for both related to increasing housing supply and accommodating economic growth. In addition, he argues that both formed part of a national strategy with distinct regional objectives (Bennett: 2005). The author also notes some of the major differences between the two, these include: New Towns were to be built on mostly Greenfield sites whereas the sustainable communities strategy emphasized Brownfield development; New Towns were intended to be self-contained communities whereas sustainable communities were intended to be integrated with existing communities; the New Towns formed part of a public

sector development and sustainable communities, on the other hand, incorporated a public/private partnership approach to development (ibid).

Cowling observes that the New Towns were developed as self-contained and balanced communities for work and living (Cowling, 1997), and it is the New Town as a mixed community which interests us here.

As we have already noted, a key recommendation of the Reith Report was that the New Towns 'should seek to attract a balance of all socio-economic groups', however this objective would prove difficult to realize. Bennett describes the rationale behind this objective thus '[in] the New Towns it was hoped that, with the right mix of housing tenures and community facilities, a "socially homogeneous community" would be created. There was a presumption that if the middle-classes could be attracted to the New Towns they would provide a kind of social and cultural example to the masses of lower urban class residents relocated with them" (Bennett: 2005). There are strong associations here with the alleged 'role model effect' in mixed communities today (Kleinhans, 2004) and with the concept of social capital and its links to current regeneration and neighbourhood renewal strategies (Middleton *et al*, 2005).

Although the creators of the New Towns did attempt to achieve balanced communities their vision was ultimately flawed, for 'their concept of balance was exclusively focused on the issue of social class in terms of income and status and did not consider wider issues such as age, household types and race' (Bennett, 2005). Furthermore, developers were discouraged from building speculatively in the New Towns (therefore limiting home-ownership) and rents for public housing were set at more expensive levels than local authority rents- the upshot being that until the 1970's the socio-economic profile of the New Towns was dominated by skilled manual workers (Bennett, 2005]).

Martin Madden, M.P. for Letchworth (the first garden city) and Stevenage (the first New Town) commented in 1961:

"[at] the moment … our New Towns tend to be one class towns. Few of the directors and executives of the firms located in them live in them. But it is hoped that this will be remedied in the final stages. The original conception of 'village life', with all classes inter-mingled, does not seem capable of transformation into modern urban neighbourhood, separate neighbourhoods of middle- class houses must therefore be established" (Madden in 'Britain's New Towns' by A.C. Duff: 1961).

Ironically, as Cole and Goodchild (2001) point out, many of the first New Towns became enclaves of 'exclusive cul-de-sacs' for the middle classes and not diverse streets as Bevan had envisioned. It was not until the 1960s (and the designation of the second wave of New Towns), when the government stepped in to encourage a 50:50 split between renting and ownership, that tenure mix began to emerge.

It is interesting to note that unlike the model villages and garden cities the New Town strategy did not explicitly focus on improving health and well-being although the implication was that by reducing over-crowding, providing a good quality built environment and fostering social mix that health and health behaviours would be improved.

Social mix re-configured - the 1950s and 1960s

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the ideas of several American commentators and academics emerged as being highly influential with regard to notions about social mix in both the US and in Britain. Lewis Mumford whose 1938 work 'The Culture of Cities' (according to Sarkissian, 1976) 'provided something of a Bible for British town planners ' argued that any kind of segregation was bad for society.

"The city if it is to function effectively cannot be a segregated environment: the city with the single class, with a single type of industrial activity, offers fewer possibilities for the higher forms of human achievement than a many-sided urban environment." (Mumford, 1938, p.486)

Mumford continued to promote the benefits of 'non-segregated' communities throughout the 1950s and 1960s and his social mix philosophy was shaped by the Scottish botanist Patrick Geddes and his views around the vitalizing challenge of dissonance and the essential human need for disharmony and conflict (Mumford, 1938, p.485). Significantly, Mumford maintained that without this 'disharmony and conflict,' realized through social mix, then human psychological growth could not occur. Mumford's connection between an individual's social interactions at the neighbourhood level and his/her psychological state of mind can be seen as a precursor to contemporary debates around tenure mix; although these are framed around creating harmony and minimizing conflict.

Others requisitioned the notion of mixed communities in the fight against racially segregated schools and neighbourhoods. One leading critic of racial segregation in the US, Charles Abrams, argued the case for residential social mix (in his book Forbidden Neighbours, 1955) from 'every conceivable angle in order to prove the more important case for racial justice' (Sarkissian, 1976). The work of Abrams and like-minded proponents had a resounding impact upon American housing, planning and schooling policies which, from the 1950s onwards, sought (although not always successfully) to place the notion of social mix at their crux. In the British context residential segregation was arranged along class rather than race lines. Nevertheless the US campaign for civil rights highlighted the need for legislation and social policies which would tackle racial, class and gender inequalities.

A backlash against suburbia, and in particular its homogeneity, occurred in both Britain and America during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s further fuelling the arguments for creating socially mixed neighbourhoods; and Jane Jacobs seminal work 'The Life and Death of Great American Cities' (1961) was highly significant here. Jacob's hypothesis was that 'downtown' in dense, mixed-use neighbourhoods city life flourished whereas the homogenous nature

of the suburbs and public housing projects stifled or snuffed-out life for residents (Jacobs, 1961). The idea that socially mixed neighbourhoods represented dynamic and successful neighbourhoods continued to flourish in the minds of planners and policy makers throughout this era, although the reality was often flawed.

The Right-to Buy and residualization

In 1976 some 56 per cent of homes in England were owner-occupied and 29 per cent were rented from the council; by 2000 these figures were 70 per cent and 15 per cent. During the same period local authority built housing fell from 140,000 new homes per year (46 per cent of the total in Britain) to 165 (0.1 per cent) (Bramley, 1997; Wilcox, 2000). The dramatic change in tenure patterns was largely due to the Thatcher government's Right-to-Buy (RTB) policy which aimed to 'give the chance to many families who live on council estates and in New Towns to buy their homes' (Conservative Party Manifesto, 1979) The creation of a 'property owning democracy' was a central part of the Thatcher ideology- and council housing sales were the principal mechanism in achieving this social revolution. The popularity of the RTB policy resulted in large numbers of council housing being converted into owner-occupied housing.

However, the properties which were snapped-up as a result of RTB were the 'good council houses' in the better areas. This process contributed to the residualization of council housing; that is, leaving the council sector as a 'residual tenure' providing welfare housing only for more vulnerable people (e.g., single parents, people with disabilities, and others with a marginal economic position) (Bramley *et al*, 2004) For instance in 1970 the proportion of council tenant households with no one in work was 20 per cent; by 1998 this proportion was 69 per cent (Giles *et al,* 1996; Wilcox, 2000). The residualization process continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s as council

housing estates were divided between different landlords (usually Housing Associations) and control of social housing shifted away from Local Authorities. Council housing was transformed from being a solution into a problem (Malpass, 1992).

The Right-to-Buy policy further promoted the notion of a 'home-owning democracy' in Britain and alongside this development other factors also contributed to the segregation of tenures in urban neighbourhoods. In the US context urban segregation materialized along racial lines. This was mostly due to prolonged under investment by government in already disadvantaged 'ghetto' neighbourhoods and the subsequent 'white-flight', eloquently described by Wilson (1987; 1996) which compounded residential segregation by race. In Britain with its very different racial demographic this scenario did not develop, however, the Commission for Racial Equality did caution that in some parts of the country with high populations of black and ethnic minority populations 'ethnic enclaves' did exist.

The over-arching drivers of urban segregation in Britain were multi-faceted and interwoven and included: socio-economic problems in cities; state welfare provision; and urban policies implemented by successive governments throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Arguably the most significant of these were gentrification strategies which were often part and parcel of urban renewal programmes. Gentrification[3] is the process which occurs when rundown or deteriorating areas are regenerated to attract more affluent residents. This often results in a transformation in the residential makeup of the area with long-term, original residents being 'pushed-out' and replaced with new, incomer residents.

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[3] There is a vast body of literature which explores theories and concepts of gentrification and it is not possible to look at this within the parameters of the thesis. (See the work of Neil Smith and Chris Hamnett for seminal theories).

An outcome of gentrification in many urban neighbourhoods was the further entrenchment of (what were already) geographically and socially excluded communities and which in many cases became mono-tenure estates. They were labelled 'problem' or 'sink' estates and were places which produced poor living environments for their residents and consequently became a source of concern for policy makers and politicians. These neighbourhoods suffered from concentrated multiple deprivation and social problems including; physical and structural problems (poorly designed housing and layout), neglected environment, poor repairs and maintenance service, high incidence of vandalism, high number of empty/run-down properties; social polarization (between different groups e.g. older people in the community), drug and alcohol misuse, anti-social tenants with low social skills, high levels of certain types of crime (e.g. vandalism and burglary, high incidence of fear of crime). The notion of social mixing through housing tenure fell out of favour as segregation increased. This division between neighbourhoods and tenures was the scenario which New Labour inherited when it came to power in 1997.

1.3 A Critique of New Labour's Mixed Community Policy Agenda

In response to this residualization and polarization New Labour adopted a more holistic policy approach seeking to turn its 'joined-up solutions to joined-up problems' mantra into action. For New Labour creating mixed communities was fundamentally about creating tenure-diversified communities, although the terms were used interchangeably in the policy literature. For the New Labour government the creation of mixed communities in deprived areas represented one of the key ways to alleviate poverty and to "tackle the economic segregation" (HMSO, 2005) which exists between the most disadvantaged areas and the rest of society. There are various policies which have been utilized in the promotion of mixed communities. As well as the Right-To-Buy scheme other strategies include whole stock transfer, Large Scale Voluntary Stock Transfer (LSVST), Private Finance Initiatives and Choice Based Lettings Systems (for housing association properties) as well as Housing Market Renewal and Pathfinder programmes (in England).

The key rationales for New Labour's mixed community policies are apparent in the following statement from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister:

> "Market-driven trends towards social segregation and polarization stemming from fixity of location can also be seen as fundamental motivation for government intervention to create and sustain mixed communities. There will also be cases where intervention is justified by the delivery of social and equity objectives, such as the encouragement of jobs into deprived areas, the provision of affordable housing for poorer groups in high demand areas or policies aimed at tackling concentrations of deprivation on large housing estates." (ODPM, 2005)

In order to achieve these aims New Labour made use of Section 106 of the Town and Country Planning Act 1990. This planning policy guidance requires that new housing developments must contain a mix of tenure and values of properties and the NL government developed the guidance to ensure that local authorities provided 'wider housing opportunities and choice and a better mix in the size, type and location of housing than is currently available, and seek to create mixed communities' (Planning Policy Guidance 3: Housing, 2000).

The vehicle for providing mix within new housing developments was the requirement for developers to provide an element of affordable housing (between 20 and 50 per cent of dwellings). Some commentators suggest that this 'planning gain' process which facilitated the securing of land and funding for affordable housing (Crook *et al,* 2001) led to the provision of affordable houses (especially in areas with high property prices); whilst at the same time engendering the creation of mixed communities (ibid). However, the process was not always so straightforward and, in response to alleged market demand, developers often sought to over-ride this requirement or have it reduced in residential developments.

Furthermore, in many cases developers argued that the 'affordable housing' component they were required to provide should consist of lower-cost owner-occupied dwellings or those which were 'shared equity' rather than social rented properties (Allen *et al,* 2005). Local authorities who relied on Section

106 agreements to provide other facilities (e.g. play areas, roads) often capitulated to developers' demands in this regard thus reducing the amount of social housing within a development (ibid).

Allen *et al* also highlight the importance of both tenure development and configuration. In relation to the former the authors caution that some developers tend to 'hide' affordable housing in development patches (for instance by building it in the corner of a development and facing away it from the owner-occupied housing). The authors suggest that this sort of segregation can lead to stigma and that blocks of affordable housing should be *properly* integrated into developments. However, this does not necessarily mean that mixed tenure developments have to be 'pepper-potted' (have a sprinkling of both tenures throughout) to be successful (ibid). Allen *et al* propose that if the main aims of tenure mix are to produce civilized communities and satisfied residents (rather than 'role model effects and the transfer of know-how) then tenure mix does not necessarily need to be 'pepper-potted'; indeed residents simply need to be able to regard each other as ordinary and familiar, whether they live in a rented or owned block. This would suggest that tenure mixed developments can work whether they are 'pepper-potted' or segmented; on the other hand segregated estates are less likely to be successful mixed neighbourhoods (These issues will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3).

However, evidence from Rowlands *et al's* (2006) study conducted in seven English case study areas indicated that these tensions between developers and mixed tenure policy requirements are not always an inherent part of the process. The seven case study developments incorporated different types and configurations of tenure mix and the researchers wanted to establish if developers perceived that tenure mix developments with a greater proportion of properties from different tenures performed less well with regard to selling prices. The findings demonstrated that developers had no concerns about tenure-mix developments and saw no reason to believe that tenure-mix would

have a negative impact on sale prices (any more than any other aspect of the development). This was backed up by additional data which compared the case study developments to the surrounding housing market and found little difference in house prices.

There has also been some consideration in the literature of potential negative reactions from social housing managers (in local authorities and housing associations) to mixed tenure. Jupp (1999) intimated that housing managers might see mixed neighbourhoods as being more difficult to maintain and to manage and also as being more problematic in general due to tensions between owner-occupiers and social renters. However, the findings from Martin and Wilkinson's (2003) study challenge this supposition since they discovered that the majority of social landlords in their study were committed to mixing tenures on new developments with over 70 per cent stating that they had taken at least some action in this regard.

 In their 'good practice guide' Bailey *et al* (2006) stress that in mixed estates an effective long-term system of management is an essential requirement to ensure 'consistency in management for residents of all tenures' (Bailey *et al*, 2006 p.77). This should include a quick and efficient repairs and maintenance system to ensure that distinctions do not develop between the owner-occupied and social rented housing which might subsequently lead to a stigmatization process occurring in relation to the former.

It is important to be aware that the social policies (social inclusion, neighbourhood regeneration, provision of affordable housing) which were some of the key drivers of New Labour's mixed community strategy were often in direct conflict with the market-driven aims of developers and that this could have negative implications at the planning stage.

New Labour's social exclusion, community regeneration and sustainability agendas were all connected and overlapped in places and in keeping with the

'Third Way' ideology these key New Labour policy areas were informed by a mixture of ideological perspectives. Goodchild and Cole (2001) suggest that 'ambiguities of social balance persist in the policy prescriptions of the New Labour government' (p.109) and that its' policy statements on social mix are inconsistent if taken as a whole. The authors contend that overall New Labour's planning; regeneration and housing policies appeared to be more about meeting housing need than achieving social balance as such. Other facets of Goodchild and Cole's critique are that New Labour's mixed community agenda concentrated on individual social mobility and about 'combating those forces that prevent mobility' rather than on changing the 'social characteristics of social housing as a tenure' meaning that 'the existing residual status of social housing is taken as a given' (p.110) If we were to envisage what the blue-print for New Labour's ideal mixed community might look like a good starting point is to consider its criteria for the ideal 'sustainable community' since the two are equated in the policy literature. These are listed in **Figure 1.3.**

What makes a sustainable community?

- A flourishing local economy to provide jobs and wealth.
- Strong leadership to respond positively to change.
- Appropriate size, scale and density, and the right layout to support basic amenities in the neighbourhood and minimise the use of resources (including land).
- A well integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes.
- A safe and healthy local environment with well-designed public and green space.
- Housing and other buildings which, both individually and collectively, meet different needs over time, and which minimise the use of resources.
- Good quality local public services for all age groups, including education and training opportunities, health care and community facilities, especially for leisure.
- A diverse, vibrant and creative local culture, encouraging pride in the community and cohesion within it.
- A sense of place, but well connected to its surroundings.
- The right links with the wider regional, national and international community.
- A network of safe, well-designed streets and public spaces.
- Good public transport and other transport infrastructure both within the community and linking to urban, rural and regional centres.
- Effective engagement and participation by local people, groups and businesses, especially in the planning, design and long-term stewardship of their community, and an active voluntary and community sector.

(Adapted from ODPM, 2003a)

Figure 1.3-The Determinants of a Sustainable/Mixed community

Bailey et al (2006) describe sustainable communities as being ones which succeed 'now, economically, socially and environmentally, and respect the needs of future generations' and furthermore the authors argue that achieving mixed communities is an important prerequisite for sustainable communities. To achieve this objective the New Labour government presented two core aims: firstly to ensure that communities were mixed in terms of tenure, income and ethnicity; and secondly, to transform all social housing estates into mixed tenure communities by 2012 (Urban Task Force, 2005). It is worth noting, however, that issues of scale and the mechanisms for producing mixed communities although referred to in the policy literature often remain unexplored and are not explained in any real depth. In the following section we

will now go onto assess the core rationales which underpinned New Labour's commitment to mixed communities.

Mixed communities-tackling social exclusion?

New Labour believed that social mixing through tenure diversification could help to overcome the 'area effects' associated with multiple deprivation or social exclusion and this conviction was illustrated in its' policy literature.

"Mixed communities can help tackle deprivation by reducing the additional disadvantages that affect poorer people when they are concentrated in poor neighbourhoods. These "area effects" include poorer services, a worse physical environment and poor links with the wider community making it more difficult to develop skills and employment." (ODPM: 2005)

The concept of social exclusion originated in French social policy in descriptions of 'les exclus' those individuals who existed on the margins of socially cohesive France (Levitas, 2005). In Britain the idea came to prominence under Conservative governments during the 1980s and 1990s and here it was re-configured as the 'underclass' debate crystallized in the American writer Charles Murray's Sunday Times article 'The Emerging British Underclass', Murray maintained that there existed

> "A growing population of working-aged, healthy people who live in a different world from other Britons, who are raising their children to live in it, and whose values are now contaminating the life of entire neighbourhoods." (Murray, 1990)

Although New Labour largely moved away from the pejorative 'underclass' label it embraced the concept of social exclusion as this was compatible with its own 'joined-up solutions approach to policy. However, as we will see New Labour's outlook on social exclusion incorporated a number of social exclusion perspectives.

Although the various discourses around social exclusion may differ with regard to the solutions required to tackle the issue all are largely in agreement with regard to its multi-dimensional nature. Advocates of social exclusion argue that it expands on the issue of poverty by looking beyond the material aspect to related issues that result in an individual or a group of individuals being 'shut out' of society. In other words social exclusion is not just about a lack of money but is also about other thing like: not being included in society; a lack of participation in normal activities; a lack of power over your life circumstances; and a lack of rights, as an individual or a group (all of these have implications for health and well-being as we will explore). The social exclusion lobby maintain that social exclusion allows policy makers to concentrate on the 'bigger picture' for instance social and political rights alongside poverty and, in addition, that it widens the scope of policy perspective and therefore highlights other inequalities (for instance around race, sexuality or disability). Conversely others contest the notion of social exclusion for a range of reasons. These are: that it is simply a euphemism for being poor and therefore masks the true nature of poverty; that it is an ambiguous concept which can be 'tweaked' to mean all things to all people; that it is difficult to define and measure; and that due to its broad focus policy responses are not focused on the most significant contributory factors (Levitas, 1999).

New Labour saw the social exclusion umbrella as a means of implementing a raft of 'joined-up' policies. In 1997, not long after coming to power the government set up the Social Exclusion Unit to tackle four main policy concerns, which were: rough sleeping; truancy; prisoners; and the 'worst estates'. The SEU definition of social exclusion was firmly focused on the last of these.

> "Social exclusion is a shorthand label for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown." (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998)

And in the 'National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal' we see the surfacing of the idea that a lack of 'mix' in poor communities had compounded the problems which these neighbourhoods faced:

> "Over the last twenty years, hundreds of poor neighbourhoods have seen their basic quality of life become increasingly detached from the rest of society. People living just streets apart became separated by a gulf in prosperity and opportunity. Over this period, communities became less mixed and more vulnerable with poor people more likely to become concentrated in the same places." (SEU, 1998)

In order to tackle the 'social segregation and polarization stemming from fixity of location' (ODPM, 2005) the New Labour government actively sought to promote the notion that all new communities should be mixed communities and to this end made use of planning policy guidance to ensure that local authorities

> "Provide wider housing opportunities and choice and a better mix in the size, type and location of housing, than is currently available, and seek to create mixed communities" (Planning Policy Guidance 3: Housing, 2000)

In Scotland this type of construction was subsidized under the GRO (Grants for Renting and Home Ownership) programme and in England and Wales policies such as the extension to the Homebuy and Estate Renewal schemes were implemented. The creation of mixed communities was one of several area based initiatives, such as Sure Start; Health, Education and Employment Zones; and Social Inclusion Partnerships (in Scotland), which were implemented to tackle social exclusion at the neighbourhood level. We will go on to discuss in detail the mixed community policy agenda as a means of over-riding area effects in Chapter 3. At this point it will be useful to consider Levitas' critique of the New Labour perspective on social exclusion.

Levitas (1999, 2005) identifies three discourses of social exclusion which she labels the redistributionist discourse (RED), the moral underclass discourse (MUD) and the social integrationist discourse (SID). The RED approach sees

social exclusion as a consequence of poverty; so the fact that an individual has socio-economic resources well below societal norms prevents him/her from being able to fully participate in society. The policy response to this would focus on income redistribution through the tax and benefit systems. A MUD perspective links social exclusion to the growth of a 'dependency culture' and concentrates on the notion that a moral 'underclass' exists who present a threat to the greater social order. MUD would counter social exclusion by introducing a form of welfare conditionality where benefits were reduced or stopped and the theory here is that these measures would dissuade individuals from becoming dependent on benefits and 'dropping out' of society and subsequently 'social discipline' would be restored. The SID stance views social exclusion as arising from a lack of labour force attachment and maintains that those individuals within a society who are workless (or at risk of becoming so) are the excluded. SID would target social exclusion by introducing policies, such as employability and skills-building schemes to get the workless back into the world of work and out of social exclusion.

Levitas (1999, 2005) offers criticisms of both SID and MUD. She argues that SID ignores the value of non-paid work (such as informal caring or volunteering) and also neglects the fact that low paid work may fail to prevent social exclusion or even cause it. In relation to MUD she contends that it stigmatizes and pathologizes certain individuals or groups such as single mothers and young men from minority ethnic backgrounds and, in addition, it blames these individuals for their circumstances whilst ignoring wider, structural factors such as poverty and unemployment.

Levitas also makes a compelling case that New Labour's social exclusion discourse 'shifted it significantly away from RED towards an inconsistent combination of MUD and SID' (Levitas, 2005). In relation to New Labour and its focus on community or neighbourhood Levitas cites Paul Watt and Keith Jacob (2000) who argue that the geographical focus, particularly the treatment of

'poor areas' slides [New Labour's] discourse to MUD/SID. There seems to be a paradox here, since on the one hand, as Levitas highlights, New Labour 'worked to eradicate the image of the Labour Party as the party of the organized working class by rejecting a class analysis altogether in favour of a pluralist model' (p.14) while, on the other hand, it has wholly bought into the notion of an 'underclass'. The mixed community policy agenda encompasses this dichotomy since, as Goodchild and Cole (2001) observe, 'unlike the social balance prescriptions of old Labour…there is no reference to mixing different social classes' (p110) but at the same time the 'existing residual status of social housing is taken as a given' (ibid) and by implication its residents are assumed to be the 'underclass'. Although, Goodchild and Cole (2001) also suggest 'that mixed communities are desirable as a matter of principle in a diverse society (p118). The Westminster New Labour government[4] maintained that the creation of mixed communities in deprived areas was one of the key ways to alleviate social exclusion and to "tackle the economic segregation" (HMSO, 2005) which exists between these areas and the rest of society, and therefore that "[m]ixing tenure is one tool which government and planners have at their disposal in order to reduce the likelihood of concentrated disadvantage developing" (ODPM, 2005).The mixed community policy agenda then with its' focus on 'role-models', social capital, and community engagement and cohesion was conceived as a response to MUD and SID interpretations of social exclusion. The hypothesis being that owner-occupiers might broaden the outlook and life opportunities of individuals living in social rented estates cut off from the world of work and from the rest of society.

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[4] In Scotland there is also a focus on tackling problems by targeting specific areas. The previous administration, the Scottish Executive, was committed to working with Community Planning Partnerships to develop and deliver regeneration outcome agreements focused on improving Scotland's most deprived areas and the current Scottish Government have demonstrated a continued commitment to the mixed community policy agenda.

On one hand then it can be argued that New Labour broadened the scope of the class/poverty debate by looking at the bigger 'joined-up' picture through the lens of its social exclusion discourse and that its' tenure mix policies were one tool utilized to redress social exclusion in deprived areas. On the other hand critics (see Levitas, 1999, 2005) of New Labour's approach to social exclusion indicate that it was rooted in MUD and SID discourses and therefore sought to put the onus for change on socially excluded individuals themselves.

Mixed communities- promoting a 'pseudo' home-owning democracy?

Discourses around home-ownership ideologies and the concept of a 'home-owning democracy' are other significant influences on the mixed community policy agenda and it could be argued that in creating mixed communities New Labour was attempting to create a 'pseudo' home owning democracy by reconstructing social renters as 'mock' homeowners. In investigating this hypothesis we will look at the emergence of the home-owning democracy; debates around the phenomenon as well as wider discourses around the relationship between housing tenure and class; and ultimately a more recent interpretation of Foucault's power discourse, the concept of 'ethopolitics' advanced by Rose (2001) and Flint (2003).

Over the course of the last century tenure patterns have changed enormously in Britain. In the first decade of the twentieth century owner-occupation was responsible for only 10% of overall tenure distribution with the private rented sector making up the other 90% (at this point there was no social rented sector). At the beginning of the twenty-first century owner-occupation had risen to 70%; with the private rented sector at 12% and the social rented sector at 18% (Ronald, 2008). Having already provided some of the backdrop to the growth (the social rented sector rose to almost 30% in the mid 1970s) and decline of state built council housing and the expansion of home ownership earlier on in the chapter; our objectives here are to examine the reasons behind that expansion, whilst contemplating critiques of home-ownership

ideologies and ultimately considering these in relation to the premise that mixed communities might operate as a policy tool which promote a 'pseudo' home owning democracy.

The ideological split between the Conservative and Labour parties with regard to owner occupation surfaced in the period following the First World War. When the promised 'homes fit for heroes' failed to emerge the Labour movement fought for an improvement in housing conditions and campaigned for state intervention in housing. The 1919 Housing and Planning Provision Act opened the way for mass provision of state housing and, while, on the face of it this commitment was shared by both parties in reality the Conservatives were wary that state housing provision would open the flood-gates to demands for more collective state action (Ronald, 2008). The Conservative antidote to this hinged on the notion that increasing the number of home-owners in Britain would act as a 'bulwark against Bolshevism', in other words; deter the progression of collectivist and socialist leanings (ibid).

The Conservative interest in promoting home-ownership endured throughout the 'New Jerusalem' post World War Two period and, by the 1950s, Anthony Eden's vision of a 'property owning democracy' was not only a feature of Conservative ideology but was also evoked across the political spectrum. Over time social rented housing became less desirable and noticeable distinctions appeared between the owner-occupied and the social rented sectors. As Hanley illustrates:

> 'From the 1950s onwards, the goal of owning your own home was promoted as the ideal outcome for a respectable family, while council housing was built more explicitly for huge-scale slum clearance purposes rather than as a different-but-equal alternative to paying a mortgage. The vast architectural differences which opened up between private and public housing at the same time caused council housing never again to be regarded as equal, or even desirable.' (Hanley, 2007 p.214)

It is worth noting that this process and these attitudes to home-ownership did not occur in other European countries, such as Germany and Sweden, and here urban renting became the norm (Ronald, 2008). Nonetheless, in Britain as we established earlier the Thatcher Right-To-Buy policy both accelerated the promotion of home ownership and deepened the process of residualization so that the 'wobbly pillar' (Torgensen, 1987) of social renting began to crumble. Under New Labour the commitment to increasing the home-ownership rate increased, with aims to push it beyond 75 percent (Ronald, 2008); although (as we observed) this was coupled with a focus on tackling the problems of multiple deprivation discernible on the most residualized mono-tenure estates.

Three key academic discourses around the rise of home-ownership are of interest to us here and we will now examine these.

Early critiques undertook a Marxist analysis and argued that the promotion of home-ownership by the state and the political right was a means of building a conservative hegemony by incorporating the working-classes into the capitalist system; in this hypothesis home-owners were conceived as 'victims' since they became dependent on wage–labour in order to pay for their properties and were therefore more likely to become and remain politically conservative and less likely to engage in 'socialist' behaviour (like strike action) which might result in the loss of earnings and subsequently their homes (See Kemeny, 1981; Marcuse, 1987).

Ronald (2008) argues that subsequent critiques challenged the Marxist perspective as being overly polemical and one-dimensional. For instance the individualist critique as espoused by Saunders, 1990 and Beck, 1992 challenges the Marxist theory for its failure to acknowledge individual preferences in relation to housing tenure. The individualist argument stresses the growing significance of lifestyle and consumption within modern, developed societies and, allied to this, the shift towards individuals living their lives in the 'private' rather than the 'public' sector. Individualists contend that, through the

'commodification' of housing, owning one's own home means an individual is exercising his/her right to choose; as well as gaining an economic asset and expressing self-identity. Fundamentally then, owning one's own home is bound up with notions of ontological and financial security.

For other theorists this mind-set could not have developed without the influence of normalizing discourses around owner-occupation. For example, Gurney (1999) argues that the language of policy and practice (of successive governments) configures home-ownership as being the 'ideal' or 'normal' tenure; and home-owners as being 'better' citizens. This discourse runs concurrently with the 'responsible citizen' mantra and the 'flip-side' of that coin, the 'irresponsible citizen'. In relation to housing tenure Ronald proposes that in this normalizing discourse 'owners are normal and normalized and live in homes, renters are neither and live in houses and flats' (Ronald, 2002). However, Ronald also suggests that tenure discourses are not top-down, as described in Marxist theory, but rather they are 'ubiquitous' and therefore

> "It is precisely because home-ownership is 'normal' and seen as natural that the process of social judgement and social inequality is practiced through tenure." (Ronald, 2008)

The concept of 'ethopolitics', developed by Rose (2001) and taken forward by Flint (2003) weaves the normalization hypothesis with Foucault's power discourse in order to examine the 'politics of conduct' and 'how we govern'. Essentially, ethopolitics provides a framework within which we can understand the evolving liberal image of the 'citizen' as constructed by New Labour.

Flint (2004) argues that the dominant housing discourse intrinsically links owner-occupation with desirable self-conduct (Flint 2004) and in addition social rented housing is rationalised and portrayed as an inherently flawed and problematic housing product, framed within a language of dependency and residualization. Furthermore, the focus on 'housing' and 'estate management' that used to characterize housing policy has shifted in favour of realigning the

behaviour of social tenants to reflect that of 'home-owners'. In this context, change is achieved not through direct intervention, but through influencing the 'conduct of conduct'. (McIntyre and Rowan, [conference paper] 2007) The focus on owner-occupier 'role-models' in tenure diversification policies can be seen as an illustration of the changing techniques of governance which seek to govern without direct intervention (Rose 1999: 328). Here, the social-tenant, who was previously conceived as a dependent actor, is re-conceptualized as a flawed consumer who can be helped by becoming a 'pseudo-home-owner (McIntyre and Rowan, [conference paper] 2007).

For some academics the importance of attracting homeowners, especially within the 'mixed-community' setting, has moved beyond simply attracting more affluent residents; rather they are seen as the antithetical embodiment of the social-rented tenants who have been at the nexus of many failed regeneration attempts in the past (Bailey and Robertson, 1997). This 'prescribing' of mixed communities for social rented neighbourhoods with its allusions to 'role model effects' and 'outward' or 'bridging' social capital seems to run along good old-fashioned class lines where owner-occupiers are cast as the 'betters' and social renters are perceived as needing guidance on how to live their lives. Lupton cautions that the image of 'sink estates' and the 'depraved' individuals residing there has powerful symbolic implications, and that these have been exploited by the government as justification for highly intrusive forms of intervention and regulation that would not take place in the private sector (Lupton 2003). The social rented tenure itself, rather than wider problems of poverty, became the focus of explanations of decline and disadvantage. Perhaps mixed communities can be viewed as a policy mechanism which straddles the gap between Rose's notion of governing without direct intervention and Lupton's cautions around highly intrusive forms of intervention relying, as they do, on the subtle reconfiguring of social renters' attitudes and behaviours with that of owner-occupiers through day-to-day contact.

Detractors of many of New Labour's policies suggest that it has 'air-brushed' class out of policy discourses and, in doing so, has failed to address class-related issues. In the case of the mixed community policy agenda, the notion of class, while not quite the elephant in the room, is definitely the elephant dressed up as something else altogether – namely tenure. On the one hand if, as Hanley suggests, 'class is built into the physical landscape of the country…and that we are divided by not only income and occupation, but by the types of homes in which we live' (Hanley, 2007) then mixed communities might potentially help to reduce class/tenure differences (although the design and layout of mixed communities are significant factors in blurring social distinctions between tenures and we will return to this point later on). On the other hand, as we have discussed there is a danger that mixed communities might in fact perpetrate class/tenure differences by further stigmatizing and residualizing the social rented sector. The evidence base around key aspects of mixed communities, including 'role-models', social capital and stigma, which we have raised here will be discussed fully in Chapter 3. Before doing this it will be valuable to consider Bond, Sautkina and Kearns' (2011) recent article which evaluates reviews of mixed tenure literature and considers the 'mixed messages' which these sometimes send out.

The aforementioned article is particularly apposite to this study given the significance assigned to evidence-based policy by New Labour. There are two factors which make it important: firstly, it concentrates on the evidence from the mixed community literature during New Labour's period in government; secondly it critiques the nature of that evidence in relation to reviews of that literature. At the outset the authors recognize that 'mixed tenure is the predominant development and regeneration strategy and is a key component of UK housing and urban policy. However, they also note that 'while there is a large literature on mixed tenure, policy makers are likely to rely on reviews and summaries of the evidence rather than primary data' and in the course of the paper demonstrate why this can be problematic.

The study-used a systematic approach to evaluate six UK reviews of primary sources (published in the UK during the period 1995-2009) to see if there was evidence that mixed tenure policies had achieved their aims by fulfilling any of their assumed social, economic or environmental benefits.

The authors stress the superiority of systematic reviews rather than 'traditional' reviews because the former locate and include all relevant published and unpublished studies to reduce the likelihood of selection bias and subsequently review the most methodologically robust.

The researchers found that (of the six reviews which they focused on) most 'drew on less than half of the available primary studies and none critically evaluated individual studies or made comment on conflicting evidence *between* or *within* studies. In addition although some of the studies made some mention of deficiencies or gaps in the evidence base these were 'glossed-over' in favour of the positive effects of tenure mix.

The writers comment that whilst reviews 'present an obvious vehicle for providing a synthesis of the evidence' (p.4) in a particular area and presenting this to policy makers non-systematic literature reviews can be biased and sometimes demonstrate little evidence of real critical appraisal. This is obviously a worry because 'evidence based policy' is often built upon this somewhat shaky foundation. Key themes to emerge in the six reviews include: social cohesion and social capital; residents' attitudes and outsiders views; economic effects; and environmental change and local amenities. For all of these themes Bond *et al* found that the evidence seemed to be contradictory at times. In addition evidence around some of the more intangible aspects of mixed communities appeared to be less than substantial and yet it was these nebulous concepts which framed New Labour's approach to mixed communities (Chapter 3 explores all of these issues in depth).

Another very valid point raised in the article is that saying there is evidence for something is not enough; the reader also needs to be told whether that finding is based upon a small qualitative study (if so, of what kind?) or a large quantitative survey (if so conducted how and when?) (p.9). Furthermore, as the authors note 'No reviews discussed or presented possible explanations for the contradictory findings that they reported either within a study or across studies and this is a crucial omission. It is a simple point, but a review of the evidence in any field must include a critical appraisal of the research itself, not simply comprise a short reporting of the stated findings of the research, albeit packaged together across a number of studies' (p.20).

Although Bond *et al* concede that some of the reviewers did critique the limitations of the current evidence base. For instance Tunstall and Fenton's (2006) observation that the literature is too focused on 'what works' and 'too little on why it works'.

Bond *et al* also acknowledge that systematic reviews are not always possible because of time constraints of commissioned research but do make four key recommendations. These are:

1. The aim of the review should always be made clear

2. Clarification that the review is of evidence of the effects or outcomes of a policy or a review of evidence of policy rationale(s)

3. Offers a critique of the evidence being reviewed

4. A 'sense of the coverage' of the review is provided

The reviews examined by the authors make it hard to tell if there is '*an absence of evidence'* that mixed tenure meets policy objectives or whether the *'evidence is that it does not'* meet these objectives; an important distinction which Bond *et al* stress policy makers and other readers need to be informed about (p.20). This variation in the *quality* of evidence is an essential issue and

one which was of paramount importance whilst conducting our own literature review documented in Chapter 3.

1.4 Mixed Communities and Health and Well-Being

Social mix and health-a summary

Our examination of early social mix policies revealed that the philanthropists who built the model villages made some connection between social mix and health, albeit an implicit connection. Moreover improvements in health were often linked to improvements in 'standards of morality' (Bournville Village Trust, 1956) fostered by positive middle-class role-models.

For Ebenezer Howard social mix was one of the key elements in his holistic approach to creating Garden City developments which incorporated the best features of town and country living. Howard's vision emphasized not only the physical environment in leading to better health but also the benefits associated with a socially mixed community such as 'social opportunity, freedom and co-operation (Howard, 1898).

Post-World War Two the notion of social mix which had 'slumbered between the wars' (Sarkissian, 1976) received renewed attention by policy makers and Bevan's aspirations for state provided council housing had social mix at their heart. Beyond the obvious beneficial impacts for individuals' health that slum clearance and new housing would bring the idea of socially mixed neighbourhoods, or the 'living tapestry of the mixed community' (Bevan quoted in Foot, 1975) was also associated with a 'fuller life' (ibid) for British citizens; although this does imply psycho-social health benefits related to social mixing the references are oblique and would remain so in Lord Reith's new Town Committee Report which would carry forward Bevan's housing program.

Advocates of social mix policies during the 1950s and 1960s championed them on several fronts: firstly, that the 'disharmony' allied to social mix was

beneficial for individuals on a psychological level; secondly, that on a fundamental civil rights level residential segregation was socially unjust; and thirdly, that neighbourhood homogeneity suppressed life for individuals and communities.

By the 1970s however the lure of providing mixed communities had waned and in the wake of the Thatcher government's Right-To-Buy policy there was little focus on social mix and health or indeed on the impact of structural factors such as the influence of the neighbourhood environment on health.

In her historical review of social mix and town planning Sarkissian summarizes some of the main objectives with regard to mixed communities which have been advocated over the years. These are:

- **'Raising the standards of the lower classes' by nurturing a 'spirit of emulation'**
- **Encouraging aesthetic diversity and raising aesthetic standards**
- **Encouraging cross cultural fertilization**
- **Increasing equality of opportunity**
- **Promoting social harmony by reducing social and racial tensions**
- **Promoting social conflict in order to foster individual and social maturity**
- **Employment and economic stability**
- **Maintaining essential services at minimum expense through mix in housing**
- **Maintaining stable residential services**
- **Reflecting the diversity of the urbanized modern world**
  (Sarkissian, 1976)

Notably none of these directly alludes to health advantages which might be gained through the promotion of social mix at the neighbourhood level although we can determine how a positive relationship might exist between the two. For instance, the 'raising of aesthetic standards' could lead to improved psychosocial health due to positive perceptions an individual might have about his/her environment and the subsequent impact of these on his/her sense of

wellbeing and permutations of some, or all, of these are reflected in the policy aims for contemporary mixed communities. At this juncture it will be constructive to consider the aims of modern-day mixed community policies in relation to health and well-being.

Contemporary mixed communities and health and well-being

The promotion of mixed communities as areas which represent better places to live has emerged as a key feature of recent housing and regeneration policies in Britain (both under New Labour Westminster governments and Scottish administrations) as well as in other countries. As we have previously ascertained mixed communities are policy shorthand for tenure diversification strategies and the underlying rationale with regard to health and well-being outcomes appears to be that introducing a mix of tenures within a community will 'have a positive outcome on the health of the area residents' (Graham et al, 2009). Graham et al provide a useful description of how tenure mix might impact on health.

> "Health, it has been argued, can be affected by tenure mixing in several ways: improvements in the quality of residential environment, including service provision, can impact on health via reductions in levels of stress; a better image of an area may result in increases in self-esteem and hence a lowering of the risk of illness; behavioural effects of living among people with different attitudes to health risk behaviours may also have a beneficial impact." (Graham et al, 2009 p.143)

Whilst specific health and well-being objectives were not referred to explicitly in its' mixed community policy literature New Labour stated that it wanted to create:

> "…well-ordered communities which provide an environment that helps people make healthy choices, instead of, divided communities where it is harder to be healthy." (DoH, 2001)

In New Labour terminology these 'well-ordered' communities evolved into sustainable communities which in turn were equated with mixed communities and from the policy and academic literature we can identify several key health related policy aims for mixed communities which can be summarized as follows:

- Mixed communities can help to tackle concentrated deprivation/social exclusion by addressing key issues like poor housing, poor local environments, poor local transport networks and access to services, low educational attainment, poor health and high levels of drug and alcohol misuse (ODPM, 2005)
- Mixed communities can help to 'promote healthier communities and narrow health inequalities' (HMSO, 2005) through improvements in the physical, social and service environments within neighbourhoods as well as through a 'role-model' effect occurring with regard to health behaviours.
- Mixed communities are a means of promoting social justice by helping to overcome 'area effects' in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and thus creating more equality between deprived and affluent neighbourhoods
- Mixed communities will help to deliver social and market sustainability since they will be desirable areas where both owners and renters will want to settle. Better housing and improved local environments will remove disincentives which lead to individuals wanting to leave a neighbourhood and this in turn will lead to reduced turnover and to increased community cohesion. (Martin and Wilkinson, 2003)
- Mixed communities will foster social capital, community cohesion and community engagement and will therefore be active communities where collective responsibility will be taken by the residents for tackling issues like anti-social behaviour.

As we have acknowledged above, the aims for mixed communities were allied to specific New Labour policy priorities including its social exclusion strategy and its aim of reducing health inequalities; mixed communities were formulated as one type of area based initiative which can help to improve opportunities and outcomes (including health and well-being outcomes) for

individuals in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In the following two chapters we will consider the evidence base around these policy claims.

Chapter Summary

This chapter allowed us to explore the various academic discourses which have 'community' at their core whilst considering how these help to frame policy. In particular we looked at Etzioni's (1995) brand of communitiarianism and its prominence in New Labour ideology and policy implementation.

We also reviewed the evolution of tenure mix policies pre-dating and throughout British housing policy. This retrospective gaze demonstrated how terminology has changed, from social mix to tenure diversification, along the way. Interestingly, however, many of the fundamental principles surrounding mixed communities, such as positive role-models, have endured (Bennett, 2005).

We then moved on to examine the underpinning tenets of New Labour's mixed community policy agenda. This investigation concentrated on mixed communities as a policy mechanism for tackling social exclusion and we also reflected on the influence of key home-ownership ideologies on contemporary mixed community strategies. The conclusion here is that contemporary tenure diversification policies are to some extent legacies of much older social mix policies while at the same time being policy off-spring of more recent discourses around sustainability, neighbourhoods and deprivation.

Finally, we reflected upon the relationship between social mix policies and health and well-being over time and concluded with a statement of the policy aims of contemporary tenure diversification strategies overall and in relation to health and well-being. This appraisal highlighted the lack of explicit health and well-being policy aims in modern-day mixed community strategies.

Our next chapter builds upon this initial analysis and unpacks the concepts of health and well-being more fully whilst considering how mixed communities might impact on health and well-being and alleviate health inequalities.

Chapter 2: Health and Well-being

Introduction

The health of individuals is influenced by a range of different factors including: individual health behaviours; genetic pre-disposition to certain diseases; their local communities; and by structural factors such as economic and environmental conditions prevalent in the society in which they live. The overall aim of this chapter is to explore the ways in which these various influences impact on health and well-being, and, on the health pathways which occur in neighbourhoods.

In order to carry out any research centered on health and well-being it is necessary to understand how these terms are defined and used by policy makers, academics, health practitioners and by people themselves; the first section of this chapter seeks to broaden our knowledge and understanding of the concepts of health and well-being. We will also explore the social determinants of health in this section since these will feature heavily in our discussions around area effects in later chapters.

Having gained some insight into the notions of health and well-being we then consider debates around health and place examining key discourses which have

emerged including the question of whether composition (characteristics of people who live in a neighbourhood) or context (places themselves) matters more.

The next section contemplates health pathways in neighbourhoods and here we utilize 'relative deprivation' theories (Runciman, 1966; Wilkinson 1996) as a lens to examine the interconnected psychosocial and material pathways to health in the neighbourhood setting.

The final section deals with policy responses to the promotion of health and well-being in communities. Of particular importance here are policies designed to reduce health inequalities. The health inequalities and the mixed community policy agendas overlap with regards to their aims for improving health and other opportunities for individuals living in disadvantaged communities and by studying policy discourses around health inequalities we can then determine how mixed communities are anticipated to play a role in minimizing health inequalities at the neighbourhood level.

2.1 Understanding health and well-being

In this section we consider how the concepts of health and well-being are understood by policy makers, academics, health professionals and individuals themselves.

In Western societies the prevailing model of health has been the bio-medical model. In this paradigm explanations around health and illness are based on biological factors and the treatment of these (Baggott, 2004). The medical model of health separates these biological factors from other contributory causes as Gaines and Davis-Floyd (2003) illustrate:

> "Biomedicine separates mind from body, the individual from component parts, the disease into constituent elements, the treatment into measurable segments, the practice of medicine into multiple specialities

and patients from their social relationships and culture." (Gaines and Davis-Floyd, 2003)

The chief limitation inherent in this model, that it ignores the cultural, economic and environmental factors which influence disease processes, has resulted in the movement towards a more holistic or social model of health. In 1948 the World Health Organisation (WHO) defined health as "*a complete state of physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease*" (www.who.int/homepage). This shift towards a social model[5] of health coincided with the increased activism of disability rights campaigners (throughout the 1970s and 1980s) and the growing recognition that the social exclusion of disabled people was a human rights issue. Initially, the 'social model' of health looked beyond the disabled person to influences in society which could affect his/her life chances, although the 'social model' would come to have a far wider application which would incorporate various influences on the health of any individual. (See Baggot, 2004; Ham, 2004) Unlike the medical model the social model is based on an understanding of the complexity of human health and well-being and thus acknowledges and indeed emphasises the interaction of biological, social and cultural factors in influencing health; furthermore it also highlights the roles of social and economic policy in the construction of health and illness (ibid).

Essentially, social models of health are holistic and offer multi-causal explanations, with more recent models, making connections between both the social and medical paradigms and suggesting that health is a concept which embraces all dimensions of human existence. Moreover social models of health

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[5] The social model of health is of particular significance since for our research study since it encompasses neighbourhood and community influences on health and well-being.

also recognize that an individual's social circumstances and environment might impact on both his/her mental health and sense of well-being but also influence his/her physical health. One mechanism through which this might operate is the stress process which can result in biological health impacts and we will explore the evidence around this phenomenon later in the chapter.

Another characteristic of the social model is that it recognizes that health is not the sole domain of the health profession; and places equal value on the expertise of service users, carers and the general public. Lay concepts of health are concerned with individuals' definitions of their own health and the health of others. The significance of the 'lay' perspective or non-professional 'gaze' on issues has received growing recognition in public health research. (Davidson *et al*, 2008). Jenkinson (1994) observed that 'individuals have important knowledge of their own health' and Byrne *et al* (1986) attest that since health is intrinsically holistic and subjective so 'people have to be asked what they feel'. In their study into housing renewal and mental health Blackman and Harvey (2001) argued that while asking residents about their housing conditions could be open to reporting bias, it was also the case that objective measures of these conditions may not capture their effects on mental health because psychological responses are likely to vary from individual to individual.

Airey (2003) carried out a study in a relatively deprived area of Edinburgh and found that respondents indicated that where they lived affected their health, although this was perceived as being more relevant to general quality of life and well-being than to specific dimensions of health. In Ellaway *et al's* (2001) study into perceptions of place and health in socially contrasting neighbourhoods in Glasgow the researchers found some evidence that how one perceives elements of the local environment in relation to aspects such as housing and neighbourhood quality may be important for health outcomes themselves.

In Davidson *et al's* (2008) study the researchers sought to explore the relationships between the types of place people reside in, and their experiences of, and attitudes to, health inequalities. In doing so they aimed to gain insights into social status and social hierarchies, and to investigate the social comparisons which people make with one another. Ellaway *et al* (2001) comment that neighbourhoods are arenas in which people make social comparisons which can affect their sense of well-being, often in a context, where the fortunes of others are all too evident. The mixed community setting is a neighbourhood arena where these social comparisons and their impacts on well-being might potentially be exacerbated through a relative deprivation effect and these are all issues which we will be investigating.

The social determinants of health which are intrinsic to social models are particularly germane to our study and we will now look more closely at key theories which seek to explain these.

The social determinants of health

The social determinants of health are described by the WHO as 'the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age' and which influence health. A seminal text on the issue *"The Solid Facts: The Social determinants of Health"* (1998) sought to give definition to the social determinants of health by unpicking the social environment (Marmot and Wilkinson, 1998). Marmot describes focusing on the social determinants of health as a means of looking at the 'causes of the causes' of ill health and suggests three types of pathway which mediate health outcomes – the material pathway, the social pathway and the psychosocial pathway (ibid).

No study of holistic approaches to considering health and health determinants can be considered complete without reference to Evans and Stoddart's (1990) framework (**See Figure 2.1**) which highlights 'the ways in which different types of factors and forces can interact to bear on different conceptualizations of health' (p.1349). Evans and Stoddart's 'health field model' provides a broad

conceptual framework for considering the factors that influence health and can be applied at micro (neighbourhood or community) or macro (societal) level.

The model moves beyond a biomedical explanation of health as being simply the absence of disease to incorporate social and physical environments as well as genetic endowment and health behaviour. Crucially the model also makes a distinction between notions of disease, health and function, and well-being as well as recognizing that the factors which impact on each of these are inter-connected and often operate in tandem.
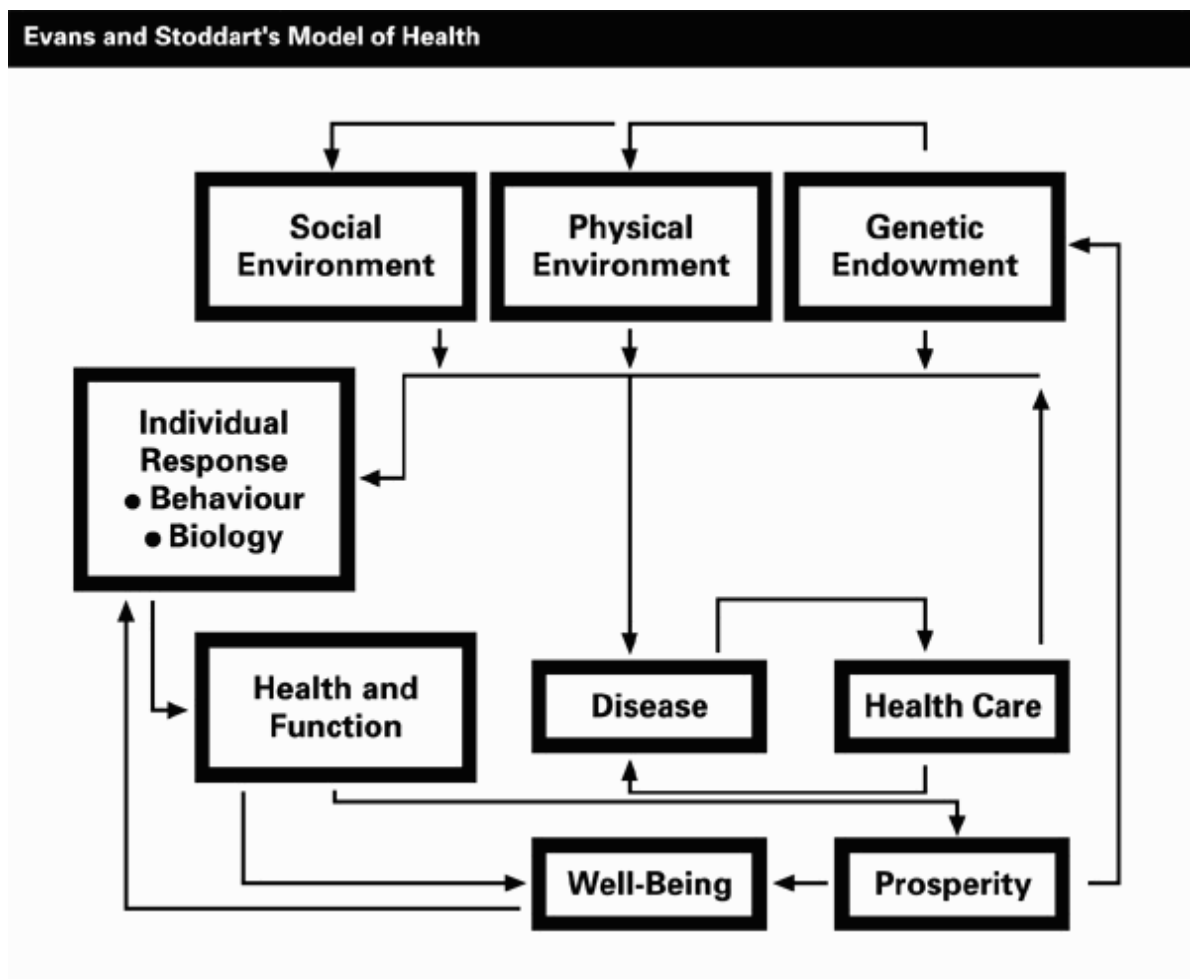
Figure 2.1-Evans and Stoddart's Field Model of Health (Source: Evans and Stoddart, 1990)

Evans and Stoddart's field model paradigm is significant not only because it moves beyond 'narrow definitions' of health and health determinants but also because it opens up a wide range of health policy interventions and solutions targeting individuals, communities and bigger structural and suggests that these should operate alongside one another in order to achieve the best results.

Dalghren and Whitehead's (1991) '*Rainbow of Health Determinants*' (shown in **Figure 2.2**) also illustrates the social determinants of health.
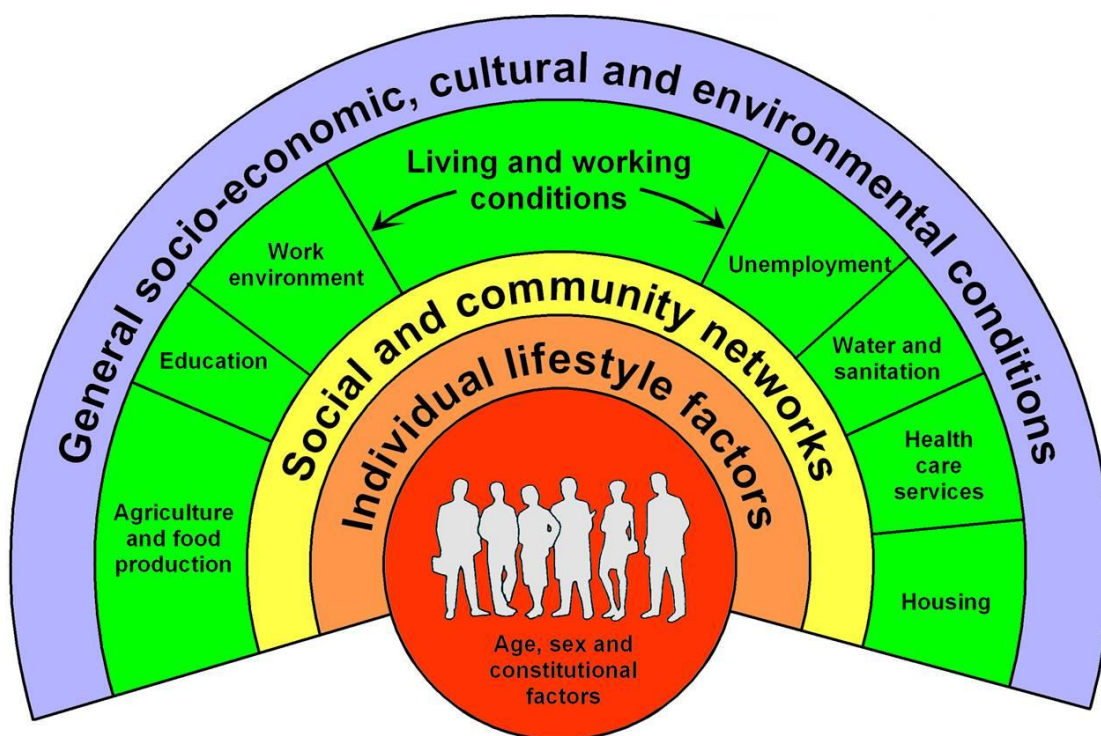
Source: Dahlgren and Whitehead, 1991

Figure 2.2-Dalghren and Whitehead's 'Rainbow of Health Determinants

Whitehead suggests that the 'Rainbow of Health Determinants' has several useful applications: it emphasises the range of different influences on health;

it "broadens the outlook upstream" beyond lifestyles and health services; it separates factors that are "fixed" from those that could be modified by public action; and, it highlights the inter-relationship of all these factors so that one level cannot be understood in isolation from the others (Whitehead, 2005). The author also emphasizes what the 'rainbow' *doesn't* do, she stresses that it is not a model which specifies pathways that can be used for formal hypothesis testing and it does not say "anything directly about the determinants of inequalities" (Whitehead, 2005). We will turn to health inequalities further on in the chapter. Crucially then the discourse around the social determinants of health incorporates both behavioural and structural perspectives and advises that "unhealthy' behaviours need to be understood in the context of the constraints on everyday life which accompany them" (Shaw *et al*, 2005). Thus social-model based policy responses are more likely to be multi-faceted too.

The concept of well-being

As acknowledged in the WHO definition health and well-being are fundamentally connected, therefore, it will be worthwhile to consider the notion of well-being in more depth. Well-being has often been linked to an individual's mental health, and particularly with a sense of connectedness to the rest of society. Stansfeld points out that these are areas which have interested researchers since Durkheim's work on the relationship between social isolation and suicide in the nineteenth century (Stansfeld, 1999). More recent studies have uncovered evidence that place can have an effect on well-being, McLoone's 1996 study identified that the greatest rates of increase in suicide in Scotland, between 1981-1993 were for young people living in deprived areas, and furthermore, that the rates for these young people were *twice* those of young people living in more affluent areas (McLoone, 1996).

Other research into social relationships and health suggests that social relationships may affect health either by fostering a sense of meaning or

coherence that promotes health or by facilitating health-promoting behaviours such as proper sleep, diet, or exercise, appropriate use of alcohol, cigarettes, and drugs, adherence to medical regimens or seeking appropriate medical care (House *et al*, 1988). On the other hand House and his colleagues point out that "[t]he negative or conflictive aspects of social relationships need to be considered, since they may be detrimental to health." (House *et al,* 1999) The same researchers also maintain that more research has to be carried out so that we may gain a "better understanding of the social, psychological, and biological processes that link the existence, quantity, structure or content of social relationships to health" (House *et al*, 1988).

Elsewhere, other academics have associated high levels of social capital within an area with accounts of good self-reported health. Kawachi *et al* (1999) assessed the self-rated health accounts of 167,259 individuals in 39 US states in order to examine the cross-sectional relationship between social capital and individual self-rated health, adjusting for individual household income, health behaviours and other covariates. Social capital indicators were obtained from the National Opinion Research Centre's General Social Surveys, and aggregated to state level. Indicators included levels of interpersonal trust (% of citizens responding "Most people can be trusted), norms of reciprocity (% of citizens responding "Most people are helpful") and per capita membership of voluntary organisations. The researchers carried out logistic regression to estimate the odds of fair/poor health in accordance with the three levels of social capital, and found that "[e]ven after adjusting for proximal variables, individuals living in states with low social capital were at increased risk of poor self-rated health" Kawachi et al concluded that "Social capital appears to exert an independent, contextual effect on self-rated health" (Kawachi *et al,* 1999).

 However, although it would appear from some of the research that there may be a beneficial effect on an individual's health the more immersed he/she is in the social networks of his/her environment, Wilkinson cautions that:

"Social wellbeing is not simply a matter of stronger social networks. Low control, insecurity, and loss of self-esteem are among the psychosocial risk factors known to mediate between health and socioeconomic circumstances." (Wilkinson, 1999)

In other words, there are a host of other influences which can have an impact on social well-being.

The whole issue of social capital is highly relevant to mixed communities, and particularly to health and well-being in these types of communities, Mixed housing policies are promoted as being one of the key facilitators of social capital into areas where it is deemed to be lacking and this is expected to result in wider benefits such as more social cohesion and community engagement. This in turn may (as Kawachi *et al* claim) have a knock-on effect on the sense of well-being of the individuals who live in these communities, and ultimately may improve health. Although some studies have been carried out in mixed communities which have attempted to assess levels of interaction between owners and renters (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1999, 2000; Jupp, 1999), there has been virtually no research into how levels of interaction (which can be equated with social cohesion) might be converted into social capital, and, how this consequently might affect health and well-being in mixed communities. The potential links between levels of interaction, social capital and health and well-being might provide a useful framework for exploring the links between social connectedness and health and well-being in mixed communities.

Another important point, which is related to the concept of well-being was recognised by Callahan almost thirty years ago, and concerns the fact that well-being relates to how a person feels about him/herself and is obviously therefore a *subjective* process (Callahan, 1978). This subjectivity makes levels of well-being difficult to measure, for both policy makers and researchers. In addition, research projects which attempt to gauge levels of well-being, by

drawing on accounts of self-reported health may be distorted, since they are skewed by the individual perspectives of the respondents. For example, Macintyre and Ellaway comment "people in deprived neighbourhoods may have lower expectations of health compared to those in better-off neighbourhoods, thereby reducing differences in rates of self-reported health" (Macintyre and Ellaway, 2003). Although Macintyre and Ellaway highlight the potential differences *between* neighbourhoods, these 'differences in rates of self-reported health' could also occur amongst individuals living *in the same* neighbourhood, depending on their own life circumstances. Whilst we must bear in mind the complex and contested nature of well-being as a concept (and also recognize that the concept embraces notions such as mental functioning and social connectedness) for our purposes Callahan's (1978) definition that it describes 'how a person feels about him/herself' is the one which we will use in our research study.

2.2 Discourses on health and place

The background

The recognition that, where a person lives impacts upon his/her health is a well-established one. In the 4th or 5th century Hippocrates recorded evidence of the influence of environmental factors in his seminal work *"Airs, Waters, Places"* and, in doing so, established the founding principles of public health. Studies like Chadwick's 'Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain' (1842) and John Snow's work which mapped a major cholera outbreak in London (1854) corroborated the link between place and health. The nineteenth century Public Health Movement in Britain culminated in a series of Public Health Acts which identified environmental factors such as inadequate sewerage systems, as being the principal causes of disease and death for British

citizens, and implemented measures to improve living conditions for the population as a whole.

Today politicians, health practitioners and academics are still concerned with examining the effects which place may have on health. Environmental influences on health have been extensively researched, and cover a wide range of factors. Environmental indicators used by the World Health Organisation (WHO) include; air pollution, water quality, green space, sewage treatment and living space. The impact on health of specific characteristics of the physical environment remains a focus of research interest. The relevant literature in this regard is extensive, and within the parameters of this research project it is not possible for us to explore it in any depth. Examples include the research by Eggleston et al (1999) which examines potential factors which contribute to asthma in the population in America's inner cities and in the Scottish context the series of studies which look at the relationship between poor housing conditions and health (Martin *et al*; Platt *et al* 1987 onwards. (The relevant literature in this regard is extensive and although we will touch on further examples, within the parameters of this research project, it is not possible for us to explore it in depth).

Policies which aim to improve health by enhancing the surrounding environment can operate at many levels, from neighbourhood initiatives to national programmes, and are linked to sustainable development policy aspirations in local and global contexts (Fudge, 2003). Research has increasingly scrutinized the combination of different factors which can interact in the relationship between health and place, and multilevel models (which take into account a whole range of variables) are routinely used, to try and explain this relationship (Ecob, 1996). There are a number of key discourses around the relationship between health and place and it will be useful to look at some of these more carefully at this juncture.

Neighbourhood versus community

An important issue, with regard to health and place, particularly in relation to this research, is the 'neighbourhoods versus communities' question. Here the concern is which of these concepts has the most significance for researchers and policy makers investigating health and place? We might argue that the two terms have become interchangeable for policy makers, and that both have multiple definitions. In Chapter 1 we established the contested nature of community, the concept of neighbourhood is similarly debated.

Some researchers maintain that neighbourhoods are *"spatially based"* (Galster, 2001), others have suggested that they are '*dead*' (Naisbitt, 1982). Kawachi and Berkman (2003) argue that asking if neighbourhoods *or* communities matter is in fact a false dichotomy since both are intrinsically linked, and *both* matter; and it is this perspective which informs our own study. Whichever term is employed, neighbourhoods or communities offer a starting point for researchers to examine the potential links between health and place, and the knowledge gathered at the neighbourhood level can be an invaluable source of data for researchers and policy makers.

Over the last two decades there has been increasing research and policy interest in the relationship between neighbourhoods and health, and more specifically the processes which might influence health within a neighbourhood setting. The evidence base has demonstrated links between the local neighbourhood and a range of health outcomes. For example low socio-economic status (SES) neighbourhoods have higher rates of cancer, hypertension, heart disease and upper-respiratory disorders, including asthma, bronchitis, and emphysema (Adler *et al*, 1993; Taylor and Repetti, 1997). It should be pointed out here that much of the current evidence with regard to SES and poor physical health outcomes is linked to the stress process and is co-

relational rather than theoretical. Other research has shown that exposure to chronic community violence can adversely affect children's mental health (Osofsky, 1995), and the availability and quality of health care services in deprived neighbourhoods has been linked to poor health outcomes for the individuals who live there (Macintyre et al, 1993).

Clearly then most researchers and policy makers agree that the neighbourhood is not simply a 'passive crucible' where health happens (Davidson *et al*, 2008) debates continue around how we can find out more about the relationship between neighbourhoods and health.

Spatial scale

The literature is flexible on the appropriate spatial scale for the analysis of the relationship between neighbourhood and health. Classifications used include post code areas, census tracts and electoral wards and Macintyre *et al* (2002) suggest that researchers have to work with whatever scale of aggregated information is actually available; although these may not be the appropriate scales to use for different types of human activities. The writers caution that researchers need to think carefully about the 'appropriate spatial scale and range of resources to meet different human needs' and expand on this idea by stating:

> "Some data, for example those in the Yellow Pages, might be post-coded (zip-coded) and so be available at a small area level and capable of being aggregated to many spatial scales; but data on investment in secondary education, or in municipal functions such as street lighting, street cleaning, garbage disposal, and water or sewage treatment might only be available at a much larger scale." (Macintyre *et al*, 2002)

The implication is that the scale used to define neighbourhood should be congruent with the particular research focus. Large scale research studies into neighbourhood and health tend to take a multi-level approach which combines

both individual data (for instance socio-economic status) and data on community characteristics (Ellen *et al*, 2001). There are many examples of this type of research, into different aspects of health in the literature (see for instance Diehr et al, 1993; Ganz, 1997, 2000; Robert, 1999).

In their study into local neighbourhood and mental health Propper et al (2005) adopt an innovative and interesting approach which attempts to overcome the difficulties associated with reliance on ward or county level data to study neighbourhood effects on health. The researchers used data from the British Household Panel Survey to create a set of 'bespoke' neighbourhoods for each individual involved in the research project. The smallest of these is based on the characteristics of the people in the nearest few streets (approximately the nearest 500 people to the respondent's home address), and a larger neighbourhood is also defined which is calculated using the nearest 2000 persons. Smaller scale investigations have also been carried out working on Kearns and Parkinson's (2001) premise that neighbourhood 'can typically be defined as an area 5-10 minutes walk from one's home' (See Blackman and Harvey 2001, Ellaway *et al*, 2001).

Of course the term 'neighbourhood' can potentially mean different things to different people; furthermore, sharing space does not mean that individuals will draw the same influences from it (Mitchell et al, 2000) and some sub-groups within a neighbourhood may be more susceptible to neighbourhood influences (Parkes and Kearns, 2006). Although methodological challenges remain for researchers in relation to the appropriate spatial size of a neighbourhood as well as the data available for utilization there is a recognition that people's identities, attitudes and behaviours are shaped by, and in turn shape, the places in which they live (Davidson *et al*, 2008).

Context and composition

In developed countries there has been a transformation in the factors which lead to ill-health and causes of death amongst the population. This 'epidemiological transition' occurs when infectious diseases give way to cancers and degenerative diseases (such as heart disease and diabetes) as the main causes of ill-health and furthermore, 'diseases of affluence' become diseases of the poor (Wilkinson, 1996). Subsequently, much of the policy and research focus has centred on looking at diseases of lifestyle and how individuals' health behaviours might potentially contribute towards these. However the risk inherent with this approach is that such a focus might skew the discourse towards looking at people rather than places, and the *context versus composition* debate is the first of several inter-connected threads which run through the dialogue on health and place which we must consider.

The context versus composition debate raises the question of whether living in a certain area has an effect on health which is separate from the characteristics of the individuals who live in that area. Graham argues that there is a distinct "geographical patterning to health disadvantage" (Graham, 2004) and gives the example of Britain, which shows an increase in morbidity and mortality rates from the southern to the northern regions of the country. Researchers have tried to establish whether this 'geographical patterning' (in Britain, and elsewhere) is due to the compositional effect of the population, or whether 'place' has an additional effect (Macintyre *et al,* 1993).

Studies into the relationship between health and other variables tend to take into account socio-economic characteristics of the population, such as individual or household income, before assessing the significance of place effects. Macintyre and Ellaway (2003) suggest that this tendency to reject the notion that places themselves influence health may be due to the long-standing concern of researchers and practitioners in this field to highlight the importance of poverty in causing ill-health and disease. They comment:

"Some of those concerned with issues of equity may have been worried that a place-based focus might divert attention away from welfare issues such as redistributive policies". However, the authors believe that on the contrary "A concern for equity could equally be expressed in the demand that all citizens have similar access to decent and health-promoting local environments." (Macintyre and Ellaway, 2003)

Another major reason for the dismissal of contextual effects on health has been the 'ecological fallacy', described by Schwarz as "a logical fallacy inherent in making causal inferences from group data to individual behaviours" (Schwartz, 1994), whereby a false assumption is made from aggregated data about individuals in an area. Graham et al (2003) give the following example "… even if a significant relationship is found between, say, unemployment and mortality or morbidity ratios in an area, we cannot legitimately conclude that it is the unemployed who are most at risk of long-term illness or death." But Macintyre and Ellaway argue that there is a difference between the ecological fallacy-the improper use of aggregate data as proxy for individual data-and an ecological perspective-which is the analysis of the effects of the social and physical environment on the health of individuals or populations (Macintyre and Ellaway, 2000, 2003). Furthermore, the same researchers also assert that the distinction between people and places is a false one since "People create places, and places create people" (ibid).

The context versus composition debate is an important one since the diverse explanations for geographical differences in health can inform policies. Kawachi and Berkman stress the need to distinguish the contextual effects of neighbourhoods from compositional effects because of the need to convince decision makers that the characteristics of places where people live have an influence on health independent of the people who live in them. (Kawachi and Berkman, 2003) Inevitably, place matters because, as Macintyre and Ellaway state:

"A mainly compositional explanation for geographical differences might tend to direct research and policy towards individuals, while a

contextual explanation might direct attention towards health-damaging and health-promoting features of neighbourhood" (Macintyre and Ellaway, 2003)

When looking at neighbourhoods there is a broad consensus that residents of socially and economically deprived communities experience worse health outcomes on average than those living in more prosperous areas (Ellen *et al*, 2001). Indeed numerous studies have found that residents of poorer areas have higher rates of heart disease, respiratory ailments, cancer and overall mortality (ibid).

Some studies have inferred that particular characteristics of local social and physical environments might promote or inhibit health and thus greater improvements in public health might be achieved by focusing more on places (Macintyre *et al,* 1993). Others concluded that the evidence didn't confirm any 'social miasma' whereby the shorter life expectancy of disadvantaged people is further reduced if they live in close proximity to other disadvantaged people, and therefore for maximum effectiveness health policy needs to target people as well as places (Sloggett and Joshi, 1994).

However, as Macintyre et al (2002) comment, by the late 1990s most studies which tried to partition area effects into compositional or contextual explanations tended to find that there was some residual effect of area having taken into account a number of compositional features. For instance Davey Smith et al's (1998) study in the West of Scotland found that area based and individual socioeconomic indicators both independently contributed to mortality risk blood pressure, cholesterol, height, body mass index, respiratory function, smoking and coronary heart disease. Larger scale studies using multilevel models echoed these findings. Waitzman and Smith (1998) explored the impact of poverty area residence on mortality risks among adults from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey; after controlling for a myriad of indicators (including household income, race, marital status, formal years of education completed) they found that those living in poverty areas

showed a significant excess of mortality (all cause). The message from the literature is that a consensus prevails with most academics and policy-makers concluding that where people live matters for health, although probably not as much as whom they are (Pickett and Pearl, 2001).

Riva *et al* (2007) carried out an inventory of 'multi-level investigations of area effects on self-rated health, cardio-vascular disease risk factors, and mortality amongst adults'. The inventory looked at eighty-six studies which had utilized a variety of methodologies as well as different 'spatial units' (for instance based on administrative boundaries) to explore the relationship between health and place. Riva *et al* found a key thread running through the studies; the message that a significant portion of the variation in health is associated with area context independent of individual characteristics. This 'inventory' further confirms that both place and people matter in research into area effects on health.

Researchers have sought to develop more sophisticated ways of looking at the relationship between neighbourhoods and health, rather than simply focusing on either the people or the place. Taylor and Repetti (1997) observed that not all individuals in the same environment are affected by that environment in the same way, nor will all individuals in a given environment sustain health risks. For the researchers this indicates that we can reject the notion that the health effects of environments can be reduced to or explained by individual-level factors and they maintain that individual characteristics are 'nested' within social environments; these include the family environment, peer groups and schools, work, community and the general social environment. In Taylor and Repetti's framework each level of analysis reveals information about the causes of health and illness that consideration of one level alone cannot provide (ibid).

Macintyre *et al* (2002) suggest that as well as compositional and contextual explanations for geographical variations in health another dimension should be

added. This is the collective explanation which emphasises the importance of shared norms, traditions, values and interests, and thus adds an 'anthropological perspective to socioeconomic, psychological, and epidemiological perspectives often used to examine area effects on health' (ibid). One example provided by the authors of how this collective dimension might operate to influence health behaviours is in relation to smoking. Areas may contain lots of individuals whose personal characteristics pre-dispose them to smoke; or because they have lots of cigarette retail outlets, advertisements for cigarettes, and low-price cigarettes; or because local norms and traditions are relatively pro smoking (ibid). Macintyre *et al* note that collective explanations for area differences in health tend to be confined to a very narrow range comprising psychosocial constructs such as social cohesion, social capital, and perceived position in social hierarchies. Although these are all relevant the researchers suggest that other aspects of collective, shared social functioning such as ethnic, regional or national identity, religious affiliation, political ideologies, legal and fiscal systems and gender roles are also important (ibid).

Clearly then any research studies into neighbourhoods and health must take into account the physical and social environments which exist and which constitute the place; in addition they must also consider the characteristics of the people who live in the place. It is the interactions between the two which generate the causal pathways by which neighbourhood might influence health, and it is these pathways which research should attempt to hypothesise and test (Macintyre et al, 2002). Our research study incorporates two significant causal pathways: the psychosocial pathway and the material pathway[6]. We will now explore these in more depth.

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[6] A third and equally significant health pathway in the form of the 'social pathway' is intertwined with both the material and psychosocial pathways. This social pathway includes factors such as social support, peer group influences on health behaviours and social and

2.3 Pathways connecting neighbourhood and health The preceding dialogue around contextual and compositional factors indicated that the pathways connecting neighbourhood and health interweave and overlap and our discussion here will utilize the theory of 'relative deprivation' as a lens through which we can examine these interconnected psychosocial, social and material pathways to health in the neighbourhood setting. ***Relative deprivation-a psychosocial pathway*** The term 'relative deprivation' (RD) has a long history in the social sciences, and was first used by Samuel Stouffer et al in 1949 in a research paper on the lives of American soldiers, although the authors did not give a precise definition of RD. W.G. Runciman's influential 1966 study 'Relative Deprivation and Social Justice; a Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth Century Britain' developed the concept. Runciman (1966) accepted that all societies are fundamentally inegalitarian, but was keen to establish the relationship 'between the inequalities in a society and the feelings of acquiescence or resentment to which they give rise' (Runciman, 1966). In order to explore this relationship he created a workable theory based around the related notions of 'relative deprivation' (RD) and 'reference groups' (RGs). Runciman recognized that both of these 'derive from a familiar truism:

economic circumstances and therefore fits with both a materialist and a psychosocial argument. Disentangling the social pathway from the other two pathways is a virtually impossible task and underlines the complexity of the arguments surrounding health pathways. Accordingly our study sought to discuss the social pathway within the context of the material and psychosocial discourses.

that people's attitudes, aspirations and grievances largely depend on the frame of reference within which they are conceived'. In other words the context in which individuals live their lives and the people they come into contact with on a day-to day basis provoke comparisons which can inspire feelings and reactions which are either positive or negative, or indeed a combination of both. In his paper on a possible re-working of Runciman's study Rose, (2006) provides us with a good summary of Runciman's original theory. This is re-produced in **Figure 2.3**

Runciman emphasizes that RD should always be understood as a 'sense' of deprivation, and he also separates RGs into two different types; 1) the comparative reference group-one whose situation or attributes a person contrasts with his own and 2) the normative reference group-one from which a person takes his standards. Runciman found little evidence to suggest that people felt relatively deprived in relation to others, although there was a

Relative deprivation **(RD)** occurs when

1. **A** does not have **X**
2. **A** sees some other(s) (even himself at some past or future time) as having **X**
3. **A** wants **X**
4. **A** views it as feasible that s/he should have **X** (and that she/he is legitimately entitled to **X**)

Figure 2.3- A Summary of Runciman's RD Theory (Rose, 2006)

definite awareness of class consciousness and of people knowing 'their place' in society. In a more recent piece of work looking at the evolution of the Labour Party Runciman argued that since most people today believe that they (and their families) are better off and therefore no longer 'excluded from the access to goods and services which their parents and grandparents were' there

has been a collective change of attitude and that the old collective sense of identity of 'us' against 'them' is now cross-cut by differences of lifestyle, ethnicity, gender and party allegiance (Runciman, 2006).

Pahl *et al* (2007) make an interesting observation when they note that in Runciman's original research carried out in the mid-sixties and in his follow-up research in the 1970s, a period when incomes policies and relativities were at the heart of political debate, few people (especially those at the lower end of the income distribution) thought that other people were doing better than themselves. In the current context where the gap between the very rich and the very poor continues to widen these issues are again at the heart of the political debate, and the relative deprivation discourse is also back on the policy and research agenda[7].

Relative deprivation in the neighbourhood context

There is evidence that when it comes to making social comparisons people do use housing and neighbourhood types as a gauge for evaluating how well (or not) others are doing. In a recent UK study into inequality and quiescence Pahl *et al* (2007) found that when respondents (in interviews and focus groups) were asked how they compared themselves to others people referred explicitly to differences in terms of lifestyle, to the visible trappings of consumerism, such as the kind of house and area in which people lived, the kind of car they drove, and the kind of clothes they wore (Pahl *et al,* 2007). Significantly, the researchers found that of these 'housing and neighbourhoods were seen as the strongest indicators of how well people were doing (Pahl *et al,* 2007).

Psychologists, sociologists and economists have researched levels of 'happiness' amongst individuals, and a whole strand of happiness research looks at how individuals react to factual or perceived differences in their own life

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[7] Runciman's Relative Deprivation theory was a strong influence on Peter Townsend's 'Poverty in the United Kingdom' (1979) which introduced the concept of 'relative poverty'.

circumstances compared to others' (Knies *et al*, 2007). Knies *et al* identified that while the impact of neighbourhood and community contexts has been suggested in the happiness literature, for instance by Layard (2005), few empirical studies have actually considered the neighbourhood context as a relevant variable in the prediction of happiness; furthermore, neighbours have not typically been chosen as a comparison group in happiness research that addresses the relative deprivation hypothesis (ibid).

In their study Knies and his colleagues investigated whether levels of, and changes in, happiness are dependent upon an individual's financial position *within* his/her neighbourhood. The researchers used German zip-code areas (comprising roughly 9000 people) as a classification for neighbourhood. The findings from the study challenged relative deprivation theory, i.e. that people are unhappier than they otherwise would be if they are living in a neighbourhood where the average neighbour is financially better off than they are. Instead Knies *et al* found that happiness was lower for people living in neighbourhoods with an income in the bottom two classes irrespective of their own income; on the other hand it was highest for all individuals who lived in neighbourhoods with an income in the top three classes of the neighbourhood income distribution. However, the researchers did offer an important caveat to their findings; the fact that their study was carried out at the zip code level and therefore looked at areas which included 9000 people (on average) meant that they had not really been able to 'drill down' to local neighbourhood level, and investigate if relative deprivation existed on a 'more immediate neighbourhood scale', for instance at a housing estate level. The researchers highlighted the lack of research at this smaller scale and suggested that this would be a useful addition to the relative deprivation literature.

Pahl *et al's* (2007) study which was designed 'as a precursor to a replication of Runciman's (original) study sought to establish whether, forty years on, people still made narrow social comparisons and remained ignorant of the range of

social and economic inequalities. The research project involved in-depth interviews and focus groups, and participants were asked about the social comparisons which they made, and who they made these with. The investigators noted that people were reluctant to speak about who they personally compared themselves with and that discussions about the issue seemed to be 'skirting around a taboo subject' (ibid). However, when asked directly about comparisons with friends and neighbours a recurrent theme amongst respondents was that these people tended to have a similar lifestyle anyway, so respondents were not aware of any major discrepancies; instead respondents more readily compared themselves with people outside their own immediate networks, the 'super-rich celebrities' or those at the 'bottom' of society (for instance people on benefits, refugees and asylum seekers). Pahl et al (2007) concluded that their study had uncovered little evidence of relative deprivation, and suggested that on the contrary their respondents enjoyed 'relative contentment'.

Elsewhere in the literature however a conflicting perspective emerges. In her study into social mix policy strategies carried out in six Australian public housing estates Arthurson (2002) suggested that placing residents with different income levels in the same neighbourhood might raise awareness of class differences and that for public tenants (social renters) this might have a detrimental effect and have a knock-on effect for social integration (See also Page and Broughton, 1997; Biggins and Hassan, 1998; Jupp, 1999).

The most relevant relative deprivation discourse in relation to our research project is Wilkinson's theory which states that individuals who experience RD have poor health outcomes as a result. We must now consider Wilkinson's hypothesis in more depth.

Unpacking Wilkinson's hypothesis

Wilkinson's 'relative deprivation hypothesis' has been described as the 'flagship of modern epidemiology' (Kawachi et al: 1999) due to its effectiveness as a tool for studying how social interactions and 'collective human activities affect health' (Oakes and Kaufman: 2006). Wilkinson argues that it is an individual's socio-economic position or status within a society *in relation to others* which has the greatest impacts on health (Wilkinson 1996). In order to examine the concept in more detail he argued that it was not enough to identify that income disparity will lead to greater health inequality, but that a more precise mechanism was needed, the mechanism he identified was social cohesion within a society. Wilkinson suggested that income inequality within a society leads to less social cohesion, and ultimately this process results in poorer health outcomes for those who are lower down the income scale. For Wilkinson an individual's socio-economic position and his/her social status have become synonymous and have the capacity to exert an enormous influence on health.

Wilkinson sees health as being a "social product" and believes that some forms of social organization are healthier than others, namely more equitable ones. He maintains "That the link between equity and health is a largely psychosocial link" and therefore "the scale of income differences and the condition of a society's social fabric are crucially important determinants of the real subjective quality of life among modern populations" (Wilkinson, 1996). This psychosocial interpretation of the links between inequality and health hinges on the premise that negative emotions and feelings (such as shame and low self-esteem) are stimulated by perceptions of relative disadvantage, and that these feelings subsequently impact detrimentally on health and well-being. The mechanism which facilitates this process is social interaction, in the form of interpersonal relationships or at a societal level, as social cohesion.

In support of his theory Wilkinson cites evidence from studies carried out on non-human primates into the effects of low social status as well as research into the neuro-endocrine pathways through which psychosocial factors 'get under the skin' (Marmot and Wilkinson, 2001). In their article Marmot and Wilkinson refer to various research studies which appear to support their psychosocial argument. These include a systematic review which found that low control in the workplace, low social support, hostility, depression and anxiety were related to coronary heart disease (Hemingway and Marmot , 1999) as well as evidence from the Whitehall II study which showed that low control in the workplace predicted coronary heart disease independent of social status, and that it also accounted for about half of the social gradient in cardiovascular disease (Bosma *et al,* 1997) For Marmot and Wilkinson "It has been shown that psychosocial factors are linked to ill health, follow a social gradient, account (statistically) for some of the entire social gradient on ill health, and are biologically plausible explanations" (Marmot and Wilkinson, 2001).

The stress process

We might assume that the impacts of RD would operate through the stress process in the neighbourhood context. The premise behind the stress process theory is that individuals respond to stressful events with non-specific reactions that, over time, produce wear and tear on the system. Hans Selye (1956) pioneered the concept and labelled it General Adaptation Syndrome. He argued that exposure to chronic stress acts as a catalyst which triggers a three-phase syndrome involving alarm, resistance and exhaustion which results in cumulative damage and leaves an individual at risk of increased pathology. In this scenario RD would be part of a long-term 'weathering' process (Ellen *et al,* 2001) whereby accumulated stress might erode an individual's health and make him/her more vulnerable to any given disease (ibid).

However, it is important to acknowledge that the relationship between stress, deprivation and health outcomes is not confined to relative deprivation hypotheses[8]. For instance scientists at Dundee University found that women from deprived backgrounds who were diagnosed with breast cancer were more likely to relapse and die from the disease and that this poor prognosis for these individuals was related to living in a deprived area (Baker et al, 2010). Elliot (2000) has investigated the stress process in the neighbourhood context and argues that there are two key mediators in the relationship between socio-economic status (SES) and health. These are 'stressors', such as financial strain, and 'resources' like social support, and that resources (in part) affect health by 'blunting the effects of stressors'. The researcher explored the variability in the stress process between lower or higher SES neighbourhoods by surveying residents in both types of neighbourhood. Elliot found that a 'sense of control' reduced depression but had no apparent relation to physical health, and that social integration improved physical health but appeared to be unrelated to depression.

In other stress research investigators have described 'ambient strains' as being non-event stressors which encircle individuals in their daily lives across a number of roles they play (Pearlin, 1989; Wheaton, 1994). Elliot suggests that this type of stressor might be described as "strains that inhere in one's neighbourhood"; in other words the physical and social environments within which individuals live their lives. The author also points out that the effects of neighbourhood stressors on health may interact with individual characteristics to impact negatively on health outcomes.

Critiques of Wilkinson-the material-pathway explanation

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[8] Wilkinson and Pickett's book 'The Spirit Level' (2009) offers a compelling account of the profound health and well-being impacts of stress processes engendered by societal inequalities.

Others remain sceptical with regard to the connections between psychosocial factors and ill health. Proponents of the neo-materialist interpretation (with regard to health inequalities) argue that any assessment of the links between (income) inequality and health must begin with the structural causes of inequalities, and not simply focus on perceptions of that inequality (Lynch *et al,* 2000). For neo-materialists the major problem with the psychosocial interpretation is that it allows policy makers to ignore the root causes of inequality like poverty and unemployment and focus instead on psychosocial policy interventions. Macleod and Davey Smith question the effectiveness of these types of intervention and observe:

> "We doubt whether psychosocial interventions to decrease the feelings of hopelessness (for example) that people have without changing the actual contingencies of their lives (such as whether they can afford to choose to run a car or buy their children a computer) will solve the problem …" (Macleod and Davey Smith: 2003).

The same authors also question the relationship between material disadvantage and "the various indices of adverse psychosocial exposure, which together could be characterized as 'misery' and suggest that in many cases this relationship can be attributed to the reporting bias of respondents and the phenomenon of "negative affectivity" (ibid). Finally, the authors caution that "[p]sychosocial solutions may seem attractive to some policy-makers because they permit location of responsibility for health at the level of the individual and their unhealthy feelings. Unlike material solutions, psychosocial solutions do not necessitate fundamental social change-some have suggested that this is a point in their favour" (ibid).

Unsurprisingly, Wilkinson (and other psychosocial theorists) refute these allegations and argue that focusing on psychosocial factors does not mean that we need to ignore the structural determinants of health, but rather, "recognizing that the socio-economic structure has powerfully psychosocial as

well as material effects means that it is more, not less, important to identify and tackle the structural issues (Marmot and Wilkinson, 2001).

However, Lynch *et al* remain unconvinced and retain reservations about the importance of psychosocial influences on several fronts. They argue that the psychosocial interpretation encourages understanding of psychosocial health effects in a vacuum and that this 'de-contextualized approach' can be appropriated for regressive political agendas. Essentially what Lynch *et al* are concerned about is the 'victim-blaming' scenario which might arise from psychosocial policy interventions. Since claims that we (as a society) lack the social cohesion of the past and that the problems of poor and minority communities are really a result of deficits of strong social networks seems to suggest that these communities must work on improving and ultimately solving their own problems (Lynch *et al*: 2000).

Again Wilkinson would disagree, and for him the quality of social relations in 'poor areas' is influenced by the scale of income inequality and therefore rather than "the effect on social relations providing a reason for ignoring poverty, it is another major social cost of greater inequality and so an important additional reason for tackling poverty". (Wilkinson, 2005)

Perhaps the best known critique of the psychosocial interpretation is Lynch *et al's* 'airline travel' metaphor, where they consider how proponents of both the psychosocial and neo-materialist interpretations might respond to the health inequalities which could result between first class and economy passengers after a long flight. Lynch *et al* comment:

> "Under a psychosocial interpretation, these health inequalities are due to negative emotions engendered by perceptions of relative disadvantage. Under a neo-materialist interpretation, people in economy have worse health because they sat in cramped space and an uncomfortable seat, and they were not able to sleep. The fact that they can see the bigger seats as they walk off the plane is not the cause of their poorer health" (Lynch *et al,* 2000).

Although, Lynch et al offer an amusing analogy here, it is also a misleading one, since psychosocial influences on health are really more complex than their critique suggests. In addition, an airline flight (no matter how long it is!) doesn't compare with the day-to-day context of living in relative deprivation. Fundamentally, airline passengers can get off the plane at some point, whereas individuals living in disadvantaged and often desperate circumstances in an affluent society cannot simply walk away from their lives.

Singh-Manoux (2003), another advocate of the psychosocial interpretation challenges neo-materialists Macleod and Davey Smith's argument. The writer argues that Macleod and Davey Smith's definition of psychosocial variables is too narrow and focuses on the way *"in which poor people feel about their poverty"*. For Singh-Manoux this restrictive view of psychosocial variables *"negates the importance of the ubiquitous association between social disadvantage and a host of psychosocial variables in the developed world"* The author then makes the valid point that very little is known about the mechanisms which create and sustain the link (between social disadvantage and psychosocial variables) and when in the life course this link is established. She then suggests that any attempt to assess the impact of psychosocial pathways (or any other pathways) on health needs to be carried out within a specific sequential framework. This framework would be as follows; A (social position)-→X (various pathways)-→B(ill health) The pathways might include social, cultural, psychological and economic ones. It is evident that there is a major debate in the literature surrounding the significance of psychosocial influences on health. Perhaps the most constructive way to look at the issue is to acknowledge the importance of both psychosocial and material factors with regard to health impacts, and to recognize that research which helps to map any of these can add to our knowledge and is therefore beneficial. Although RD is a contested concept, like social capital it is one which can be useful in providing a framework with which to examine the processes and interactions

which take place at a neighbourhood level. We will now consider 'relative deprivation theory' in relation to health and well-being in a mixed community.

Relative deprivation in mixed communities

In the previous chapter we looked at how the area effects literature suggests that mixed communities might help to prevent or reduce the area effects which occur in the most deprived communities. However, a conflicting perspective emerges in the 'relative deprivation' literature. Knies et al (2007) point out:

> "The theory of relative deprivation is distinct among the theories that have been put forward to explain the mechanisms through which neighbourhood context impacts on people's life chances ... in that it suggests negative outcomes of living in a better-off neighbourhood" (Knies *et al*, 2007).

The authors go on to cite examples of how relative deprivation (RD) concepts have been used to explain rioting (e.g. Canache, 1996; Gurr, 1970), schooling outcomes (e.g. Meyer, 1970), and emotional and behavioural outcomes (Lopez Turley, 2002). The core rationale of the RD hypothesis centres on the notion that individuals feel worse about themselves if they compare their lives with others and perceive that 'others' are doing better. The comparisons people make with others may be financial, professional or personal, and indeed, it would appear that this is a facet of human nature which has always existed. RD theories pose a challenge to the area effects literature since they refute the notion that mixed communities will solve area based, entrenched problems. In particular with regard to the health and well-being of the residents of mixed communities, since according to RD theory mixed communities would in fact make them feel worse about themselves. This is a dichotomy which we will explore in our study. If we apply Runciman's hypothesis to RD in a mixed community setting we can see how the process would function. (See **Figure 2.4**)

Figure 2.4- Relative Deprivation in a Mixed Community

Relative deprivation (RD) occurs when

1. A **social renter** does not own his/her home

2. The **social renter** sees **owner occupiers** with their own homes (more affluent lifestyles)

3 .The **social renter** wants his/her own home (the lifestyle associated with homeownership)

4 .The **social renter** views it as feasible that s/he should have his/her own home (the lifestyle associated with homeownership)

The conduits which facilitate the RD process are individuals' perceptions of stigma and inequality and in mixed communities we might intuit that these perceptions would be heightened for social renters. This is an issue which we will pursue in the following chapter.

2.4 The policy context-tackling health inequalities

Why target health inequalities?

Thus far we have ascertained that a range of factors which interact with one another can impact upon individuals' health and well-being. In neighbourhoods or communities health influences include local physical, social and service environments as well as individual health behaviours and wider societal circumstances. We have also established that people living in deprived neighbourhoods are more likely to suffer from poor health outcomes than those living in more affluent areas. In this section we will turn to policy solutions (in Chapter 3 we will explicitly look at the role mixed communities might play in improving physical and social neighbourhood environments in) which aim to reduce these health inequalities and determine why it is important to do so.

Firstly we must define the concept and illustrate the prevalence of health inequalities in the UK and in Scotland[9].

Individuals within specific groups in society experience worse health outcomes than the general population. These health inequalities can occur due to an individual's geographic location, gender, ethnic group, disability or socio-economic status or, more often, to a crossover between deprivation and other variables. Benzeval *et al's* definition of health inequalities is unambiguous:

> "People who live in disadvantaged circumstances have more illnesses, greater distress, more disability and shorter lives than those who are more affluent." (Benzeval *et al*, 1995)

Furthermore, in the decade and a half since Benzeval *et al's* call for action on the issue health inequalities have continued to grow and politicians are still casting around for the policy formulas which will address them most effectively (Graham, 2004).

The recent Marmot Review (2010) of health inequalities in England states that 'reducing health inequalities is a matter of fairness and social justice' (p.15, Executive Summary) and this statement encapsulates the essence of the health inequalities agenda. The argument is that health inequalities are caused by social inequalities and that in order to address the former action must be taken on the whole range of social factors which cultivate the latter. A well-established research and policy consensus exists which emphasizes the benefits of tackling health inequalities for individuals and society. These benefits are linked to economic gains (around loss through illness and increased welfare and treatment costs), and to successful sustainability outcomes around flourishing, well-designed communities, as well as to social justice objectives including the

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[9] Since we do not have the capacity to review the extensive evidence base around health inequalities in this study we present a 'snap-shot' of health inequalities in England and Scotland.

creation of a more egalitarian and socially cohesive society (Acheson, 1998; Marmot and Wilkinson, 2003; Marmot, 2010).

The evidence-Scotland

The Scottish Government's 2008 Equally Well Report highlights key health inequalities across a range of outcomes related to deprivation, disability, ethnic background and sexual orientation. **Figure 2.5** outlines key health disparities which exist for a range of individuals and groups in Scotland. Crucially, the report emphasizes the connection between low socio-economic status and poorer mental health. Individuals living in households with low income or those who found it 'difficult to manage' financially were more likely to experience poorer mental wellbeing than more affluent individuals. This poorer mental wellbeing was associated with negative health behaviours and with high suicide rates in disadvantaged areas. For instance in relation to alcohol-related deaths where more than two thirds of individuals (in 2006) who died in these circumstances were resident in the most deprived two fifths of areas. Or in relation to suicide where those individuals living in the most deprived 10% of areas in Scotland were deemed to have a suicide risk which was double that of the national average.

- In Scotland in 2006, healthy life expectancy at birth was 67.9 years for men and 69 years for women. In the most deprived 15% of areas in Scotland in 2005-06, healthy life expectancy at birth was considerably lower at 57.3 years for men and 59 years for women.

- A higher proportion of babies born to mothers living in the most deprived fifth of the population have a low birth weight than those born to mothers living in the most affluent areas (9% compared to 5% in 2004-05).

- In Scotland in 2006, people who had a low household income, or reported finding it difficult to manage on their household income, had poorer mental wellbeing than those with a high household income or who reported finding it easy to manage on their income.

- There are large and increasing relative inequalities in deaths amongst young adults due to drugs, alcohol, assault and suicide.

- In Scotland in 2006, more than two thirds of the total alcohol-related deaths were in the most deprived two fifths of areas.

- Those living in the most deprived 10% of areas of Scotland have a suicide risk double that of the Scottish average.

- Adult smoking rates increase with increasing deprivation. In Scotland in 2005-06, smoking rates ranged from 11% in the least deprived 10% of areas to 44% in the most deprived 10%.

- Compared with the non-South Asian population, the incidence of heart attacks in Scottish South Asians is 45% higher in men and 80% higher in women.

- Lesbian/gay/bisexual and transgender people experience lower self-esteem and higher rates of mental health problems and these have an impact on health behaviours, including higher reported rates of smoking, alcohol and drug use.

- Just under a quarter (24%) of all individuals in households with at least one disabled adult or disabled child are living in relative low income, compared to 16% of those in households with no disabled adults or disabled children.

Figure 2.5-Health Inequalities in Scotland (Source: Equally Well Report (2008)-Introduction) (p.10-11)

In relation to Scotland's position in the 'health-leagues' **Table A** demonstrates how Scotland's life expectancy compares unfavourably with the rest of the United Kingdom, and other countries in Europe.

Table A- Life Expectancy at Birth in Selected European Countries (year = 2004)
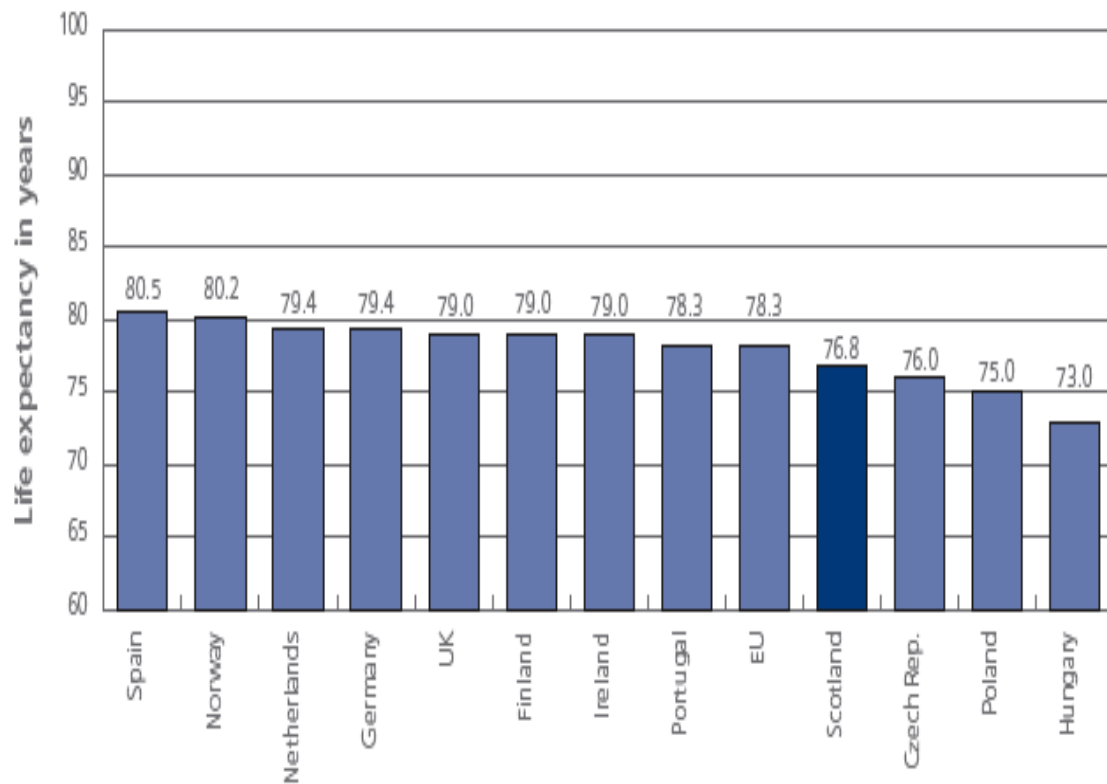
Source: Scotland & European Health for All Database - WHO / Scot PHO
[Based on countries with data for the most recent year available]

Health inequalities-a policy review

The Black Report (DHSS, 1980) highlighted two major issues, which still share centre stage in the health policy arena over twenty-five years later. The first of these was the existence of health inequalities, manifest in the marked differences in morbidity and mortality rates "between the occupational classes, for both sexes and at all ages". The second that inequalities also existed "in the utilization of health services, particularly…the preventive services". Initially however, the Report was largely ignored by the Thatcher administration as its recommendations, like the establishment of a special health and social development programme in 10 selected areas (costing around £30m over the period 1981-1982) did not resonate with the government's ideological position on reducing the role of the state.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, as health (and other) inequalities continued to grow academics, health professionals, practitioners, and politicians advocated policy interventions which would help to reduce these inequalities. However, in the absence of the political will which would have been required to implement these necessarily redistributive policies (Shaw *et al*, 1999), action on reducing health inequalities languished. During this period the Labour opposition repeatedly criticised subsequent Conservative regimes over their rejection of Black's recommendations and when the Blair government came to power in 1997 it set up an Independent Inquiry into Inequalities in Health, headed by Sir Donald Acheson. The resulting Acheson Report (1998) stated that its remit was "to address an issue which it sees as fundamentally a matter of social justice; namely that the gap between those at the top and bottom of the social scale has widened". The Report put forward 39 sets of recommendations, and many of these echoed the findings of the Black Report, for example that "priority should be given to more equitable allocation of NHS resources".

Acheson's proposals covered a myriad of policy areas including; poverty, income and benefits; education; employment; housing and environment, and

mobility, transport and pollution. This wide-ranging, holistic approach to lessening health inequalities, which recognised the potential influence of many different social, economic and environmental factors on the health of an individual would help shape New Labour's health policies. Nevertheless, the Acheson Report's capacity to really make a difference to policy on health inequalities has been questioned, since its remit included the stipulation that its recommendations must fall within the framework of the government's overall financial strategy, which was set to continue the overall fiscal plans of the previous Conservative administration (at least for the first two years in office) (Shaw *et al,* 1999). Other commentators have criticised the Independent Inquiry and its report for failing to prioritise amongst the various recommendations, and therefore to lose sight of the most important issues like poverty and income inequality (Davey Smith *et al,* 1998).

In spite of its limitations, the Acheson Report did reanimate the discourse around health inequalities, and the desire to tackle these inequalities lay at the core of New Labour's health policies. These policies were closely linked with the government's sustainability, social justice and social inclusion strategies and spanned an array of policy areas. The government's White Paper on health 'Saving Lives: Our Healthier Nation' (1999) acknowledged the existence of a social gradient in health, wherein health outcomes worsen 'steadily and significantly from the least to the most deprived socio-economic group' (Graham *et al*, 2004) and was concentrated on tackling such inequalities. The White Paper's twin objectives were: improving the health of '*everyone'*, and, improving the health of '*the worst-off in particular'*. Some observers have noted however that, although the White Paper set out clear targets for '*improving the health of the population as a whole'* (such as reducing the death rate in people aged under 75 years from coronary heart disease by at least two-fifths by 2010), there were no such national targets set out with regard to reducing health inequalities. Instead local authorities were required to set their own targets. Furthermore, from the budget of £96m

allocated to programmes for improving the health of the whole population no funding was assigned to challenge health inequalities, and financing for this objective was to come from local health authorities' existing budgets (Shaw *et al,* 1999).

Although the New Labour government had clearly recognized the importance of tackling health inequalities and stated in the White Paper that it 'refused to accept such inequality as inevitable', its commitment to doing so might be questioned due to the lack of any definable objectives with regard to reducing health inequalities, or any specific financial support for strategies designed to surmount such disparities. New Labour, undoubtedly, moved the health inequalities dialogue on from the period when previous Conservative governments concentrated on the role of individual lifestyle and ignored structural factors, such as unemployment and lack of investment, as the cause of disparities in health between the most and least affluent (Paton, 1999). However, Paton also suggests that the government have used the rhetoric of the 'Third Way' to imply that we need to concentrate on *both* lifestyles and community and social factors when considering health inequalities, and the author contends that this is an *'implicit attempt'* by the government to argue that *'special action'* can overcome wider social and economic factors (Paton, 1999).

The creation of Health Action Zones in specific disadvantaged areas from 1998 onwards (where a multi-agency approach to tackling an area's health problems would be adopted), was an example of *'special action'* being taken in order to deal with health inequalities. The Department of Health asserted that the establishment of the Health Action Zones reflected *'the government's commitment to tackle entrenched inequalities'* (DoH, 1997) however the Health Action Zones have been criticized for being *'area-based rather than people-based'* (Shaw *et al,* 1999). Detractors of the Health Action Zones point out that these types of programmes can only provide help for a small minority

of people since most 'poor areas' only contain a minority of 'poor households' (Shaw *et al,* 1999), and furthermore even if they are successful this is usually due to *'local enthusiasm, energy and expertise which may not be present in other areas'* (Davey-Smith and Gordon, 2000).

The New Labour government maintained that policies like Health Action Zones, alongside macro-level policies such as the introduction of the Minimum Wage, the reduction of unemployment and the building of new council houses, which will help to address health inequalities. (Shaw *et al,* 1999) On balance, the New Labour approach to tackling health inequalities covered a range of possible policy interventions.

A central and on-going debate around how best to tackle health inequalities is whether a targeted or universal health promotion approach is more effective. Evidence suggests that general health promotion policies may 'yield greater benefits for higher socio-economic groups than for the lowest socio-economic groups' (Petticrew and Macintyre, 2001) and therefore actually increase health inequalities. This indicates that a targeted approach focusing on the most deprived would be more effective in reducing health inequalities. In the recently published Marmot Review (2010) 'Fair Society, Healthy Lives' a strategic review of health inequalities in England post-2010 the authors propose a strategy of 'proportionate universalism' which encompasses 'universal action but with a scale and intensity that is proportionate to the level of disadvantage' (Executive Summary, p15). Since the Marmot Review brings the health inequalities discourse up-to-date it is worth discussing key findings here.

The Review identifies six policy objectives which are crucial to reducing health inequalities. These are: to give every child the best start in life; to enable all children, young people and adults to maximize their capabilities and have control over their lives; to create fair employment and good work for all; to ensure a healthy standard of living for all; to create and develop healthy and sustainable places and communities; and to strengthen the role and impact of

ill health prevention (Executive Summary, p.15) These objectives are all clearly inter-related and require 'joined-up' policies to carry them forward.

The aim of 'creating and developing healthy and sustainable places and communities' dove-tails perfectly with the goals of the mixed community policy agenda and the sustainability agenda which we discussed in Chapter 1 and indeed Marmot et al state that '[p]olicies to reduce health inequalities will also benefit the sustainability agenda' (p.30). The policy recommendations in relation to communities put forward in the review echo many of the policy aims for the creation of successful mixed communities. These are: a commitment to improving the availability of good quality open spaces across the social gradient along with integrated planning, transport, and housing systems to address the social determinants of health in each locality as well as a focus on improving community capital and reducing social isolation across the social gradient; a recommendation to support locally developed and evidence-based community regeneration programmes that remove barriers to community participation and action and thus help to reduce social isolation; and a related recommendation to developing social capital and improving community governance and guardianship (p.137-138).

The review also emphasizes the importance of examples of good practice such as evidence from the National Strategy from Neighbourhood Renewal which demonstrated that programmes are most effective in supporting neighbourhoods when:

1) They focus on underlying economic drivers of deprivation, such as the wider labour market, which will most likely operate at a higher spatial level than the neighbourhood
2) They engage with mainstream agendas and ensure core services work better in regeneration areas (p.137)

In essence then the new Marmot Review highlights the need to take a holistic approach to tackling health inequalities which addresses both macro and micro level issues.

Tackling health inequalities in Scotland

An evaluation of the Scottish context is necessary since health policy is a devolved issue, which is dealt with in the Scottish Parliament. Furthermore as our research will take place in Scotland, it will be worthwhile to establish the backdrop to policy rationales and interventions.[10]

The 1999 White Paper, 'Towards a Healthier Scotland' provided the blueprint for carrying forward health policy in Scotland. The White Paper recognised that many factors can influence health (The Scottish Office: 1999) and set out a strategy which its authors believed would help to address some of the factors which might adversely impact upon the health of Scotland's citizens. These factors were wide-ranging and covered physical, social and environmental issues. In order to address these issues the White Paper defined specific priorities and targets, such as reducing the incidence of premature mortality from CHD by 50% by 2010 and reducing the incidence of premature mortality from cancer by 20% by the same date.

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[10] Some researchers maintain that a 'Scottish Effect' exists with regard to health inequalities whereby Scots are relatively less healthy than their English (and European) counterparts, of comparable socio-economic status, over a range of indicators, including 'all-cause' mortality rates and life expectancy. (Hanlon *et al*,2001) Hanlon *et al* theorize that this 'Scottish Effect' could be due to psychological, social or behavioural factors which operate in Scotland (Hanlon *et al*, 2001). (See also McCormick and Leicester, 1998; Hanlon et al 2006; and Popham, 2006. Walsh *et al* (2010) convincingly argue the case for the existence of a 'Scottish Effect' in their study "It's not 'just' deprivation: why do equally deprived UK cities experience different health outcomes? in which they compare Glasgow with Manchester and Liverpool and found that Glasgow has higher levels of morbidity and rates of mortality after standardizing for income deprivation, age and gender.

The 'overarching aim' of the White Paper was to tackle "health inequalities by reducing the gaps in health between socio-economic, geographical, ethnic, gender and other groups in Scotland" (The Scottish Office, 1999). Health Impact Assessments (HIAs) were introduced to evaluate the outcomes of health policies and initiatives and the Paper stressed the importance of assessing policies in relation to their potential impact on inequalities. All of the objectives in the White Paper were to be realized by the adoption of a more holistic approach to health policy, and were underpinned by a commitment to social justice. Langlands comments that Scotland's health policies have retained their collectivist credentials, and that improving the health of all members of Scottish society is still the priority (Langlands, 2006); although as we discussed in the previous section a universal approach conflicts with targeting health inequalities amongst the most disadvantaged individuals in society.

The Scottish Executive's paper 'Improving Health in Scotland-The Challenge' (2003) carried forward the goals of the White Paper, particularly with its focus on health inequalities and how these might be reduced. The paper advised that the real challenge with regard to health policies in Scotland lies in narrowing the opportunity gap and improving the health of the most disadvantaged communities, at a faster rate, to reduce the health gap between these communities and the rest of the country (Scottish Executive, 2003). The Executive's strategy involved concentrating on four areas: early years, teenage transition, the workplace and the community. When it came to tackling health inequalities at a community level an important aim for the Executive was to "[r]elease the inner resources of individuals and communities by building social capital, and improve the infrastructure of communities to make rapid progress" (Scottish Executive: 2003). The concept of building or increasing social capital was a recurring theme which spanned several Scottish Executive policy areas, and is obviously one which is linked to mixed communities. The mechanisms which the Executive put in place to help realize this aim included Community

Planning Partnerships, healthy living centres and community based regeneration initiatives.

This goal with regard to health inequalities was closely allied to the 'bigger picture' of regenerating and renewing Scotland's most disadvantaged and deprived communities. In 'Better Communities in Scotland: Closing the Gap' (Scottish Executive, 2002) the Executive once again demonstrated its continued commitment to improving the lives of those who live in the most deprived communities. This policy document identified five priority areas which it believed would have as much effect as possible on enhancing disadvantaged communities, these included- health, education, transport, crime and jobs. In addition it pledged to make sure people and communities have the social capital that they need to 'take advantage of, and to increase, the opportunities open to them' (Scottish Executive, 2002).

In its Housing Policy Statement 'Homes for Scotland's People' (Scottish Executive, 2005) the Executive stated that:

> "One of the most striking aspects of Scotland's deprived areas is the concentration of social rented housing within these areas. In the most deprived areas two out of three households are social rented, while in the least deprived nine out of ten households are owner occupied."(Scottish Executive, 2005)

According to the Executive this lack of tenure mix, within deprived communities was due to two factors. Firstly, the most disadvantaged and vulnerable being dependent on social housing and secondly concentrations of social housing being built in particular locations reflecting historical building patterns.

The Executive believed that a move towards more mixed or 'balanced' communities, through changes to the planning system (by setting a benchmark figure of 25% of all new housing developments to be affordable housing, where need is justified by a housing needs assessment), and through choice-based

lettings for social landlords would help to eradicate the inequalities which exist between the most disadvantaged and the rest of Scottish society.

Like the Westminster government, the Scottish Executive did not set out any clear health objectives which it supposed would be achieved by the establishment of more mixed communities. However, on balance, the Executive's policy rationales for mixed communities appeared to be better formulated and less vague than that of the New Labour national government. Along with the New Labour government, the Executive linked mixed communities to sustainable communities, significantly it also viewed mixed communities as being a mechanism for tackling poor health and poverty, and subsequently the mixed community agenda was a key plank of the Executive's housing and regeneration policies. Furthermore, the Executive's approach attempted to incorporate policies which ranged from interventions at the level of the individual to structural changes at the economic, cultural and environmental level.

With its 2008 *"Equally Well"* report the Scottish Government acknowledged that 'health inequalities remain a significant challenge in Scotland' (p.1). The report focused on four key priorities for tackling health inequalities: children in their very early years; mental health and well-being; the 'big killer' diseases in Scotland (cardiovascular disease and cancer); and drug and alcohol problems (p.3). There was also recognition by the authors that health provision, along with other public services, should be universal but also 'targeted and tailored to meet the needs of those most at risk of poor health (p.3).

Taking action at the community or neighbourhood level to reduce health inequalities was also a key objective distinguished in 'Equally Well' with a commitment to 'engaging individuals, families and communities most at risk of poor health in decisions relevant to their health' (p.3) and a recommendation that 'Government action on the physical environment should include: evidence based environmental improvements…improving the quality of local

neighbourhoods through providing more environmental "goods" to foster better physical and mental health and improve community cohesion and prevent risks to community safety' (p.29) Following on from 'Equally Well' the government outlined pilot health projects in eight high profile 'test sites' (deprived areas) with each project targeting a separate dimension of health inequalities, for example: in North Lanarkshire- barriers to employment; in East Lothian-health inequalities in the early years; and in Fife-Anti Social Behaviour in relation to underage drinking.

In its discussion paper 'Building on Firm Foundations: The Future of Housing in Scotland' (2007) the Scottish Government explicitly connected an individual's sense of well-being with the place he/she lives when Deputy First Minister Nicola Sturgeon states in the foreword:

> "Our wellbeing, as individuals and families and as a society, depends heavily on our ability to find a decent house that we can afford in a place that we want to live." (p.2)

One of the key priorities highlighted in the paper was the need for 'housing developments that contribute to the creation of sustainable mixed communities' (p.4) and the intimation that the government:

> "Wish to encourage approaches that enable people of different ages, lifestyles and incomes to meet their needs in neighbourhoods that are safe, attractive and sustainable…and ensure funding and regulatory regimes support and encourage this behaviour." (p.37/p.38)

In order to carry forward its mixed communities policy agenda the Scottish Government launched the Scottish Sustainable Communities Initiative in June 2008 to 'encourage the creation of places, designed and built to last, where a high quality of life can be achieved' (Scottish Government, 2009). A key requirement for these new, sustainable communities is that they should 'go beyond single tenure housing estates' (ibid). Another tool for promoting mixed communities is the Mixed and Sustainable Communities Learning Network website (accessed on the Scottish government website) which supports people

involved in regeneration to improve the way in which mixed communities are created and managed throughout Scotland.

Well-being-the policy context

Although health and well-being are usually linked together in health inequalities strategies it is worthwhile considering explicit policy references to the promotion of well-being. Both the Westminster and Scottish governments have recognised the need to develop a set of indicators which measure community well-being. Indeed, under the Local Government Act of 2001 Local Authorities have a specific legal power to promote well-being, through community leadership in areas which they serve. In the Act well-being is closely linked with health and specifically with the health of local communities. Similarly, in Scotland under the Local Government in Scotland Act (2003) a Local Authority has the *"Power to advance well-being"* which is defined as being the *"power to promote or improve the well-being of (a) its area and persons within that area; or (b) either of those.*

The Scottish Government which succeeded the Scottish Executive in 2007 remained committed to promoting well-being and, in its discussion paper "Towards a Mentally Flourishing Scotland: The Future of Mental Health Improvement in Scotland 2008-11" (2007), there was a specific commitment to addressing and improving mental health and well-being in Scotland. The government acknowledged that mental well-being encompassed three main dimensions – emotional, social and psychological well-being and also recognized that improving well-being involved targeting policy at individuals and also at 'geographical areas that are at greatest risk of poor mental health and who may have complex and multiple needs' (Scottish Government, 2007).

Hird points out that "Community well-being is a vague and elusive concept. It is also very complex, which makes it difficult to measure" (Hird, 2003) The

author also affirms that there is no definitive set of community indicators for measuring community well-being, although there are recurring themes throughout the literature, such as the notion that indicators should be divided into social, environmental and economic well-being sub-groups (Hird, 2003). This elusiveness and lack of clarity around wellbeing could result in it meaning 'all things to all men' and subsequently to the creation of ineffectual policies around the notion. This difficulty in framing policy around well-being highlights the complex and contested nature of the concept and echoes our earlier discussion on the findings from the academic literature.

Conceptualizations of health and well-being in this study

It is necessary at this point to clarify how health and well-being will be conceptualized in this study. As we have established the concepts of health and well-being are intertwined and our study will reflect this inter-connectedness drawing on social models of health by looking at how an individual's social circumstances and local neighbourhood environment might impact on his/her mental health and sense of well-being and at the same time potentially influence his/her physical health and health behaviours. Crucially, our interpretation of well-being (see section 2.1) puts lay perspectives of health at the core of the thesis building on Callahan's (1978) hypothesis that well-being is defined as how a person feels about himself to also look at how a person feels about his/her health and health behaviours in relation to local neighbourhood environment.

Mixed communities as a policy tool to address health inequalities

In Chapter 1 we unpacked the rationales behind the mixed community policy agenda, paying particular attention to the theory that mixed communities can help to over-ride the area effects associated with multiple deprivation or social exclusion; and in this chapter we established that poor health outcomes for

individuals living in deprived areas are prevalent and that health inequalities between these neighbourhoods and the rest of society still endure.

Although policy makes connections between neighbourhood deprivation and poor health outcomes and subsequently attempts to reduce health inequalities through the provision of better neighbourhood environments it does not explicitly refer to tenure mix as a key ingredient of health inequalities strategies.

Neighbourhoods or communities are the building blocks of regeneration policy and creating mixed communities through tenure diversification is one area based (or area focused) strategy which can help to reduce or eradicate the area-effects which generate and sustain health inequalities. In the following chapter we consider how effective mixed communities are as a policy tool for tackling area-effects, which in the language of the health inequalities discourse, are essentially the social determinants of health.

Chapter summary

In this chapter we unpacked the concepts of health and well-being by considering different models of health and how these have influenced policy. We also established the influence of the social determinants of health in framing health policy. Utilizing relative deprivation theories as a lens we discussed psychosocial and material discourses on pathways to health. We then narrowed our perspective and focused our discussion on discourses around health and place; highlighting key debates here.

The health inequalities policy agenda is another key discourse of particular interest to our research study and one which we studied in relation to disadvantaged communities in order to broaden our understanding of the policies which are implemented at the neighbourhood level to tackle health inequalities.

The knowledge we have gained from our exploration of wider health debates and more specific dialogues around health and place in this chapter along with that gained around other crucial aspects of the mixed community policy agenda (such as social exclusion) in Chapter 1 have laid a solid foundation for our next chapter. This investigates the evidence base around mixed communities as a policy mechanism for tackling area-effects.

Chapter 3: Mixed Communities - A Review of the Evidence Base

Introduction

One of the key theories which drives the mixed community policy agenda is the 'area effects' hypothesis, although there are others such as a quest for sustainability which we discussed in Chapter 1. This theory, which has driven policy in recent years, maintains that it is worse to be poor in a poor area (than in a more affluent area) (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001). In other words, living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood can compound the problems of the individuals who live there, and consequently if these 'area effects' are addressed *at the neighbourhood level,* then the quality of life of those who live there will be improved. Furthermore, by tackling these area effects, which can also be viewed as determinants of health or contextual factors (as discussed in Chapter 2) within a neighbourhood, policy can also address the health inequalities which occur between disadvantaged and more affluent communities.

A major body of research suggests that area based initiatives (ABIs) are the most successful way to tackle neighbourhood problems which arise from area effects, and successive governments have implemented these types of policy over several decades. In 2001 New Labour pledged that 'within ten to twenty

years, no-one should be seriously disadvantaged by where they live' (SEU, 2001), and policies targeted at area level included New Deal for Communities, Excellence in Cities, and Health , Education and Employment Action Zones. In conjunction with these however, the government also implemented over-arching policies incorporating a 'joined-up solutions for joined-up problems' approach. Greed maintains that one of the most significant features of New Labour's urban policies was the fact that they were not "spatially linked to particular geographical areas" and she argues that a people-focused agenda was evident in many of New Labour's regeneration schemes such as Urban Taskforce and Sure Start, as well as in the New Deal programmes (Greed, 2002). Nevertheless, a focus on tackling area effects remained at the forefront of regeneration and housing policies and the mixed communities' agenda emerged as a significant policy tool for doing so.

Taking into account the underlying policy rationales which we explored in Chapter 1, it is easy to see why mixed communities appeal to policy makers hoping to alleviate or eradicate area effects. In this chapter we consider whether mixed communities can help to over-ride area effects and, if this is indeed the case, how that process occurs. In order to do so we must firstly, explore the area effects literature, and also consider critiques of the area effects hypothesis, particularly its influence on policy implementation. Following on from this we then consider different approaches to creating mix within communities and in particular we look at the US policies which seek to address area effects by moving disadvantaged residents to more affluent neighbourhoods. Research evidence evaluating the US programmes suggests that mobility programmes which lead to the creation of mixed communities using the 'dispersal approach' can lead to positive outcomes (including health outcomes) for the individuals who relocate; and our discussion of US policies will provide a counterpoint to British mixed community policies.

We then examine the evidence base which has developed from the research on mixed communities since this will allow us to map the ways in which living in a mixed community might help to negate area effects for the individuals who live there while at the same time allowing us to see what works and what doesn't work with regard to policy outcomes in mixed communities. In order to do this we have separated the findings from the literature into 'tangible' and 'intangible' impacts. In the final section of this chapter we consider the area effects literature specifically in relation to health and well-being.

3.1 The Area Effects Hypothesis

The focus on 'community' or 'neighbourhood effects' has a long history in urban regeneration and neighbourhood renewal policy-making. This approach to tackling the problems which face disadvantaged communities can be traced back to the Chicago school of modern sociologists in the 1920s and 1930s when disadvantaged communities were seen as being highly spatialized and in need of 'help from mainstream society' (Delanty, 2003). Contemporary 'area effects' research stemmed from studies which highlighted poor outcomes for black people living in concentrated poverty in US cities (see Abrams 1955, and Wilson 1987, 1996) which argued that deprived areas create 'additional impacts' which prevent individuals from escaping poverty (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001). Again we can see parallels here with the evidence from the health inequalities literature discussed in the previous chapter.

In Britain neighbourhood research in the 1960s and 1970s usually took the form of a 'community study' which was qualitative in nature and tended to concentrate only on disadvantaged neighbourhoods and not on comparison between neighbourhoods, or to try and understand their place within wider and social economic systems (Lupton, 2003). Here the focus was on the neighbourhood as a whole, not the individual, as the unit of enquiry. However,

increasing attention has been given to the impacts of neighbourhoods on an individual's life chances, over a range of spheres, including social, economic and health outcomes. Research methods associated with the quantitative tradition (including large samples and national datasets) are utilized to determine the potential impacts of neighbourhoods on the people who live in them.

 A range of area effects has been identified elsewhere in the literature, and these fall into three major categories: the *physical environment*, the *social/cultural environment*, and the *service environment*, and as Atkinson and Kintrea (2001) highlight, these are closely interconnected.

> "Area effects are difficult to identify as they are located among a number of social processes which are themselves circuitous and inter-related" (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001; p.2278).

Buck (2001) seeks to simplify these circuitous and inter-related social processes by posing the following question 'Does it make my life chances worse if my neighbour is poor rather than rich or a large proportion of my neighbours are poor or disadvantaged on some other dimension?' (p.2252). If the answer is yes then the case for mixing communities through tenure diversification, and thus diluting poverty and other forms of disadvantage is, on the face of it, a strong one. We must now establish if this supposition is bourne out by the evidence base on mixed communities.

Drawing on the US literature which explores neighbourhood effects in relation to childhood socialization[11] Buck (2001) provides a detailed inventory of a variety of area-effects models which serves to underline the complexity and diversity of explanations around area-effects and the processes which produce them. Buck identifies seven significant models and it is worthwhile documenting these at this point. The models are presented in **Figure 3.1.**

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[11] Of particular relevance here is Ellen and Turner's (1997) article 'Does neighbourhood matter? assessing recent evidence.'

The 'epidemic' model	**Where behaviour is 'contagious' i.e. effects are based primarily on the power of peer influences to spread problem behaviour**
The 'collective Socialization' model	Centred around successful neighbourhood 'role-models
The 'institutional' model	Where neighbourhood effects operate indirectly through the quality of services available in a locality
The 'relative-deprivation' model	Where individuals evaluate their situation or relative standing vis-à-vis their neighbours and this results in reverse effects for those who are most disadvantaged
The 'competition' model	In which neighbours compete for scarce neighbourhood resources (so the more poor house-holds in a neighbourhood the more resources are over-stretched)
The 'network' model	Linked to employment access via collective socialization and the presence of more affluent neighbours (social capital)
The 'expectations' model	**Focused not so much on information linkages but on the perception of likely success in pursuing opportunities**

Figure 3.1-Models of Neighbourhood Effects (Source: Buck, 2001)

Buck notes that his list of neighbourhood-effects models is not exhaustive and also recognizes that they might operate through more indirect processes such as higher levels of criminal behaviour or social disorder. He also cautions that there are practical difficulties in discriminating between these models noting that individuals interact with their neighbourhood in complex ways which makes it difficult to disentangle the individual from the area either conceptually or empirically (p.2258). Nevertheless, whilst bearing these stipulations in mind, this is what any study of neighbourhood effects (this one included) must endeavour to do.

There is a broad consensus that area effects exist (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001), although there is much debate about how much these matter in relation to other factors, particularly structural factors such as local institutional

resources or the quality of public services (Galster, 2007). Wilson's (1987) 'community effects' theory points to a lack of 'role-models', in the shape of successful middle class residents in deprived neighbourhoods. (The socialization effects attributed to these 'role-models' have been investigated in some depth in the literature and we will discuss this matter more fully later in the chapter). Wilson also asserts that communities cannot be understood out-with the structural economic and social processes which sustain them (Wilson, 1987, 1991, 1997). On the other hand, Murray's area effects hypothesis suggests that the social isolation and segregation of living in a 'ghetto' leads to 'a culture of poverty and welfare dependency' and that individuals in these circumstances 'develop norms which are at odds with the rest of society'. (Murray, 1984, 1996) This is a behavioural perspective where disadvantaged individuals are blamed for their situation.

Critiques of Area Effects

One of the primary critiques of area effects research studies is that many of them do not consider the complex composition of neighbourhoods. Lupton argues that quantitative neighbourhood research fails to take into account the three 'broad understandings of neighbourhoods derived from qualitative research' (Lupton, 2003). These three insights are: firstly, the concept of neighbourhood incorporates both people and place, and that it is the interaction of both that creates neighbourhood characteristics. Secondly, neighbourhoods are not fixed-that is that they do not have objective characteristics which are experienced in the same way by all their residents. Finally, neighbourhoods cannot be seen in isolation, since their characteristics are shaped by their relationship to other places as well as by their internal features (ibid). (Lupton's argument mirrors that of Ellaway and Macintyre presented in Chapter 2).

The first of Lupton's 'understandings' underlines the difficulties involved in trying to separate the people who live in a particular place from the place itself, and by extension, doing the same with regard to area effects. Evidently, the two are highly correlated and this adds to the difficulty of untangling causality (ibid).

In relation to the fluid nature of neighbourhoods and Lupton's contention that neighbourhoods are not fixed, this can refer to conceptions of the physical boundaries of a neighbourhood or to the different relationships which people may have with the neighbourhood dependent upon their own life circumstances. In reality, neighbourhood might hold greater significance for some individuals or groups of individuals than it does for others. For instance in their study Forrest and Kearns found that lone parents, unemployed individuals and poor pensioners spent more time in their local area in relation to other groups, (Forrest and Kearns,2001), therefore the implication is that for these groups neighbourhood matters *more*.

Lupton's last point deals with the fact that neighbourhoods should not and cannot be seen in isolation. In other words neighbourhoods do not exist in a vacuum and are influenced by their interactions and relationships with other neighbourhoods. This premise has been supported by other research, particularly with regard to stigma and how residents in deprived neighbourhoods feel they are perceived by outsiders, and the subsequent impact this can have on individuals' behaviours and attitudes (Dean and Hastings, 2000; Gourlay, 2007).

The key critique of area effects is that they take the focus away from the 'bigger picture' structural factors which lead to disadvantage and to concentrations of poverty developing. The most crucial factors here for many academics are macro-economic conditions and their impacts (see Jargowsky, 1997; Turok and Edge, 1999). The danger is that a focus on agency-based local solutions to local problems might suggest that all problems and solutions are

locally based, and in the case of broader economic forces (such as those leading to the closure of local employers) or of broader public service shortcomings (such as a lack of health or social care provision) this is clearly not so (Alcock, 2004).

Those who are sceptical with regard to the area effects hypothesis caution that it can be interpreted over-simplistically and uncritically, and this can lead to it being used as a political tool to blame disadvantaged communities for their own exclusion (Bauder, 2002). By extension, if disadvantaged communities are blamed for the circumstances in which they find themselves, then are they also responsible for extracting themselves from those circumstances? Some writers argue that there has been a definite shift towards this approach amongst politicians and policy-makers, and that with the erosion of state welfare, ideas of community and neighbourhood, particularly with their undertones of self-help, mutual-aid and positive socialization hold a real appeal as being the solutions to many of the problems facing areas of concentrated disadvantage (Cowan and Marsh, 2004); and we can clearly recognize here echoes of some of the key rationales frequently cited as a basis for creating more mixed communities- increased social capital, more social cohesion and a greater sense of community identity and empowerment. All of these could potentially help to tackle social and cultural area effects; the question is if they are also a means of tackling physical and service area effects, which we will seek to answer later on in the chapter.

Debates continue around the influence of area effects on individuals' life opportunities, however, as we observed in Chapter 1, New Labour's mixed community policy agenda was constructed firmly on the belief that mixed communities are one of the key mechanisms which can be utilized to tackle the problems of social exclusion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Graham et al, 2009). We will now go onto review the evidence around this notion.

3.2 Different approaches to creating mixed communities

In the UK[12], other European countries, (and in Australia) policy assumes that high concentrations of deprivation can be diluted by making communities more mixed in terms of housing tenure. This 'inward migration' approach usually involves encouraging the movement of owner-occupiers to areas which consist of mostly social rented housing. In the US a different strategy has been adopted and policies there have sought to alleviate the effects of concentrated poverty by attempting to move less-affluent households to more favourable and socially diverse neighbourhoods. (Atkinson, 2005) Mobility programmes like the Gautreaux Programme and Moving to Opportunity take as their underpinning rationale the notion that moving people *to* areas of greater social diversity may, whilst not totally alleviating adverse impacts, at least cancel the net additional impact on personal circumstances of living in an area of extreme, concentrated deprivation. (ibid)

Kearns (2002) offers some useful reflections on why housing dispersal programmes have not been 'operated to any significant extent in European countries' (p.145). He suggests that several factors underpin the contrasting European and American approaches to tackling residential disadvantage and outlines several reasons why mobility programmes have not been adopted in European countries. The pertinent issues in relation to our research are Kearns's argument that the 'social exclusion paradigm has pre-dominated in the European context and this has led to the adoption of Area Based Initiatives (ABIs) to improve the life chances of areas rather than individuals' (p.146) whereas in American policy and academia the notion that areas can have a negative effect on individuals' life opportunities is not as prevalent. Moreover,

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[12] In their good practice guides for 'Creating and Sustaining Mixed Income Communities' in both England and Scotland (Bailey et al, 2006; 2007) provide valuable case study examples.

Kearns emphasizes that the larger size of the social rented housing sector in many European countries has led governments to focus on de-concentration rather than dispersal:

> "The in-situ dilution of the size and effects of the social rented sector has been paramount as an objective, rather than the spreading of social rented sector tenants across the urban into 'better neighbourhoods." (Kearns, 2002:p.146)

Although Kearns suggests that there are some examples of housing opportunity programmes in Europe and Britain, including the Right-To-Buy policy initiative, tenure diversification on estates and Stock Transfer/Multi Landlord Estate Management, these do not represent full-scale dispersal programmes akin to the US strategies. The different social, economic and political environments which exist in Britain and America clearly impact on the types of policies which are implemented to tackle issues of concentrated poverty in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Although US mobility programmes utilize an alternative approach they can offer some significant pointers for UK and Europe in relation to the role of cultural context, policy instruments and settings that influence and mediate the links between neighbourhood context and household or individual outcomes (Atkinson, 2005). We will now provide a brief outline of key mobility programmes and their findings.

The impact of mobility programmes

The Gautreaux Assisted Housing Programme was the first of the mobility initiatives and emerged following a court decision in 1969 where community activist Dorothy Gautreaux challenged the Chicago Housing Authority over its 'continued construction of public housing in poor neighbourhoods' (ibid). The court ruling meant that the city was a) prevented from constructing new public housing in areas that were predominantly African-American unless they built public housing elsewhere and b) prevented the construction of high-rise public housing and dense concentrations of public housing in any city neighbourhood.

Eligible families were given Section 8 rent certificates to pay for private rental apartments in neighbourhoods in which no more than 30 percent of the residents were African American. In other words, a key aim was the dispersal of poverty and attempts to reverse the way that social housing had concentrated poor, particularly black house-holds. Between 1976 and 1998, when the program ended, it had moved around 25,000 participants to areas throughout the city, roughly half to suburbs and half to neighbourhoods in the city. (ibid)

Findings from the research study evaluating Gautreaux carried out by the Northwestern University Institute for Policy Research showed that the social and economic effects of migration in the program indicated that when low-income, black households moved from the inner city into private subsidized housing in the suburbs, their children's attitudes towards school improved and their grades did not drop, despite some racial discrimination and harassment. Furthermore the study found that black adults got more and better jobs in the suburbs (25% more likely), and in the latest phase of the work, that more children went to college or were employed than among the groups that remained in the city (Rosenbaum, 1995). Suburban movers were also more likely to achieve relative social integration through friendships with white neighbours and other local interaction. Not only does this suggest that the context effects of living in deprived areas negatively affects life-chances but also that contexts in which greater affluence and social diversity are in evidence promote improvements in educational and labour market outcomes. (Atkinson, 2005)

Moving to Opportunity (MTO) followed on from Gautreaux and was funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). MTO rolled out voucher programmes in five US cities (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles and New York). A key feature of the MTO program is that it employed an experimental approach which randomly allocated eligible families to one of three groups: an experimental group allocated housing vouchers which could

only be used in low-poverty neighbourhoods with assistance to find suitable accommodation; a Section 8 group: given vouchers allocated without restrictions on where to move; and a control group who were not offered vouchers and who continued to live in public housing. A longitudinal study with 90% follow-up of 4,600 families focused on outcomes of the program in relation to employment, income, education, health and social well-being of family members. Key findings demonstrated that unsurprisingly, neighbourhood and housing conditions had improved for the experimental group who had moved to 'non-poor' neighbourhoods and that these individuals now felt safer in their new neighbourhood environments. In addition the experimental group reported general improvements in health, particularly a lowering of obesity rates and mental health levels; there were no such improvements in the other two groups. Finally, education, employment, and economic self-sufficiency were considered to be longer-term impacts which would take longer to establish themselves (Orr et al, 2003).

In his evaluation of the US mobility programmes Atkinson (2005) also flags up some key caveats. The first of these is that the selection of those given vouchers was carried out on the basis of whether households were already considered to be good tenants. Subsequently, the program itself can be seen as the dispersal of those that were already likely to do better than the wider group of residents in pre-existing areas of black and poor neighbourhoods. The other key issue here is that the US studies barely consider the impacts of these policies on the neighbourhoods or 'origin communities' that recipients exit (Johnson et al, 2002); and ultimately this outward-migration could result in 'higher concentrations of the poorest and most destitute tenants in central-city neighbourhoods' (p.133, Johnson et al, 2002).[13]

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[13] There is a vast literature around US residential mobility programmes an exploration of which lies outside the scope of this research. For further reading see-Goering et al (2003); Keels et al (2005) and Rosenbaum and Zuberi (2010)

3.3 Mixed communities as a policy tool for over-riding area effects

As we have already established a multitude of area effects has been identified in the literature, however the ones which we are interested in here are those which strongly influence the mixed community policy agenda. These area effects are singled out as being the group which mixed communities can be most effective in helping to alleviate and, can be split into two categories. The first category relates to the more concrete or 'physical' area effects, which include improved housing, improved physical environment and provision of better local services, and the second is centred on another set of more idealized area effects.

The policy literature seems to suggest that both sets of area effects can be solved straightforwardly by introducing tenure mix[14]. **Table B** reduces the mixed community policy agenda to its basic theory and although this might be an over-simplification this process allows us to untangle the different strands of the area effects/mixed community relationship and to categorize the evidence from the literature accordingly. We must note, however, that there are obvious areas of overlap between the tangible and intangible categories[15].

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[14] For a good discussion of the expected benefits of tenure and socio-economic mix see Kearns and Mason (2007)

[15] We must note at this point that one obvious omission here is anti-social behaviour an area effect which straddles both the tangible and intangible categories. It was decided that the literature on this topic was of such magnitude that it lay outside the scope of this thesis. However, although we have not included it as a distinct area-effect it is bound up with many of the others and this is reflected in our findings.

Table B-Tackling Area Effects Using Mixed Communities

TANGIBLE AREA EFFECTS	MIXED COMMUNITIES MIGHT
Poor physical environment Poor service environment Poor local economy High turnover of residents	Improve physical environment Improve service environment Improve local economy Reduce turnover
INTANGIBLE AREA EFFECTS Lack of social capital Lack of role model Stigma Lack of social cohesion	MIXED COMMUNITIES MIGHT Introduce social capital Supply role models Reduce stigma Improve social cohesion

3.4 Tangible area effects-a review of the evidence base

We will now go on to discuss, in turn, the key tangible area effects which we have identified in the literature. Discussions around individual area effects will be preceded by a figure which clearly explains the impacts of each area effect and also describes how mixed communities are expected to improve these. A review of the evidence in each case will follow.

The physical environment

Area effect-poor physical environment	Mixed communities
<u>Features</u> Poor quality/run-down housing Little or no green-space Bad layout/design	<u>Aim to:</u> Provide good quality housing Incorporate green-space (e.g. walkways, parks, playgrounds) Encompass good design/layout <u>**By the development or regeneration of well-planned and well-designed neighbourhoods**</u>

Figure 3.2-The physical environment

The significance of the built environment and the wider physical environment on the quality of an individual's life has been acknowledged since the early studies by Booth, Chadwick and Rowntree. These pioneering social researchers highlighted the links between health and mortality rates and slum housing, inadequate sanitation and over-crowding. Similarly, Howard's 'Garden Cities' were conceived as a solution to the evils of the congested Victorian slum city (Hall: 2002). The post-war Labour government as well as pledging to deliver

'[f]ive million houses in quick time' also vowed to build good quality housing, recognising the links between poor housing conditions and diseases like tuberculosis and emphysema (Timmins, 1995) By the late 1970s and into the 1980s Bevan's post-war vision of a 'New Jerusalem' for British housing was unrealized and the spectre of the 'problem estate' had come to haunt housing and regeneration policy makers.

The label was applied to council housing estates (usually inner city or peripheral estates) which had suffered structural decline incorporating poor quality housing, neglected and poorly maintained environments and poor services. As well as structural decline these areas experienced concentrations of multiple deprivation which compounded the difficulties faced by those who lived in them. In 1979 the Labour government launched the Priority Estates Project (PEP) to tackle the problems on some of Britain's 'worst' estates. Following a detailed study in twenty-seven 'ailing' estates researchers identified numerous inter-related problems which existed on the estates. Problems with the physical environment featured heavily; we have already considered these in Chapter 1 (section 1.2). These included: poor quality housing; neglected and rubbish-strewn environments; poor repairs and maintenance; high levels of crime and vandalism and high levels of empty properties (Power and Tunstall, 1995). A concern with transforming the physical environment of the most run-down and disadvantaged neighbourhoods has remained at the forefront of housing and regeneration policies, although there has been the recognition that very often, too much emphasis was placed on this aspect of regeneration.

New Labour through its social exclusion agenda adopted a more holistic approach and acknowledged that 'all too often governments in the past have tried to slice problems up into separate packages-as if you could fix an estate by just painting the houses rather than tackling the lack of jobs or the level of crime' (Tony Blair: 1997). Another flagship New Labour Policy, which spelt out

the importance of creating and maintaining a good physical environment, in a neighbourhood, was the sustainability agenda. The pre-requisites (with regard to the physical environment) for a sustainable community were; appropriate size, scale and density, and the right layout to support basic amenities; a well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures; a safe and healthy local environment with well-designed public and green space; a network of safe well-designed streets and public spaces(ODPM: 2003).

An important dimension of the sustainability strategy is the need to create mixed income communities (Bailey et al, 2006). The tenure mix policy assumptions with regard to the physical environment are that owner-occupiers will improve the picture in a number of ways: by maintaining their properties; by putting down roots; by demonstrating long-term commitment to an area; by complaining more successfully about neighbourhood problems; and by initiating successful neighbourhood groups, such as residents' associations (Kleinhans, 2004).

It seems logical that a good starting point for developers creating mixed communities might be the proportion of the mix of tenures in an area. This can be a contentious issue with developers often striving to infringe Section 106 planning agreements by keeping the numbers of affordable social rented properties to an absolute minimum (and below the required 20 to 50 per cent) in response to alleged market demand (See Chapter 1-section 1.3).

It is important to point out here that the physical design and layout of a mixed community is often suggested as being of crucial significance in relation to social interaction occurring between tenures, and it is assumed that this in turn, facilitates the transfer of social capital and the 'role-model effect'. Although we are discussing issues around design and layout in this 'tangible' area effects' section these are also relevant vis-à-vis the aforementioned 'intangible' area effects.

Kearns and Mason (2007) examined the impacts of housing tenure mix in relation to 'the incidence of serious problems and of the desire for local service improvements within neighbourhoods in England' and found that the demand for improvements was often highest in areas dominated by social rented housing, and that the level of social renting seemed to be a more important influence upon neighbourhood conditions than the degree of tenure mixing (Kearns and Mason, 2007).

Other commentators have argued that a 'threshold effect' could exist; in other words impacts might occur for one group by adding one more member of another group, and eventually lead to a 'tipping point' with regard to area effects (these might be positive or negative area effects) (Galster, 2007). The 'threshold' theory is particularly relevant in the context of mixed tenure communities however there has been very little consideration of how 'mix' can be identified and measured. (Graham et al, 2009) Other researchers (Tunstall, 2000) have suggested that one definition of mixed tenure could be an area in which there is an absence of a dominant tenure therefore where no tenure category exceeds 50 percent. Policy documents are vague about the issue, and no real guidelines are offered on how many social rented houses should be built in relation to owner occupied houses in a mixed community.

In their guide to creating and sustaining mixed communities Bailey et al indicate that the proportion of tenures within a neighbourhood is perhaps not as important for its sustainability as is the spatial dispersal of tenures (Bailey et al, 2006). They categorise the potential dispersal of tenures which can occur in mixed communities as follows; *integrated* –where different tenures are side by side (for instance in the same street); *segmented* –where different tenures are in different blocks; *segregated* -where different tenures are in concentrations (ibid) The authors observe that the greatest integration between tenures is achieved when the social rented or shared ownership housing units are dispersed evenly throughout the development. (ibid) This finding is in keeping

with previous research studies, which also highlight the importance of a 'pepper-potting' approach to tenure dispersal, particularly with regard to social interaction between tenures (See Page and Broughton, 1997; Jupp, 1999; Beekman et al 2001, Allen et al 2005). Other researchers maintain that the policy claims around social interaction in mixed communities are often over-stated, in this regard (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Kleinhans *et al*, 2000). Cross-tenure social interaction is subject to 'distance decay' (Page and Broughton, 1997; Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Kleinhans, 2004) so as proximity between tenures increases, so does the occurrence of social networks among residents of different tenures.

The evidence indicates that, while 'pepper-potting' in theory will lead to more cross-tenure interaction, successful mixed communities do not have to be designed following a particular blueprint. Groves et al (2003), caution that there is no 'magic recipe' of particular designs or layouts which will work best in a mixed community and this is echoed by Allan et al (2005) who argue that there is a case to be made for either a segmented or a pepper-potted approach to mixed tenure. However, the latter researchers offer a caveat here; that 'housing similarities' (in other words owner-occupied houses which are built to the same standards and which look the same) must be an integral feature of the design.

This issue of the need for 'tenure blindness' is another key characteristic of the physical environment which can help to produce a more ambient mixed community (Rowlands *et al,* 2006) and Hanley (2007) stresses the problem with the two tenures looking markedly different

> 'No matter how scattered, or pepper-potted, council housing is around an area of largely private housing, it can become cut off from mainstream society as easily as a monolithic overspill estate if its difference – its social-ness – is emphasized.' (Hanley, 2007 p216)

There is a consensus in the mixed community literature that the introduction of tenure diversification is generally allied to improvements in the physical environment (Page and Broughton, 1997; Cole et al, 1997; Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Jupp, 1999). These improvements include high quality housing and high quality green spaces and landscaping, as well as the provision of cycle-ways and footpaths (Bailey *et al,* 2006). The inclusion of footpaths and cycle-ways provide the most likely locations for social interaction between individuals in a neighbourhood, and therefore represent a crucial mechanism in the design of any successful mixed community. Allan *et al* (2005) found that these features of the planned environment (especially when they were connected to local services) facilitated social interaction and also underpinned resident satisfaction although the researchers caution that tenure mix alone 'will not guarantee the success of a development' (Allan *et al,* 2005). The subsequent impacts on health and well-being, in relation to this feature of mixed communities, is of interest here and will be explored in the following chapter. Another valuable aspect of upgrading the physical environment is the positive knock-on effect this has on stigma. The evidence suggests that improvements in the physical environment help to lessen the stigmatization of areas (Beekman, 2001; Allan, 2006). We will discuss stigma in more depth later in the chapter.

The relationship between tenure mix and improved physical environment can be difficult to extrapolate from the 'bigger picture', and other elements in a regeneration package, particularly when tenure mix is introduced into an existing social rented community. However, more planned mixed communities are now being built and in these neighbourhoods it should be easier to determine the relationship between the two, and also to evaluate how this evolves over time. For instance with regard to upkeep and maintenance of the built environment (both homes and public buildings); and also in the use people make of the public spaces in mixed communities; and ultimately whether

features like cycle paths and footways engender social interaction between people living in different tenures.

The service environment

Area effect-the service environment	Mixed communities
Features Poor retail service provision Poor environmental service provision Poor provision of health, social and education services (no or little access to these Poor or no local transport infrastructure or services	**Aim to:** Provide a range of retail services (supported by higher levels of affluence) Provide good quality environmental services (linked to owner-occupier expectations and demands) Provide good quality health and social services (in situ and accessible) Provide good quality education services (with local schools being attended by pupils from a range of backgrounds) Provide good quality transport services (reliable public transport systems, alongside a layout which encourages walking and cycling) By the introduction of owner-occupiers

Figure 3.3-The service environment

A prerequisite for any thriving community is the existence of good quality local public services. These are obviously important in themselves for instance in relation to easily accessible health or social services. In addition they also have other functions since they impact upon the degree of local activity and subsequently upon opportunities for individuals meeting other local residents.

These local resources including shops and other amenities, such as leisure centres; healthcare and community facilities; transport services and schools all add quality to a neighbourhood (Bailey *et al,* 2006) and enhance the lives of

the people who live there. However, the most deprived areas often lack the services which better-off areas take for granted (Bailey *et al,* 2006) and the government suggests that poor service environments can compound problems of low educational attainment, poor health and drug and alcohol misuse (ODPM, 2005). In relation to health services in deprived areas, research commissioned by the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister revealed that the most disadvantaged areas tend to have fewer primary care workers per person than less disadvantaged areas. In addition these areas also had a disproportionate number of single handed GP practices, who struggled to run a wide range of services, in comparison to larger practices in more affluent areas (ODPM, 2005).

Moreover research carried out by Hastings *et al* (2005) in four separate locations in Britain determined that a gap existed between deprived and less deprived neighbourhoods when it came to the provision of environmental amenities. Furthermore the evidence suggested an unintentional bias against deprived neighbourhoods with resource allocation in this regard.

Policies which have helped improve local service environments include the New Deal for Communities, Sure Start and Health, Education and Employment Zones, as well as smaller-scale ABIs. Mixed communities are considered a key policy mechanism which can be used to bring about positive changes in neighbourhood services. The implicit theory in this instance rests on two assumptions about the impact of owner-occupiers in a neighbourhood. Firstly, owner-occupiers will constitute a more middle-class resident group and will bring more income into the local area thus helping to sustain a better range of retail outlets and services (Kearns and Mason, 2007). Secondly, that these middle-class owner-occupiers will 'contribute to the raising of standards of public service provision by their stronger 'voice' and advocacy skills' (ibid). In other words, owner occupiers will be more likely to complain about poor quality services, and to do so in a more effective manner than social renters.

This is a debatable premise which might be considered patronizing to social renters and is closely linked to the notion of social capital.

There is evidence which suggests, however, that it is social renters who have more of a vested interest in the service environments in their neighbourhoods. The mixed community literature indicates that renters place a greater reliance on local services than home owners, due to the fact that more of them use these services (Beekman *et al*, 2001; Allan *et al*, 2005), one exception being local schools where both sets of residents share a common interest in maintaining high-quality provision (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Allan *et al*, 2005), although owners may be more likely to use non-local schools. However, some of the evidence suggests tenure diversification does not produce quantifiable effects on the service environment. Beekman *et al* (2001) found that no relationship was apparent between improvements in service levels and tenure diversification. This phenomenon was noted by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) in their study of three Scottish mixed communities when they noted that 'shops and other amenities on estates, particularly pubs were of low quality.' According to Wood tenure diversification might in fact have a detrimental effect on the service environment and he cautions:-

> "Often specialist services are targeted directly at those localities with the greatest need. If tenure diversification changes the social mix, additional resources might be lost." (Wood, 2003)

He (writing five years ago) also emphasized that this aspect of mixed communities had not apparently been subject to empirical investigation (Wood, 2003), and this still seems to be the case. Although most studies in mixed communities do consider the service environment, it is usually looked at in conjunction with other features, and the relationship between tenure diversification and services appears to be under-researched. Any study looking at the detailed benefits and dis-benefits to the service environment in mixed communities would be a valuable addition to the literature.

Researchers such as Kearns and Mason (2007) have noted that tenure mix can lead to improvements in the service environment, alongside improvements in the physical and social environments. Crucially however tenure mix alone is not an assurance of success for a neighbourhood.

Local economy

Area effect-failing local economy	Mixed communities
Features High unemployment Lack of money circulating in the community Disincentive to shops/businesses Stigmatization Lack of retail services/outlets High resident turnover Further neighbourhood decline	**Aim to:** Introduce employment opportunities (connected to social capital) Create more affluence Attract shops/businesses Reduce stigmatization Provide retail services/outlets Reduce resident turnover Arrest /prevent neighbourhood decline **By the introduction of middle-class owner-ocupiers**

Figure 3.4-The local economy

The importance of a flourishing local economy to provide jobs and wealth (ODPM, 2005) is a palpable feature of a successful community, and an absent feature of an unsuccessful community. The issue of failing local economies on 'problem estates' has been recognised as a key element in the decline of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and also recognised as a significant area effect in the literature. Government policies have been targeted at the various factors which have been identified as the root causes of economic deterioration. These include: unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor

housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. (Social Exclusion Unit: 1998)

Jupp summarises the effects of residualization in a neighbourhood as follows: little money circulates in the local economy of a deprived area and therefore it cannot attract shops or other businesses; this exacerbates the stigmatization towards the area and creates barriers to employment (and other opportunities) for residents; it becomes harder for the area to attract and retain teachers, GPs and other service providers; the area becomes more insular and isolated which in turn intensifies the poor social and cultural conditions in the area. (Jupp, 1999) The factors which contribute to the residualization process are clearly contingent upon one another.

However, resident turnover in an area has perhaps one of the greatest influences on the shape of the local economy. Mixed tenure neighbourhoods are seen as an effective means of producing stable communities, with a low turnover of residents. The policy assumptions are that this in turn will engender strong local economies in these areas. Some commentators assert that although tenure diversification is portrayed as a means of developing various aspects of disadvantaged communities, for instance social cohesion and social networks its real function for policy makers is asset management as part of an economic rationalist agenda (Arthurson, 1998; Wood, 2003). This analysis views the mixed community agenda as more focused on changing the socio-economic mix in disadvantaged communities than it is about creating socially cohesive communities through social mix. Then again if creating more economically viable communities leads to those communities becoming more socially cohesive, or vice-versa perhaps the policy outcomes are more important than their under-lying rationales.

Bailey *et al* (2006) suggest that mixed communities can reduce resident turnover since they offer a range of housing within the neighbourhood which residents have the possibility of moving to in order to accommodate changes in

household size, income levels and space needs. The researchers also observe that this can also lead to the maintenance of social and family networks. (ibid) Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) found that rapid turnover occurred in all three of the estates which they studied, since owners regarded their stay in the areas as temporary. They highlighted the fact that GRO grants and other owner occupation initiatives focused on homes at the bottom of the market and recommended that tenure diversification developments should incorporate 'move-on' accommodation by providing more up-market housing as well (ibid). There appears to be little evidence on whether this has in fact occurred in Scotland or in the rest of Britain although both the Westminster and Scottish government continue to encourage the creation of mixed communities which contain a range of different house types and sizes.

The findings from Allan *et al* (2005) support the case for tenure diversification as a mechanism for reducing turnover in a neighbourhood. In their three case study areas they discovered that mixed communities can support extended family networks, by providing opportunities for individuals to stay in the local area, rather than having to move away. (ibid) They give two examples: young adults on low incomes who were able to stay in the area because of a range of affordable housing options which were available; and, parents who were required to leave the family home because of relationship breakdown and who were then able to move to alternative accommodation within the area. (ibid) As a result of the stability of the populations in the three areas house prices were buoyant, and the areas were viewed as being desirable places to live for both owner-occupiers and renters. Notably, although the three areas were located within wider areas of deprivation (with higher levels than the national average) they had never suffered from the total collapse of their local economies (ibid).

However, although Allan *et al* (2005) found positive impacts on the local economy and on resident turnover they also caution that tenure diversification

alone is not sufficient to tackle poverty and social exclusion in the most disadvantaged areas. In essence, a community-mixed or otherwise- which is situated in a wider locality where structural factors (like extensive unemployment), exist is still a disadvantaged community regardless of how the local economy might be operating.

3.5 Intangible area effects-a review of the evidence base

Both the policy and academic literature have tended to focus on the more nebulous aspects of mixed communities, in particular on social interaction; the mechanisms through which this might be achieved, such as social capital and the role model effect; and the anticipated policy objectives which this social interaction might beget, including the eradication of stigma and the materialization of social cohesion. All of these have been identified as significant area effects, and we must now consider the evidence with regard to each.

Social capital

Area effect- deficit of social capital	Mixed communities
<u>Features</u> Lack of solid social networks Lack of social support No (or few) conduits for allowing exchange of information, support or resources Existence of 'bonding' rather than 'bridging' social capital 'Inward' looking communities offering few opportunities and unconnected to society	<u>Aim to:</u> Improve social networks Increase social support Provide conduits (through social interaction between tenures) Supplant 'bonding' social capital with 'bridging' Create 'outward' looking communities which provide opportunities and are connected to society <u>By introducing owner-occupiers</u>

Figure 3.5-Social capital

In both the area effects research and policy literature there has been an increasing focus on social capital, and social networks and the potential impacts which these may have on individuals when acting at a neighbourhood level. A basic explanation of the concept would be that it describes connections both within and between networks, usually at a neighbourhood or community level. Social capital can be described as the exchange of information, social support and resources. The urban theorist Jane Jacobs used the term in the 1960s in relation to social networks, and the philosopher Bourdieu also referred to the concept in his work 'Outline of a Theory of Practice' (1972). More recently in his influential work on the subject Putnam defines social capital as "features of social organization, such as trust, norms

and networks" and maintains that social capital functions at both a societal and a neighbourhood level (Putnam: 2000).

Many of the perceived benefits of tenure diversification policies are linked to the aim of increasing 'social capital' in disadvantaged communities. In regeneration strategies social capital is viewed as being an instrument which can help to build community cohesion, particularly in deprived or socially excluded areas. Middleton *et al* comment:

"Social capital is seen as the foundation on which social stability and a community's ability to help itself are built; and its absence is thought to be a key factor in neighbourhood decline." (Middleton *et al*: 2005)

For New Labour the concept of social capital was always an attractive one. In 2001 Tony Blair (then Prime Minister) commented "Social capital allows people to resolve collective problems more easily" although it should be clarified that social capital may bring individual and collective benefits *in theory*. This focus on social capital continued to resonate throughout the government's neighbourhood renewal strategies. The Home Office linked social capital to community participation, civic virtues and "successful communities which foster healthy public and political debate." (Home Office: 2003) and in "Sustainable Communities: People, Places and Prosperity" the government called for more neighbourhood and community engagement and increased levels of participation to "ensure that people have the power and scope to make a real difference." (HMSO: 2005)

The Scottish Executive also committed itself to improving social capital in disadvantaged communities. In "Better Communities in Scotland: Closing the Gap" the Executive pledged to "work to make sure people and communities have the social capital- the skills, confidence, support networks and resources- that they need to take advantage of, and to increase, the opportunities open to them." (Scottish Executive: 2002) The policy outcomes for mixed communities concentrated on the concept of social capital and how this

elusive resource could be fostered in these types of communities. Middleton *et al* caution that social capital is a "poorly defined concept which has moved to the heart of the regeneration literature" (Middleton *et al*, 2005). Furthermore, they assert that the concept has been embraced by authors of different theoretical and ideological persuasions as well as by different disciplines and has been adapted to fit the variety of theoretical frameworks that different professions bring to the practice of regeneration" (Middleton *et al*, 2005).

Another key point which has emerged from the literature on social capital is the fact that different *types* of social capital exist, and that these can have either positive or negative impacts. Granovetter (1973) argued that where strong ties exist, for example in close extended families or within neighbourhood networks on disadvantaged estates the quality of information shared is poor and not beneficial for those involved. On the other hand, where there are weak ties, for instance between wider acquaintances, then the information exchanged is more likely to be valuable for one or both of the parties involved (Granovetter, 1973). Putnam refers to these different types of social capital as 'bonding' and 'bridging' (Putnam, 2000). Bonding social capital equates to Granovetter's 'strong ties theory' and is perceived as being inward looking and as reinforcing homogeneity within a neighbourhood or group. Conversely, bridging social capital exists where there are 'weak ties', and is more inclusive and outward looking in character. According to Galster the presence of strong ties for one group within a neighbourhood could have negative impacts for another (Galster, 2007).

Mixed housing policies are promoted as being one of the key facilitators in introducing social capital into areas where it is deemed to be lacking. The theory is that owner-occupiers and social renters in mixed communities will develop the 'good' type of bridging social capital which will allow information, such as job opportunities, to flow from one to the other (clearly *from* the owner occupiers *to* the social renters). Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) point out,

> "It is assumed by policy makers that owner occupiers can provide a tangible alternative world of jobs, education and stable family life in the midst of social exclusion." (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000)

However, there appears to be a major limitation of the mixed tenure approach in respect of building social capital. Almost all of the assumed benefits of tenure diversification and social mix (with the exception of sustainability objectives) are expected to come about as a result of increased social interactions between different tenures, however according to the research (Goodchild and Cole, 2001; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000, 2001) there is very little evidence that this increased interaction does in fact take place, and furthermore lifestyle is deemed to be a far greater determinant of social interaction than tenure. (Kleinhans, 2004) Others argue that it may be too much to expect of people that such mixing should lead to the creation and maintenance of social ties across class and other divisions, since people who live next to each other do not have to interact (Nash and Christie, 2003).

Although the academic debates continue around how valuable the concept of social capital is as a research tool or policy objective some researchers have devised various models (or frameworks) in an attempt to trace the pathways through which this elusive quality functions. Cattell (2001) carried out a qualitative research study in two East London housing estates using the role of social networks and social capital as a framework to determine how these processes impacted on health. In each case study area Cattell carried out informal interviews with around 35 residents in an attempt to explore the relationship between "(i) neighbourhood, social networks and social capital, and (ii) individual's social networks, social capital and health and well-being" (Cattell, 2001) From the data collected Cattell was then able to construct a 'Typology of Networks' which highlighted the relationships between social networks and health and well-being.

Cattell's examination of social capital, social networks and health and well-being proved to be a useful tool for mapping the links between each, and she concluded that

> "A feature of the network typologies was that certain health protecting or health damaging attributes and attitudes – such as hope, fatalism, pessimism, self-esteem, perceptions of control – were related to network type…Those with more restricted networks, for example, were more likely to express feelings with negative health outcomes." (Cattell, 2001)

Cattell's findings offer a convincing argument in relation to the impacts of social networks on psychological outlook and psychosocial health, and the implication is that it could also act as a pathway to improved physical and health and health behaviours. Putnam's study also correlated the existence of social capital, in an area with better health outcomes for individuals, stating:

> "As a rough rule of thumb, if you belong to no groups but decide to join one, you can cut your risk of dying over the next year *in half*…Civic connections rival marriage and affluence as predictors of life happiness.' (Putnam, 2000)

As well as health benefits Putnam's study also suggested other advantages associated with higher levels of social capital including improved child development, cleaner and safer neighbourhoods and better local economies. (Putnam, 2000) However, some of the criticisms of social capital are that it fails to take into account gender dimensions and how women engage in and create local networks (Skocpol, 2003; Bookman, 2004) and that it does not explore social capital in a historical context. Furthermore Skocpol (2003) argues that the type of civic voluntarism espoused by Putnam was never predominantly local and flourished only at the level of national politics.

Additional concerns with regard to social capital relate to the practicalities of how such a nebulous concept might be applied for the purpose of developing new policies (or improving existing ones), and how policies 'aimed at evoking' social capital might be evaluated. (Roche, 2004) Roche proposes that one way

to overcome this problem would be a mixed-method approach to exploring social capital, using both quantitative and qualitative techniques, and thus measuring the phenomenon while at the same time gauging individuals' perceptions. (Roche, 2004)

Social capital has come to be considered a significant area effect in some theoretical frameworks, and has gained 'political capital' (Roche, 2004) in recent years. However, we must be aware that it can be defined and interpreted in many different ways. Furthermore, when it comes to the social and economic reality of deprived communities if we wish to implement effective policies to improve the well-being of residents within these communities, we must be aware that although the concept of social capital has helped social scientists with different theoretical frameworks to focus on the problems, it will not ultimately help to solve them. (Middleton *et al*, 2005) When it comes to mixed communities we must ask can these really be a vehicle for delivering social capital to disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and even if this is the case, recognize that social capital isolated from structural factors like improved housing and physical environment only goes so far in making a difference.

Role-models

Area effect-lack of 'role-models'	Mixed communities
<u>Features</u> Lack of positive 'role-models' (individuals who are employed, maintain their properties, are active in the community) Lack of aspiration within the community Communities segregated from wider society	<u>Aim to:</u> Provide 'role-models' Raise aspirations within the community (Re-)connect community to wider society <u>By introducing 'role-models in the form of owner-occupiers</u>

Figure 3.6-'Role-models'

Another recurring theme in the area effects literature is the absence of positive 'role-models' in deprived communities. The 'role-model effect' can be described as a process whereby one group within a community positively impacts on another by raising aspirations, and this in turn leads to a change in attitudes and behaviours, which ultimately benefits the whole community. The 'role-model' effect could potentially operate in two ways. Firstly, through observation – in other words by example – and this could be connected to changed behaviours (for instance with regard to maintenance of homes and gardens) or to changed attitudes and aspirations (perhaps in relation to employment or owning a new car). There is little evidence of the 'role-model effect occurring through observation.

The other means by which the RME could function is through direct contact occurring between owners and renters. Research findings however suggest that this interaction between the two groups does not occur, although Galster (2007) suggests that an even mix of affluent and deprived residents maximizes the opportunity for cross-tenure interaction and by implication a 'role-model

effect occurring. Allen *et al* (2005) examined three 'mature' mixed communities, which had been purpose-built as such in the 1970s and found that owners and renters operated in different worlds, and that little interaction took place between the two groups. This led the researchers to question the claims made in relation to the 'role model effect'. Similar conclusions were reached by Atkinson and Kintrea (1999; 2000) who looked at the impact of introducing owner-occupiers to areas of social renting in order to create more socially diverse areas. The research study (which we have already referred to) was carried out in three Scottish housing estates, and involved forty-nine households, who used diaries to record their everyday movements, in an attempt to establish potential interaction between owners and renters. The results showed that the owners' patterns of daily movement were wider than that of the renters (mainly because more of them worked) and as a result contact between owners and renters was 'relatively sparse', with owners not really engaging with renters unless they had originally come from the neighbourhoods in question. Interestingly the research around 'role-models' has been focused on the social interaction mechanism and there remains a gap in the academic literature on the 'role-model effect' occurring through observation.

The spotlight on role-models in the context of area effects has been shaped by American studies and in particular by research in disadvantaged urban black communities. In the British context the focus on race and ethnicity is not so relevant, since residential segregation by race, is not as stark as in the US setting. Nevertheless, one of the channels identified for the transfer of social capital and raised aspirations between people living in different tenures in a mixed community is through a 'role-model effect' (ODPM, 2005), so it will be useful for us to dismantle the differing opinions behind the role-model hypothesis. Two of the principal exponents of the role-model theory are Wilson (1987, 1996) and Murray (1984) but the interpretations and solutions which the

two writers attribute to a lack of role-models within a neighbourhood underline their very different ideological positions.

Wilson asserts that from the early 1980s onwards better-educated, better-off individuals moved away from 'ghettoized' areas because there were little, or no, employment or social mobility opportunities for them here (Wilson, 1987, 1996). This resulted in the absence of an educated middle-class, who in previous generations had been closely involved with the church and community organisations in their neighbourhoods, and had provided role-models for both disadvantaged and more affluent young people in these communities (ibid).

Wilson approaches the concept of area effects from a structural perspective and for him the lack of role-models in inner-city neighbourhoods can be traced to wider societal factors. In Wilson's analysis broader structural factors had converged to create a situation where those who could escape did, and those who could not were left behind. In Wilson's scenario the neo-liberal political ideology which informed the Reagan administrations throughout the 1980s led to increased unemployment coupled with a reduction in welfare provision; this in turn created increased concentrations of poverty and residential segregation particularly in inner-city neighbourhoods (ibid). Unsurprisingly the solutions offered by Wilson were also structural in nature and included; the introduction of universal benefits; investment in regeneration; and local education programmes, all of which would help to combat poverty and the lack of opportunity which accompanies it. In addition Wilson suggests that these remedies would also reverse the flight of the educated middle-class, by making their original neighbourhoods into places where they wanted to live; thus positive role-models would reside in these communities. (ibid) However, although Wilson's hypothesis emphasizes the structural factors which generate area effects his work has been criticized for appearing to highlight the cultural aspects of poverty and for relating being poor with the 'underclass phenomenon' (Steinberg, 1997). Wilson has countered these criticisms by

arguing that attitudes around poverty and deprived neighbourhoods are ultimately socially constructed and that it is necessary to examine both structural and cultural influences.

One writer who embraces the concept of an 'underclass' is Charles Murray, whose slant on how and why an 'underclass' might develop is distinctly New Right in character. Murray controversially asserts that children brought up in lone-parent families, within 'ghettoized' areas lack male role models and as a result develop behaviours and attitudes which contaminate the life of entire neighbourhoods. (Murray, 1984) Murray's solutions for dealing with the situation are equally contentious; for instance he suggests that individuals who do not work to provide for their families should have their children taken into the care of social services. Murray's theory has been attacked on many fronts. Critiques suggest that his perspective is over-simplistic and resorts to labelling and pathologizing certain groups- particularly lone parents (and in the American context lone parents of African-American origin); that his argument is based on moral, rather than, scientific reasoning; and that he overlooks the structural causes of poverty and 'blames the victim' (David, 1996; Walker, 1996).

 Within the British context concern has been with the increasing residential segregation of the most deprived in society. The underclass debate here has focused on the unemployed and by default on social rented housing since the two are closely linked. Social rented housing has become, since the 1980s onwards, the tenancy of the most underprivileged within our society. This polarization of tenure intensified by the Thatcher RTB policy has resulted in the entrenchment of what were already geographically and socially excluded communities; the outcome has been that many estates have ended up as 'single-class prisons' alienated from mainstream society. (Hanley, 2007) Here lay the roots of New Labour's interest in mixed or balanced communities. New Labour envisaged mixed communities as an effective policy tool which could

help to combat the problems or area effects which are concentrated in the most deprived communities.

> "We want to remodel deprived estates to create a more sustainable mix of housing types and tenures, and to address deep-seated problems of worklessness, low skills, crime, poor environments and poor health." (Brown: 2005)

A key potential benefit claimed for mixed communities is the 'role model effect' which is said to result from the 'insertion of home-ownership' (Tunstall, 2003) into disadvantaged housing estates. The idea of a role-model effect is not a new one with regard to social mix and housing policy[16], as Bennett states:

> 'In the New Towns it was hoped that, with the right mix of housing tenures and community facilities, a "socially homogeneous community" would be created. There was a presumption that if the middle-classes could be attracted to the New Towns they would provide a kind of social and cultural example to the masses of lower urban class residents relocated with them." (Bennett: 2005)

There are strong associations here with the alleged 'role model effect' in mixed communities today. This casting of owner-occupiers as hard-working individuals who care about their homes and their communities, and who can positively influence social renters is a key strand of the mixed community discourse. By implication social renters are cast as work-shy, feckless individuals who need the example of positive role models (in the shape of owner occupiers) to show them how to care for their homes and their communities. (This hypothesis can be linked to the ethopolitics discourse put forward by Rose (2001) and Flint (2004) which we discussed in Chapter 1) If we stop to consider this premise it is condescending and disrespectful, furthermore some researchers have suggested that these 'role model effects are notoriously difficult to study empirically, since asking social renters if they consider

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[16] In early incarnations the 'role-model effect' was often considered to be a reciprocal process whereby middle-class philanthropists could learn from the poor and vice-versa (See Sarkissian, 1976) whereas more recently it has focused solely on the benefits which middle-class owner-occupiers can bring to residents in deprived neighbourhoods.

owners as positive role models could be construed as patronizing and insulting. (Kleinhans: 2004) In addition the inference here is that owner-occupiers are more upstanding members of society than social renters, simply by virtue of their tenure; a pejorative notion which has disturbing judgemental undertones; and furthermore is, (as we will see) a flimsy foundation for policy implementation.

Jupp (1999) carried out research on ten mixed tenure estates in England to discern whether owners mixed with renters, and if this was the case, how might this interaction positively affect the prospects of the renters. Jupp used a survey in each of the areas (with a response rate of 60%, and a total of 1000 interviews conducted) These research findings showed that owners and renters lived, generally, separate lives and he cautioned that geographical segregation of tenures within the estates did not encourage interaction between the two groups. Since Jupp's research has been carried out it has become more common for a 'pepper-potting' of tenures to be built into the design of mixed neighbourhoods. Although, some studies have shown that in a general sense home owners living in a neighbourhood are perceived as bringing benefits to the area (Beekman et al, 2001) there remains very little evidence that a role-model effect is one of these benefits. However, policy claims regarding the phenomenon remain at the forefront of the mixed community strategy and are clearly tied to other New Labour policy concerns, such as the aim of empowering communities and the anti-social behaviour agenda. Research suggests that there are other area effects, including poor physical environments and stigma, which can be addressed more effectively by introducing a mix of tenures

As with the role model effect government policies which seek to tackle neighbourhood stigma are closely tied to the communitarian influences on New Labour which focus on community empowerment and responsibility and which aim to 'give communities back to the people who live in them'. However, there

is a danger here that this approach can lead to the onus of responsibility for improving communities being placed on the people who live in them. The empowerment of 'local agents' (Alcock, 2004) can be a positive component of neighbourhood regeneration programmes but the (misplaced) belief that local problems require local solutions, may lead some national actors to assume they have no role to play in these. (Alcock, 2004)

Although, as Alcock (2004) also notes, the New Labour government did recognize the importance of the broader economic, social and political forces and has not abandoned structural responses to social developments.

New Labour's 'vision of a nation where no-one is seriously disadvantaged by where they live' (Tony Blair in the foreword to 'A New Commitment to Neighbourhood Renewal') saw it adopt a more holistic approach to dealing with the interconnected social problems which often face individuals living on these types of estates, which it identified under the social exclusion banner.

Colleen F. Rowan

Stigma

Area effect-stigma	Mixed communities
Features Poor area reputation (can be with both outsiders and residents) Stigmatization of community/residents Range of negative outcomes for residents: unemployment, lack of opportunities, poor health, low educational attainment, poor service provision	Aim to: Redress area reputation (with outsiders and residents) Reduce or eradicate stigmatization (of community and residents) Improve employment, health and education opportunities alongside access to services By introducing owner-occupiers

Figure 3.7-Stigma

The concept of stigma is founded in history and social science, and particularly in sociological discourses on social deviance and 'labelling' theories. Sociologists emphasize that stigma is essentially a socially constructed concept created by a society or culture. Erving Goffman's work on stigma and his notion of the 'spoilt identity' in relation to a stigmatized individual who is 'disqualified from full social acceptance' (Goffman, 1963) remains highly influential, and still has relevance with regard to discourses around stigma today. Goffman argued that labelling an individual or a group 'deviant' or identifying individuals as being out-with the social norms of a society can lead to the alienation of that individual or group, and furthermore that such labels can endure and may become a defining feature of the individual or group in question.

A concern with stigma and area reputation and how these in turn affect residents in a neighbourhood has long been a focus in the area effects literature. This interest has intensified as the steady expansion of home-

ownership from the 1960s onwards, accompanied by the decline in the social rented-sector, has led to a polarization of tenures and the tendency for the social housing sector to cater for an increased proportion of deprived people and to cater more exclusively for this group (Murie and Lee, 1997) has continued. The result has been the development of mono-tenure communities, which are often geographically and socially cut-off, and where the myriad problems associated with multiple deprivation are manifest, and stigma has become inextricably linked to social rented housing in these communities, and to the wider social exclusion debate.

The stigmatization of a place occurs when important institutional, governmental or market actors negatively stereotype all residents of a place and/or reduce the flows of resources flowing into the place because of its household composition (Galster, 2007). Dean and Hastings discovered that living in a stigmatised area can lead to a variety of negative outcomes for residents, these include; economic inactivity or poor employment opportunities; poor health; lack of access to services and low educational attainment. (Dean and Hastings, 2000) Furthermore, the same researchers found that a problem reputation can reinforce or even magnify an estate's material differences and even if an area undergoes a regeneration or renewal programme the bad reputation remains. (Dean and Hastings, 2000)

Other studies also underline the importance of stigma. Atkinson and Kintrea compared two pairs of deprived and socially mixed areas in Edinburgh and Glasgow for a range of area effects. The most significant area effect detected was the importance of reputation in structuring opportunities and experiences for the residents of the two deprived areas. (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001) In her study into residential contexts of social exclusion Costa Pinto perceived a link between residents' awareness of their neighbourhood's poor reputation and low levels of neighbourhood attachment (Costa Pinto, 2000). The researcher argues that the internalization of poor neighbourhood image contributed to

feelings of insecurity at an individual level, and instability at the neighbourhood level and that this subsequently reduced residents' ability to perceive themselves as masters of their own destiny, and thus meant that they had no agency or control within their neighbourhoods (Costa Pinto, 2000). These feelings, and others allied to them such as anger and frustration resonate in social exclusion discourses (See chapter 1) and are obviously connected with negative psychosocial health outcomes. We will turn to this matter in the following chapters.

Previously the issue of stigma has often not been addressed as a distinct problem, but has been incorporated into broader packages designed to improve the quality of neighbourhood life in general (Dean and Hastings, 2000). However, the implications of neighbourhood stigma are now identified as being a key part of the social exclusion process; and the eradication of stigma has increasingly played a part in the aims of regeneration policies at the neighbourhood level. The current Scottish Government has committed to strengthening previously fragmented, disadvantaged communities, (building on the policies of the previous Scottish Executive) by helping people to get back a 'sense of identity and pride in the place they live' (Scottish Executive, 2005) through the eradication of stigma and with 'residents playing an active role in shaping their own communities. (Scottish Executive, 2005)

How then might mixed communities help to combat stigma? The policy assumptions here are that the presence of owner occupiers, coupled with regeneration programmes, will have a positive impact on the physical, social and service environments within a community, and that, as a result, the transformation of previously stigmatized neighbourhoods will help to overturn negative perceptions for both outsiders and residents.

The evidence on tenure diversification suggests that it is an effective tool in helping to reduce stigma and this appears to be one policy claim for mixed communities which is bourne out in the research evidence. In their research

project which aimed to improve the understanding of the influence of owner-occupiers in mixed tenure neighbourhoods Beekman *et al* (2001) examined the social networks which had developed in eleven case study areas in Scotland (10 where diversification had taken place and 1 mono-tenure social-rented estate). The researchers carried out interviews and focus groups with 15 tenants and owner-occupiers in each area and assessed both groups' perceptions of their neighbourhoods. One of the key findings to emerge from the study was that home owners living in a neighbourhood were perceived as bringing benefits in terms of area reputation (Beekman *et al*, 2001). Other research supports the case for tenure diversification as a means of improving a neighbourhood's reputation and decreasing stigmatization (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Forrest and Kearns, 1999; Martin and Wilkinson, 2003). However, Kearns and Mason (2007) advise that there have to be wholesale changes to an area, and that they have to be 'real, tangible and visible for both residents and outsiders (visitors and observers)' before 'residents acquire a sense of change and a degree of optimism about their own and their neighbourhood's future, and outsiders treat certain areas differently' (Kearns and Mason, 2007).

There are two important points to bear in mind when discussing neighbourhood stigma, which are often overlooked by policy makers. Firstly, that stigmatized areas are often seen as being homogenous entities in terms of their problems and that diversity *within* these communities is ignored (Mooney, 1999). Dean and Hastings (2000) suggest that it is inappropriate to talk of the *image* of an estate rather that there are *fractured images*, and that individuals emphasize different aspects of the estate, and perceive it differently depending on their own characteristics and experiences. (Dean and Hastings, 2000) Secondly, perceptions of neighbourhoods invariably differ between people who live in estates and those who live outside (Skifter Andersen, 2003; Gourlay, 2007). These are the aspects of stigma which will be explored in more depth in this research project, and more specifically we will look at the connections residents (both owners and renters) might make with regard to perceptions of

neighbourhood stigma on their health (both mental and physical) and on their health behaviours. In doing so we will also uncover any potential tensions with regard to what residents feel is the reality of their everyday lives *within* their neighbourhoods and how they feel outsiders see their neighbourhoods.

Social cohesion

Area effect- lack of social cohesion	Mixed communities
<u>Features</u> Little trust amongst residents or caring for others within the community Absence of strong social networks Little civic engagement at the community level No evidence of collective efficacy with regard to tackling community problems	<u>Aim to:</u> Foster trust and caring amongst residents Engender strong social networks Encourage civic engagement at the community level Cultivate collective efficacy for tackling community problems **<u>By introducing owner-occupiers</u>**

Figure 3.8-Social cohesion

The quest for socially cohesive communities, which foster pride in the local neighbourhood and a sense of place (ODPM, 2005) is perhaps the Holy Grail of the mixed community agenda, since arguably this is the cornerstone of a fully-functioning successful community, and the condition on which all of the other policy claims are reliant. Kearns and Forrest (2001) depict social cohesion as having five key dimensions, these are:

- common values and a civic culture
- Social order and social control

- Social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities

- Social networks and social capital

- Territorial belonging and identity

However, the authors caution that social cohesion at the neighbourhood level is by no means unambiguously a good thing, since it can be about discrimination and exclusion and about a majority imposing its will or value system on the minority. Others observe that segregated, homogenous communities can have positive impacts on the people who live in them, for example in terms of sanctuary or protection. (Peach, 1996) Nevertheless, the concept of social cohesion and its function at a community level continues to occupy politicians and policy makers.

In order to understand the current policy focus around the need to create, or perhaps more accurately, the attempt to re-create socially cohesive communities, we need to consider why these concerns have emerged. As Forrest and Kearns (2001) point out, concerns with social cohesion (alongside debates around community and neighbourhood) have a long history in social policy and these discourses continue today. (Forrest and Kearns, 2001) The authors indicate:

> "…these occasional predictions of cohesion in crisis typically rest on assumptions that the social cement of a previous era is crumbling and that we are being collectively cast adrift in a world in which the previous rules of social interaction and social integration no longer apply." (Forrest and Kearns, 2001)

The response to this uncertainty is a harking back to a previous golden age where communities are envisaged as possessing positive attributes, such as community spirit and social cohesion; at the same time today's communities are perceived to have lost these. The communitarian philosophy, stemming from the work of Tonnies and Durkheim has continued to re-emerge in the social sciences in one form or another and Amitai Etzioni's work is particularly

relevant here, since it is one of the key influences on New Labour and its policy agenda. Etzioni's communitarianism focuses on the qualities which supposedly come together to create a 'good community'; on the moral discourses within communities; and on relationships within communities (Etzioni, 1993).

These things also mattered to New Labour, and objectives in relation to a myriad of policy areas, including the 'respect' agenda, the anti-social behaviour strategy and approaches to social exclusion were directed towards tackling these issues. Yet there is one important proviso here. Not all communities are deemed to be lacking in the qualities which promote social cohesion. The communities which are cast as being dysfunctional in this respect are the most deprived neighbourhoods, and the tendency has been to focus almost exclusively on disadvantaged and poor neighbourhoods, in both the policy and academic literature. (Forrest and Kearns, 2001) Furthermore, this deficit of social capital and social networks is also seen as being the cause of neighbourhood degeneration. As is illustrated by Forrest and Kearns:

> "The implication is that poor neighbourhoods in general lack the necessary qualities of self-help, mutuality and trust which could assist in their regeneration-and this in part explains, and is a cumulative product of, their decline" (Forrest and Kearns, 2001)

The familiar discourse around concentrations of poverty which we have observed emerging, perhaps not surprisingly, also come to the fore when we consider the use of mixed communities as a means of encouraging social cohesion. Segregation is seen as being problematic since it may also reflect a lack of wider social participation, or integration, at the societal level (Atkinson, 2005). The perceived benefits of social diversity at a neighbourhood level have been debated for some time by various writers. Gans (1961) proposed four major advantages of a socially mixed neighbourhood. Firstly, that an added demographic balance in an area enriched the lives of the residents; secondly, that social mix produces tolerance of social difference; thirdly, that it leads to a broadening of educational influences on children; and

finally, that social mix offers exposure to alternative ways of life. (Gans, 1961) All of Gans' assumptions with regard to social mix suggest that social mix at a neighbourhood level will lead to greater tolerance and implicitly to more socially cohesive communities. In the context of today's mixed communities the evidence to support this hypothesis is sparse.

The first thing we must establish is how a mixed community might generate social cohesion. Forrest and Kearns (2000, 2001) have documented the processes which generate and sustain social cohesion at different spatial scales. At a neighbourhood level they found these to be social networks and social capital, which they describe as 'high degree of social interaction within communities and families; civic engagement and associational activity; easy resolution of collective problems' (ibid). The authors argue that it is these residentially based networks which perform an important function in the routines of everyday life and which are the basic building blocks of social cohesion. These are also the processes which are identified as being the most important with regard to successful mixed communities.

The social cohesion dialogue is irrevocably bound up with the notion of social capital, and social interaction and all of these are intrinsic to the mixed community narrative, where tenure diversification is regarded as the policy mechanism which can help to bring them about. The danger which lies in focusing on these ill-defined concepts is that the structural problems which beset disadvantaged communities are neglected by policy makers. Wood (2003) comments:

> "Complex social problems are reduced to a simplistic deficit model with little if any acknowledgement of the significance of broader socio-economic structures, the local and national state and the use of power within civil society. Promoting interaction in disadvantaged neighbourhoods may, of course, lead to the development of shared norms and values, but one should question the extent to which shared norms and values among the 'network' will overcome the historically

constructed disadvantage faced by residents on marginalized public housing estates". (Wood, 2003)

For Wood the 'problem with the social capital/cohesion axis is that it denies the power relationships that reinforce the social polarization that it seeks to remedy' (Wood, 2003) the author also calls for further research into the relationship between the establishment of social mix and the empowerment of disadvantaged communities (ibid).

In her study in six Australian estates Arthurson (2002) found that strong, cohesive communities already existed on some of the estates prior to regeneration and tenure mixing and no evidence to suggest that a balanced social mix is a necessary condition for building inclusive communities. In the British context research studies have not found greater degrees of social cohesion in mixed communities, probably because, as we have already noted, the social inter-action on which cohesion is dependent doesn't really occur between the different tenures (see Jupp, 1999; Atkinson and Kintrea 1999; 2000, Allan et al, 2005) However, one aspect of mixed communities which has potential for increasing social cohesion is the 'influence of children as being a significant catalyst for encouraging social interaction between households of different tenures' (Beekman et al, 2001; see also Allan et al, 2005). This finding suggests that any longitudinal studies which could map the significance of this relationship would add to our knowledge and understanding in the area.

Arthurson also questioned whether placing residents with different income levels in the same neighbourhood might raise awareness of class differences, and thus create tensions (for instance the impact of envy or resentment between tenures and its potentially negative outcome on social cohesion) rather than the anticipated social integration (Arthurson, 2002). These concerns have also been raised previously by different researchers (Page and Broughton, 1997; Biggins and Hassan, 1998; Jupp, 1999) and they are also reflected in Relative Deprivation (RD) theories, which we explored in Chapter 2

At a neighbourhood level mixed communities could, in fact, exacerbate the negative feelings which can stem from comparisons since individuals living in social rented housing (and therefore presumably in poorer circumstances) would, according to RD theory, constantly compare themselves with those living in owner-occupied housing (who have more affluent lifestyles etc). These negative feelings experienced by individuals might in turn lead to negative outcomes at the community level, such as- less integration between tenure types, and consequently less social cohesion, sense of community, or community engagement and involvement. All of this is at odds with the area effects literature and the paradox between the two is an interesting one worthy of investigation in our study.

3.6 Health and well-being in mixed communities

Previous studies (See Ellaway *et al.,* 2001; Easterlow *et al,* 2000; Ellaway and Macintyre, 1998) have explored the connections between housing tenure and health and concluded that an individual's life chances are likely to be improved if he/she lives in owner-occupied housing. Elsewhere, others have suggested that a potential way in which tenure-diversified neighbourhoods might lead to health gains is as a result of psychosocial benefits for the individuals (particularly social renters) who live there (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998).

There is however a distinct lack of research into the health and well-being impacts of mixed communities. Although one recent study did ask "Mixing Houses Tenures: Is it good for Social Well-being?" Graham et al (2009) In seeking to answer this question the researchers carried out a national-level, ecological analysis of mixed tenure in Great Britain using aggregated data from two decennial censuses (alongside other data). The evidence suggested that at ward-level the findings provide little support for positive outcomes with regard to tenure mixing on the health of an area's population over a range of

indicators including; levels of unemployment; limiting long-term illness; mortality and premature mortality.

Although the authors express their concern over the fact that research into the impacts of tenure diversification has 'mostly been small-area, one-off snapshots providing only a rudimentary basis for comparative evaluation' (p.140) they also acknowledge the limitations of their own research project acknowledging that in a ward-level ecological study 'no information is available for tenure groups within a ward' and that 'only individual-level data would allow further investigation of who benefits (or does not benefit) from tenure mixing. There is clearly a place for both larger scale quantitative studies as well as smaller qualitative studies in the pursuit of evidence about what works (and what does not) in mixed communities. Our study into health and well-being in mixed communities sought to address the gap in the literature around individuals' experiences in tenure diversified neighbourhoods and how they perceived living in a mixed community had impacted on their health and well-being.

Mixed communities, area effects and health pathways

At this point it will serve us well to briefly review and highlight the connections which we have ascertained between the complex health and place, health inequalities, relative deprivation and area effects literatures. Each set of literature uses its own specific language to describe influences and processes which impact on individuals' health at the neighbourhood level but the phenomena being described are intrinsically consistent. For instance the contextual effects referred to in health and place literature are also configured as area effects in other literatures.

Furthermore, each literature recognizes that the health (and indeed other) pathways which operate at the neighbourhood level are complex and intertwined and that more research into these pathways needs to be carried

out in order to enhance our understanding of how they function and how and why they impact on individuals. Crucially, health pathways (or area effects) represent a complex mix of compositional and contextual variables.

Parallel arguments from the literatures are convincing in this regard and furthermore have persuaded policy makers that the solutions implemented to tackle area-effects need to be multifaceted and sophisticated too; a combination of Area Based Initiatives and wider structural policies. The mixed tenure agenda has been blended into this policy recipe.

Chapter summary

Area effects hypotheses have had a definite influence on the mixed community policy agenda. Although we must be aware that there are concerns around area effects theories, particularly the critique that they may allow policy makers to take a behavioural rather than a structural view of the problems which impact upon the most disadvantaged communities, and subsequently fail to implement policies which are targeted at tackling the 'bigger picture' issues like unemployment, poor quality service provision and poor transport networks. Furthermore, different approaches to creating neighbourhood mix have been adopted in different settings in order to counteract area effects. US policies prefer 'dispersal' type mobility programmes while in the UK 'inward migration' is favoured.

A review of the mixed community literature has uncovered two sets of area effects which inform mixed community policies. These can be described as 'tangible' area effects and 'intangible' area effects. The first group include the physical and service environments in a neighbourhood, as well as the local economy and resident turnover. In addition these tangible area effects are easier to see and it is also easier to measure the effectiveness of policy interventions, including tenure diversification, which seek to transform these elements of a community. The second set of area effects are more elusive in

character and are difficult to measure, they include; social capital, the role 'model' effect; stigma; and social cohesion. In addition, there is a great deal of debate around the contested nature of these concepts, and around how useful they might be as mechanisms for achieving policy outcomes. Both sets are fundamentally inter-connected and the existence of one is often dependent upon all or some of the others.

The evidence on mixed communities is in itself mixed. The literature supports some of the policy claims, including improved physical environment and reduction in stigma, and these two aspects of local neighbourhoods seem to be closely connected. However, there is little backing for other policy declarations particularly those which relate to social interaction amongst tenure types and these are perhaps the most over-stated claims for mixed communities.

Tenure diversification can be an effective component of regeneration programmes in existing disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and the aim of making all new communities mixed will increase the likelihood of sustainable communities developing.

However, mixed communities must be used as a policy tool in conjunction with other policies, and cannot be expected to act as a universal panacea for addressing all the problems, or area effects which might exist, or arise in local communities. The apparent paradox between the area effects hypothesis and relative deprivation theory (discussed in Chapter 2) was of interest for this research study. The tension between the two and the implications for social cohesion in mixed communities, and the knock-on effect this might produce for health and well-being for individuals living in mixed communities was an issue which we were keen to explore. In Chapter 4 we integrate the parallel literatures which we have evaluated thus far; connecting the area-effects, health and place and health inequalities literatures and narrowing the focus to map the health pathways which we wished to examine in our study.

Chapter 4: Integrating the Literatures on Health Inequalities and Area Effects

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Introduction

4.1 Lessons from the literatures-a summary
4.2 Health pathways in communities
4.3 Health promoting features of mixed communities
4.4 Perceptions of four area characteristics and their impacts on health and well-being

Conclusion

</div>

Introduction

A review of the literatures has allowed us to establish several key issues around communities and health and well-being. First and foremost neighbourhoods and communities represent a set of physical, social and cultural, and service environments which can aid or hinder health and well-being (although wider structural factors such as economic or environmental circumstances at the societal level are also contributory factors). Secondly, some neighbourhoods, namely those which are most disadvantaged, are more likely to have health hindering physical, social and cultural, and service environments. Thirdly, these health hindering environments engender inequalities between disadvantaged communities and the rest of society. Fourthly, policy interventions at the neighbourhood level are implemented to address the area-effects which often combine to create unhealthy neighbourhood environments and give rise to health inequalities. Finally, mixed communities are a key component of this suite of policies.

This chapter aims to consolidate and summarize our findings around all of the above and to outline the parameters of our study, i.e. the neighbourhood

characteristics and health pathways which we explored. The first section is essentially a stock-take of the key findings from the health inequalities and area-effects literatures. The following section integrates these to create a model outlining health pathways at the community level. We then map the potential health promoting features of mixed communities. The final section presents the framework for our study into health and well-being in mixed communities which is constructed around four key characteristics of neighbourhoods and individuals' perceptions of these.

4.1 Lessons from the literatures

In the health inequalities and health and place literature the focus is on 'pathways' to health (Marmot and Wilkinson, 1998; Macintyre et al 2002; Marmot, 2006) and the two most significant pathways identified are the material pathway, and the psychosocial pathway (with aspects of the social pathway overlapping both) . In the context of communities and health these pathways can be viewed as local determinants of health (although the material pathway isn't always confined to local factors). Solutions to health inequalities concentrate on intervening along these pathways (The Black Report, 1980; The Acheson Report 1998; Marmot Review; 2010) to address their causes and in doing so create healthier community environments.

The area-effects literature endeavours to identify if living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood can compound the problems of the individuals who live there; and consequently if these 'area effects' are addressed *at the neighbourhood level,* then the quality of life of those who live there will be improved (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001; Buck 2001) The terminology used in area-effects discourses may be different from that in the health literatures but the underlying rationales remain the same. Fundamentally, tackling area-effects means initiating policy interventions which support positive pathways to health

in neighbourhoods and communities. Area-effects policies often utilize Area-Based Interventions (ABIs), in other words, action at the neighbourhood or community level, as a means of resolving these effects.

The creation of mixed tenure communities is one kind of ABI which has been promoted as a policy mechanism for tackling a whole range of area-effects including poor physical environments, limited service environments, stigma and low levels of social cohesion (all of which we discussed in depth in Chapter 3) associated with socially excluded neighbourhoods, although policy has less to say about mixed communities as an explicit means of tackling health inequalities.

4.2 Health pathways in communities

Drawing together the evidence from the health and place, health inequalities and area-effects literatures has illuminated the health pathways which operate in communities. This is depicted in **Figure 4.1.** The figure traces the three main pathways. In each case the catalysts or potential 'triggers' for health are shown (health influences) as well as the mechanisms which they might function through, finally the health outcomes for each pathway are represented. There are two important points which we must reiterate here.

First of all the various catalysts in each pathway might act as health-promoting or health-inhibiting influences on health and well-being. If we take the example of housing in a neighbourhood it is obvious that poor quality housing can impact upon health in several ways-for instance damp housing can cause or exacerbate asthma or other illnesses (Platt *et al*, 1989; Eggleston *et al* 1999) whereas good quality housing or improvements to housing might potentially

improve or enhance health (See for instance Thomson[17] and Petticrew's 2007 article *'Heating Improvements May Hold Promise for Developing Healthy Housing Policy' BMJ 334:434-435*) by providing a safe, secure environment. A further illustration might be the existence of strong social networks which the evidence suggests are health-promoting or the absence of these which can negatively impact on health (Cattell, 2001). Secondly, we must keep in mind that health pathways are multi-causal; they often overlap and run concurrently to impact on health and well-being.

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[17]See Hilary Thomson's body extensive body of work on the relationship between housing and health for further reading.

Figure 4.1-Health Pathways in Communities

Material pathways	Social pathways	Psychosocial pathways
CATALYSTS **Housing** **Layout/design** **Green-space** **Play areas** **Walking/cycling paths** **Provision of local services** **Local economy**	**CATALYSTS** **Social cohesion** **Social capital** **Social networks** **Community participation** **Community engagement** **Area reputation** **Cultural factors (unemployment, ASB, role-models)**	**CATALYSTS** **Perceptions of neighbourhood** **Perceptions of self** **Sense of belonging** **Social connections** **Involvement in the community** **Perceptions of area reputation** **Perceptions of social status within Community**
MECHANISMS **Biological processes** **Stress process** **Social interaction** **Health behaviours***	**MECHANISMS** **Biological processes** **Stress process** **Social interaction** **Health behaviours**	**MECHANISMS** **Biological processes** **Stress process** **Social interaction** **Health behaviours**
POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE OUTCOMES **Physical health** **Psychosocial health** **Health behaviours**	**POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE OUTCOMES** **Physical health** **Psychosocial health** **Health behaviours**	**POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE OUTCOMES** **Physical health** **Psychosocial health** **Health behaviours**

Health behaviours encompass diet, exercise, smoking, and alcohol and drug consumption and are included in both the 'mechanisms' and 'outcomes' boxes since these types of activities (as listed directly above) can be perceived as

coping strategies (or catalysts triggered by stress, depression etc.) which lead to negative health outcomes or simply as negative health outcomes in themselves.

4.3 Mapping the health impacts of mixed communities

Our research project was concerned with health and well-being in the context of mixed communities and therefore our next step was to create a model which conceptualized health and well-being in a mixed community setting. Essentially the model encapsulates the various characteristics of mixed communities which we discussed in Chapter 3. **Figure 4.2** provides us with a conceptualized 'panoramic view' of health and well-being processes which might operate in a mixed community setting. It identifies four different environments which exist at the neighbourhood level and envisions how the constituent features of each of these might ideally contribute to health and well-being in a mixed community. As we pointed out with regard to **Figure 4.1,** pathways to health and well-being are inter-twined and often operate in tandem.
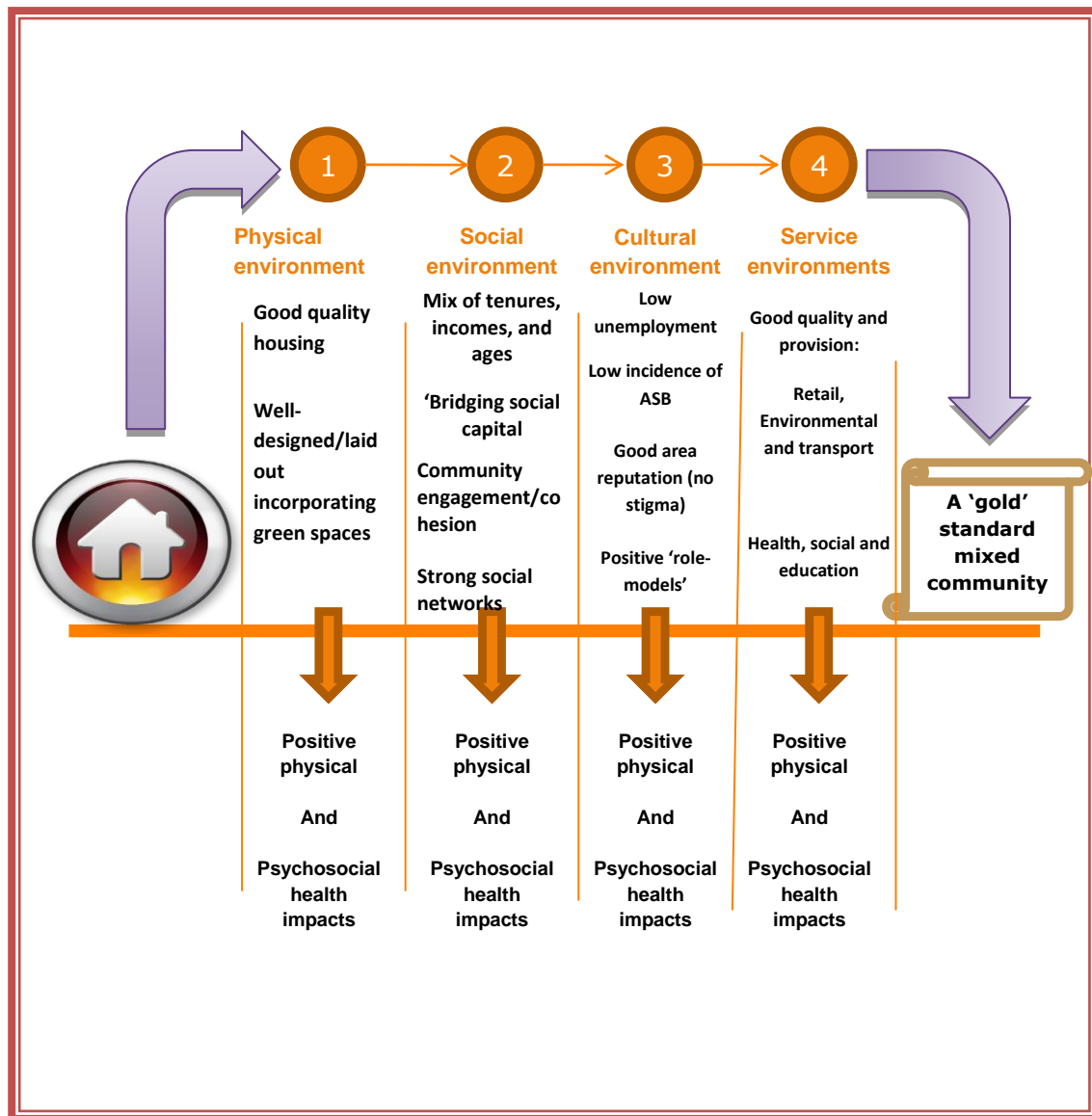
Figure 4.2-Health Promoting Features in a Mixed Community (Source: Conference paper Rowan and Macdonald, 2009)

4.4 Perceptions of area characteristics and their impacts on health and well-being

Macintyre *et al* (2002) advise that no single study of area and health should try to cover every single measure of the physical and social context which might influence human health, since such an exercise might prove to be unwieldy and unmanageable. Accordingly whilst acknowledging the myriad of neighbourhood influences on health within a mixed community we also had to recognize that we could not investigate all of them.

The framework for our study hinged on individuals' perceptions of four area characteristics: area changes; stigma; inequality; and social/tenure mix. The first two characteristics are often linked together in the policy literature; the premise being that physical regeneration in a neighbourhood often results in the removal or diminishment of stigma. This was a presupposition which we wanted to investigate in our three communities, particularly with regard to the introduction of tenure mix. The latter two characteristics allowed us to explore the tensions in existing theory with regard to the uneasy relationship between mixed communities and relative deprivation. All four characteristics are interwoven and straddle the health pathways and environments identified in **Figure 4.1** and **4.2** and allowed us to evaluate the most significant health and well-being pathways as identified by our respondents. The framework is shown in **Figure 4.3.**

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Figure 4.3- Perceptions of Four Area Characteristics and their Impacts on Health and Well-being
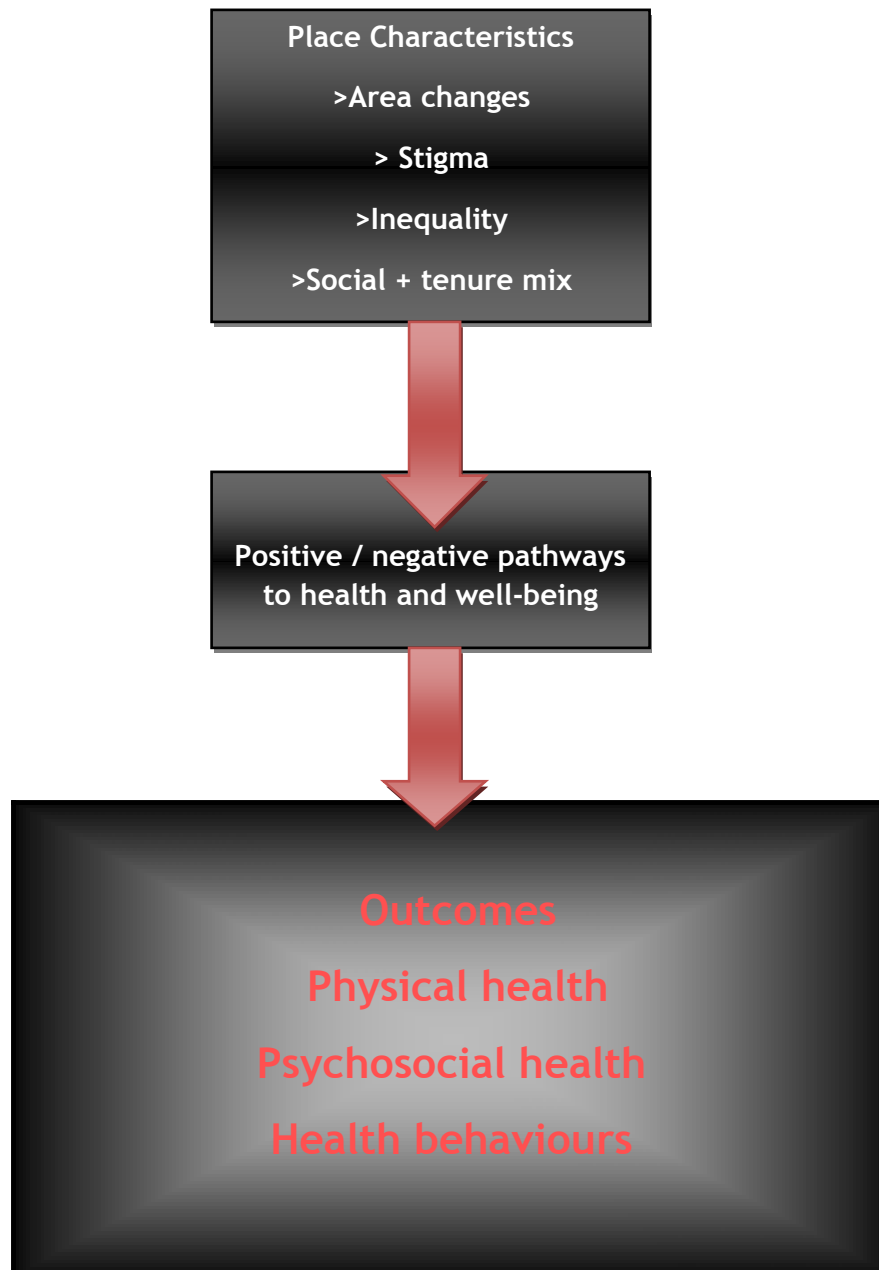
Chapter summary

In this chapter we have consolidated the evidence from our literature reviews, merging the key findings from each to create three models. The first model mapped health pathways operating at the community level; the second applied this map to mixed communities; and the third narrowed the focus to highlight the parameters of our study. Our finalized framework traced individuals' perceptions of four key place characteristics and aimed to find out how these impacted on health and well-being. Our next chapter outlines the research approach and methods which we used to explore these phenomena.

Chapter 5: A Discussion of Research Methodology and Methods

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Introduction

5.1 The research objectives
5.2 An appraisal of the research approach
5.3 Evaluating the research design
5.4 A review of research methods

Chapter summary

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Introduction

This chapter provides an account of the practical research strategies and techniques used in this study alongside an exploration of theoretical considerations which informed the research approach and design. The philosophical underpinnings of the qualitative research tradition must be the first consideration here since this will allow a greater understanding of qualitative research and its methods. Maykut and Morehouse(1994) attest that 'the better one understands the larger picture that qualitative methods fits into the better one can conduct research within the research tradition that one is working in'. This being the case an exploration of the development of qualitative research, its philosophical underpinnings and intrinsic research methods is beneficial for helping to determine why such an approach was taken in this study.

This is followed by further reflection on why a qualitative research approach is the most appropriate way to investigate the relevant phenomena, namely health and well being amongst owner-occupiers and social renters in mixed communities. In order for this research project to achieve any real level of insight into how health and well-being might be affected by living in a mixed

community individuals had to be allowed to discuss various aspects of their lives in detail. The sharing of these details touched on emotive issues such as neighbour interaction or community relations; an interpretive qualitative approach lends itself to research into these types of sensitive issues. Furthermore, a qualitative approach offers an opportunity to gather in-depth data of the sort which illuminated individuals' day-to-day experiences in their mixed community neighbourhoods.

Having established the research approach the next logical step must be to discuss research design and research methods. This study was a comparative one, using a multiple-case-study approach in three mixed communities; and we will consider the logistics of this research strategy as well as its potential advantages and disadvantages The next section of the chapter will incorporate the research methods used to conduct fieldwork in the three mixed community case-study areas, and includes a discussion of qualitative interviewing, focus-groups and other key fieldwork issues such as access and ethical concerns and analysis of data.

5.1 Research Objectives

Bryman (2004) emphasizes that without clearly specified research questions research will be unfocused, lack clarity and ultimately be of poor quality. The research questions then were formulated with a view to providing a focused and clear approach to studying health and well-being in mixed communities. These are presented below.

The aim of the thesis

The over-arching aim of the thesis was to explore the ways in which features of neighbourhood may impact upon health and well-being in the context of mixed communities.

In order to achieve this overall aim four key objectives were identified, these were:

- To devise an analytical framework for exploring the potential links between neighbourhood and health which would firstly be suitable for studying mixed communities, and, secondly improve our understanding of them.

- To compare three different types of mixed community: two systematically mixed (one a 'segmented' mixed community, one an 'integrated' mixed community), and, the other a sparsely mixed community (mostly social rented where owner-occupation has occurred as the result of Right-To-Buy). To consider how and why tenure layout impacts on health and well-being.

- To identify any positive or negative effects for both owner-occupiers and social renters associated with living in a mixed community.

- To evaluate residents' perceptions of the relative significance of different features and functions of their neighbourhoods and of neighbourhood change in relation to health and well-being.

In order to arrive at these questions detailed investigations of several key literatures (as documented in the previous four chapters) were carried out. An equally rigorous approach was then adopted when it came to choosing a research design and specific research methods which would most effectively help to answer those questions. The following sections reflect on this crucial stage of the research process.

5.2 An appraisal of the research approach

The evolution of qualitative research

The philosophical foundations of the social sciences can ultimately be traced back to the work of the great philosophers like Plato and Aristotle who both

studied the societies in which they lived and sought to explain those societies by the use of models or examples. The 18th century Age of Enlightenment ushered in a scientific revolution where a new method was applied to scientific study which involved using 'reason' to demonstrate how the natural world worked. The fledgling social sciences which now emerged sought to apply the principles of scientific research to the disciplines of social research, since the received understanding was that if light could be cast on nature by a rational method which revealed a rational order it could also be shed on human nature and human society (Hollis, 1994).

Theorists like Comte and Durkheim maintained that by using this positivist approach facts or data could be gathered about the social world, independently of an individual's interpretation, and that these facts could then be used to produce laws about that world. Furthermore, positivism would utilize the conceptual framework, the techniques of observation and measurement, the instruments of mathematical analysis, and the procedures of inference of the natural sciences. (Corbetta, 2003) However the positivist perspective was soon challenged by those who maintained that the human sciences could not be equated with the natural sciences and that research on people and society had to be conducted along alternative pathways which would safeguard the intrinsic individuality and irreproducibility of the human being (ibid). These 'alternative pathways' led to the interpretive or hermeneutic tradition in the philosophy of social science. Unlike the positivist approach to social research which attempts to *explain* human behaviour (and is associated with a quantitative methodology) an interpretive approach seeks to *understand* human behaviour and relies on a qualitative methodology (Bryman, 2004). This research study follows in the in that tradition.

The characteristics of qualitative research

All social research attempts to answer three key questions. The ontological question-what is the nature of social reality? The epistemological question; is it

knowable? And the methodological question; what techniques or tools can be used to understand social reality? (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994). Bryman (2004) suggests in answer to the first two questions that in qualitative research the epistemological position is interpretivist with the focus on understanding the social world through an examination of that world by its inhabitants; and the ontological position is constructionist, that is, social outcomes are regarded as being outcomes of the interactions between individuals, rather than phenomena 'out there' and separate from those involved in its construction. The techniques and tools employed in qualitative research to try and understand social reality derive from an ethnographic/participant observation methodology and include one-to-one and group interviews, and focus groups.

A consideration of the characteristics of qualitative research will help to establish why it was the most suitable research approach for this examination of health and well-being in mixed communities. Qualitative research is concerned with meaning, with discovering the meaning of the world as it relates to individuals; and the qualitative researcher tries to get as deep inside the subject as possible, in an attempt to see social reality through the eyes of the subject studied (Corbetta, 2003). In addition qualitative research aims to provide a detailed account of what goes on in the setting being investigated and also to understand social behaviour in context. The emphasis in qualitative research is on process. Bryman comments:

> "Qualitative research tends to view social life in terms of processes…to show how events and patterns unfold over time." (Bryman, 2004)

This aspect of qualitative research, which allows the qualitative researcher to trace processes and to examine how these processes impact on individuals generates rich, nuanced and detailed data (Mason, 2002) and is accompanied by a flexible and unstructured approach to data collection (although this is not always the case). This type of inductive research strategy where the researcher has no original 'grand theory', allows the data to suggest 'avenues of enquiry or ways of thinking about the phenomenon being investigated' (Bryman, 2004).

However, O'Brien (1993) notes that whether theory is acknowledged or not pure 'empirical' research is impossible. Furthermore, theory can help make things that were hidden visible, as well as defining patterns and giving meaning to a researcher's observations about the social world (ibid).

Mason's (2002) description of qualitative research demonstrates how it can be used to develop our understanding of the social world,

> "Through qualitative research we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate" (Mason, 2002)

I decided that my research study would be most effectively conducted using a deductive qualitative research approach, underpinned by a robust theoretical framework, which would help me to unpick the 'texture and weave of everyday life' in mixed communities. The study incorporated several key qualitative techniques, including case- studies (although these can also be utilized in quantitative research designs); environmental assessments, in-depth, one-to-one interviews and focus groups, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

The qualitative versus quantitative debate

Although, I chose to use qualitative research methods, since it was felt that they would prove to be more effective in discovering more about individuals' perceptions of health and well-being in the particular context of mixed communities, this was not a repudiation of quantitative research methods. Indeed a quantitative study of health and well-being in mixed communities might have been employed if I had wanted, for example, to measure specific health impacts in mixed communities, such as levels of mental illness. The debate over whether qualitative or quantitative research is the 'best' form of research is a long-running and largely redundant one. Most researchers and

academics agree that there is a need for both types of research, since in essence, although the quantitative and qualitative approaches differ radically, they are nevertheless eminently complimentary, depending on whether we want to access the 'world of facts' or the 'world of meanings' (Corbetta, 2003). This point is reiterated by Silverman who lays down the guiding principle for any piece of research when he states "Of course no method of social research is intrinsically right or wrong. As all methodology texts properly insist 'It all depends on what you are trying to do'." (Silverman, 1997)

Researchers into health and place continue to debate the quantitative versus qualitative approach for examining the relationship between health and place. A great deal of the more recent research into neighbourhoods and how they affect health has been of a quantitative nature, and has relied on entirely administrative data sources like census data, health statistics and police records (Raudenbush, 2003). Nevertheless, there is a long history of qualitative research in the study of neighbourhoods. The seminal works of William Foote Whyte (1955) and Herbert Gans (1962) are two of the most influential examples of qualitative studies of neighbourhoods. There is obviously a place for both types of research; quantitative approaches provide a 'bigger-picture' whereas qualitative approaches offer a more nuanced portrait of neighbourhoods, and their effects. As Gilbert comments:

> "Quantitative and qualitative research procedures are often viewed as providing 'macro' and 'micro' level perspectives on the social world respectively" (Gilbert : 2001)

In relation to health and place Kawachi and Berkman (2003) sum up what might be gained from adopting a qualitative approach:

> "Above all qualitative approaches are singularly effective in communicating to decision makers a coherent and convincing story about how places can affect people's hopes, aspirations, opportunities, and misery, as well as levels of well-being." (Kawachi and Berkman, 2003)

Criteria for conducting and evaluating qualitative research

Quantitative research methods include sampling, surveys, quantitative interviews, statistical approaches and the secondary analysis of official statistics; and the over-riding objective here is an unambiguous result. As we can see then the two types of research are very different in both their aims and approaches. The critiques directed at qualitative and quantitative research are like mirror images of one another. The critique of qualitative research is -: that it is too 'unscientific' in its approach, it lacks transparency of approach, it is not theoretically informed, and it is context-specific and therefore lacks generalization with regard to results and replicability. Quantitative research, in contrast, is criticized for being too 'scientific', ignoring the complexity and changing nature of the social world, reducing subjects to numbers, and playing down the role of interpretation and interaction. Both methodologies however should aim to follow the 'canons of good research practice' (Bryman, 2004). In other words they should fundamentally seek to demonstrate validity described by Joppe (2000) as:

> "Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are. In other words, does the research instrument allow you to hit "the bull's eye" of your research object? Researchers generally determine validity by asking a series of questions and will often look for the answers in the research of others." (Joppe, 2000; p. 1)

This study will be assessed in relation to validity (and other interconnected concepts such as reliability in the course of the chapter).

5.3 Evaluating the research design

A multiple case study approach

I selected a comparative, multiple case study research design for my study into health and well-being in mixed communities. This process involved choosing three case study areas, each of which represented a different type of neighbourhood. The general advantages and disadvantages related to this approach will now be discussed; as well as the case study selection process itself.

The case study is an established research strategy which is closely linked to qualitative research practice. Although Blaikie (2000) notes that the case study has had a 'chequered career' in the social sciences, falling in and out of favour in the fields of medicine, psychology and social anthropology, it has come to represent a key technique in the social research canon. Blaikie also highlights that the case study is not one or a number of specific techniques but can incorporate a range of techniques such as in-depth interviews, questionnaires, and self-histories (ibid). Cresswell (1994) also acknowledges the multi-faceted nature of the case study approach, and how it can be adapted to study different phenomena in diverse situations. For Cresswell the case study is a single, bounded entity, studied in detail, with a variety of methods, over an extended period of time (ibid).

Yin (1999) defined the case study as being a research strategy which most effectively investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and where multiple sources of evidence are used. For my research in mixed communities I adopted a case study approach since this allowed me to explore both the *phenomena* surrounding issues of health and well-being in mixed communities, as well as the *context* in which such phenomena occur. Furthermore, my research focused on both location and community, and these

are factors which Bryman (2004) suggests are closely associated with a case study strategy.

Eckstein (1975) and others argue that the case study is fundamentally *heuristic* in nature in that it is deliberately used to stimulate theoretical thinking and is most valuable because it allows a researcher to perceive "illuminating contradictions" (Mitchell, 1983). For my research project three different types of community were used as case study areas in order to facilitate the emergence of any potentially 'illuminating contradictions' between these communities with regard to health and well-being.

According to Bechhofer and Paterson comparison and control lie at the heart of good research design:

> "Designing a piece of empirical research requires the researcher to decide on the best ways of collecting data in research locales which will permit meaningful and insightful comparisons. At the same time, the research design must achieve the control which gives some degree of certainty that the explanations offered are indeed superior to competing explanations … [T]he need to achieve control applies as much to the most natural and participatory fieldwork situations as to experimental ones. (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000)

Other perceived advantages of a multiple case study approach are that it can improve theory building and suggest concepts relevant to emerging theory (Bryman, 2004; Yin, 1984). However, other researchers argue that comparative studies make it more difficult to retain contextual insight (Bryman, 2001) or that they can take away from the strength of single case description and therefore can be less meticulous (Stake, 2000). On reflection, and having taken these caveats on board, I opted to proceed with a multiple case study approach.

Although the nature of case study research means that each case study area is context specific this does not mean that the findings from one case study cannot be compared with the findings from another. Blaikie (2000) asks whether the findings from a case study are just 'interesting description', or

whether they can be used to generalize and to generate and test theory. Yin (1989) argues that when doing case studies 'analytic generalization' should be used. This process involves taking a previously developed theory and using it as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study. (Yin, 1989) Yin suggests that this type of generalization should be used when evaluating case study findings rather than 'statistical generalization', since case studies are not 'sampling units' and should not be treated as such. The use of the analytical framework to investigate health and well-being in mixed communities adheres to Yin's proposal for how best to extrapolate data from case study findings, since it provided a template for the analysis of residents' perceptions of particular aspects of their communities.

Case study selection

The selection of case study areas initially involved an appraisal of the different types of mixed community which exist in the UK. As has been previously established, for the purposes of this research project, the term 'mixed community' refers to a mix of different *tenures* within a community. *The Typology of Mixed Communities* which I created was a useful tool in the selection process since it allowed me to see the divergent routes through which tenure diversification can be achieved and provided me with 'shopping list' of the categories of mixed community where I might potentially conduct my study. The typology of mixed communities is represented in **Figure 5.1** below.

Figure 5.1-Typology of Mixed Communities

Type A	A mixed community which has previously consisted of social-rented housing, and where owner-occupied housing has been built
Type B	A mixed community which has previously consisted of owner-occupied housing and where social-renters have been introduced (As discussed in Ch3 this category of mixed community is atypical in the British context, and is allied more with the US 'dispersal approach' to mixed communities, through programmes like 'Moving to Opportunity')
Type C	A planned mixed community-purposely built as such, and incorporating a range of tenures.
Type D	A mature mixed community which has evolved naturally or 'organically' to support a range of tenures over a period of time
Type E	A mixed community where tenure diversification has developed solely as the result of Right-To-Buy and where no new owner-occupied houses have been built

Although it would have been ideal to be able to study each of the types of mixed community listed above, given the practical constraints of a PhD research project (particularly with regard to accessibility and travelling time to and from research sites as well as overall time restrictions) it was clear that this would not be feasible. It is however worthwhile talking about the types of mixed community which were omitted from the study and the implications of this. As discussed in Chapter 3 (Section 3.2) the way that mixed tenure policies are implemented in the UK meant that there was no possibility of including a **'Type B'** mixed community since these are associated with the dispersal approach as seen in US mobility programmes. (A research study which attempted to compare neighbourhoods in both countries would be a welcome addition to the literature. Although one wonders how feasible this would be given the enormous social, cultural, spatial and economic differences between the two countries).

However, the inclusion of a **'Type C'** ('organic', mature) mixed community in this study would have been possible. This was an attractive proposition since it would have been interesting, and indeed valuable, to examine the impacts of

longevity in relation to a mixed community which had evolved naturally over a longer period of time and without any targeted 'engineering' from policy makers or planners. I did deliberate over this issue for some time and went as far as carrying out a 'scoping' exercise (a mini-environmental assessment and a couple of interviews with residents) in the Partick area of Glasgow which seemed to be a perfect example of a **'Type C'** community. Unfortunately, the aforementioned constraints of a PhD study meant that I had to make a strategic decision and exclude this category of mixed community from my study. As is suggested above in relation to the **'Type B'** community any future research in this respect would be a welcome addition to the literature.

In the end two of the three communities which were chosen conformed to **'Type A'** although the *spatial configuration* of tenures in each was different; this was important for enabling comparisons to be made between 'pepper-potted' and segmented tenure mix techniques and the outcomes of these. It was essential to focus on **'Type A'** mixed communities (social rented areas where owner-occupiers have been introduced) because New Labour's policy agenda was concerned with diluting or de-concentrating poverty in these neighbourhoods by means of mixing tenures. Furthermore, by investigating perceptions of tenure in **'Type A'** neighbourhoods key policy objectives (for instance increased social capital and a positive 'role-model' effect) could be explored. The third mixed community was a **'Type E'** mixed community which added another dimension for comparison since it would be interesting to see if the residents within a neighbourhood which was mixed as a result of Right-To-Buy fared any differently (in relation to the key themes explored) from those in the planned mixed communities.

Since the theoretical framework was constructed around health inequalities and area-effects hypotheses and the scale of inequalities and poor health outcomes in Glasgow had been established I was keen to carry out my research

in mixed communities in, or around, the city and the local Planning Manager for Communities Scotland[18] advised on a number of potential neighbourhoods which fit the criteria of the research study.   The chosen case study areas are shown in **Table C.**

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[18] Communities Scotland was formed in 2001 as the then Scottish Executive's housing and regeneration delivery agency. CS was abolished on 1st of April 2008 by the Scottish Government when its non-regulatory functions were transferred to Scottish Government's Housing and Regeneration Directorate.

DARNLEY **A 'segmented' mixed community.**	**The area originally consisted of social rented housing. The majority of which was demolished; concentrations of owner-occupied and social rented housing were then built in separate parts of the estate.** There are clear differences between the design of the social rented and owner-occupied housing. **(NB- more recently some 'pepper-potting' has been introduced in newer phases of development)**
PETERSBURN **An 'integrated' mixed community**	**The area originally consisted of social rented housing. This was mostly demolished and the estate was re-built as a** 'pepper-potted' **mixed community with different tenures 'sprinkled' throughout.** The social rented and owner-occupied housing is indistinguishable.
ARDEN **A sparsely mixed community with no new-build properties for owner-occupation**	**The area consists of mostly social rented housing and owner-occupation has occurred as a consequence of Right-To-Buy policy**

Table C-Case Study Areas

The final choice of case study locations was arrived at, after some deliberation. Both *Darnley* and *Arden* are located in the South-West of Glasgow, and *Petersburn* is in Airdrie, North Lanarkshire (around twelve miles outside Glasgow). The original intention was to base all three of the case-studies in the Glasgow area, however after some discussion with the Planning Manager and academic supervisors the decision was made to opt for a planned mixed community outside of Glasgow. This decision was influenced by two factors. Firstly, I had experiential knowledge of the *Petersburn* area and secondly the configuration of tenures was different from that in *Darnley*. In *Petersburn* tenures are 'pepper potted' throughout the estate, and the design of the houses is the same for both owner-occupied and social rented properties. This is in contrast to many areas in *Darnley* where there is a marked difference between the tenures. This offered an opportunity for interesting comparisons between the two neighbourhoods. The following chapter provides a brief profile of each area.

5.4 A review of research methods

Once the research approach and design had been formulated I had to decide on the most suitable qualitative research tools. In-depth interviews and focus groups were judged as being the most effective research methods for the exploration of health and well being in the three mixed communities; alongside these I also opted to carry out environmental assessments in each of the three case study areas.

A contemplation of ethnographic approaches

Bryman (2001) states that the term ethnography describes the research process, as well as the written outcome of the research. In a wider sense the term could therefore be used to refer to any piece of research. However,

Atkinson and Hammersley (1998) suggest there are some key features of an ethnographic research approach, these include: placing a strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena; and detailed investigation into a small number of cases (or one case). These are criteria which were clearly apposite to my own study and therefore I did consider using ethnographic participant observation.

Ethnographic approaches originated in anthropological studies where researchers studying foreign 'exotic' cultures lived alongside the local population, immersing themselves in local cultures in order to learn about the way of life of the indigenous peoples. Over time participant observation techniques have been appropriated by the social sciences and have often been utilized in a 'watered-down' form; where the researcher doesn't have to be immersed in every aspect of cultural and social life but chooses specific phenomena which he/she wishes to observe. In my own case for instance I considered observing local community meetings (e.g. resident association meetings).

There are strengths and weaknesses in adopting an ethnographic approach. The strengths are: the opportunity it provides the researcher to gain as much knowledge and understanding as possible about a local culture; the potential for the researcher to build up an empathy with the individuals he/she is studying; and a reduced risk that the researcher will be a detached, impartial observer. The weaknesses are the 'flip-side' of this coin; the danger of a researcher 'going native' and becoming to close to what or who is being studied to have any degree of impartiality (Flick, 2002).

After some contemplation I decided not to use ethnographic participant observation. This was not due to any apprehension about 'going native' but rather to the practical time-constraints it would have imposed in relation to juggling three case-study locations. In addition I was more interested in

carrying out in-depth interviews and focus groups with local residents which will shortly be discussed.

Environmental assessments

I decided it would be valuable to carry out an independent assessment of each case study area. This involved visiting each of the three areas and conducting an audit of the facilities and amenities, which exist in each. The assessment included physical characteristics of the neighbourhood, which might encourage either positive or negative health choices; for instance -the existence of parks, children's play areas, playing fields, types of local shops (and what they sell), the number of pubs etc. The inventory also examined the types of leisure activities available in all three areas (for example-sports clubs, night-classes etc), as well as, local health service provision in each neighbourhood.

The environmental assessments were completed before interviews or focus group sessions commenced. The assessments proved to be beneficial in two ways; firstly they provided a degree of familiarity with each of the three case study areas; and secondly they supplied some degree of independent knowledge about each area. Having this independent knowledge was useful when it came to conducting interviews and focus groups since I could compare residents' answers on various aspects of their neighbourhoods with what I had discovered whilst compiling the environmental assessments. The environmental assessments added a degree of triangulation to the study since they provided another source of data about the three mixed communities, which was used in conjunction with interviews and focus group findings; this triangulation enhanced the validity of the research findings. The environmental assessment inventory is featured in **Figure 5.2**.

Colleen F. Rowan

BUILT ENVIRONMENT	NOTES
General condition and maintenance of: Housing Play areas Greenspace areas Evidence of: vandalism (graffiti); litter	
RETAIL ENVIRONMENT Local shops (how many and what kind?) Other retail outlets General condition/upkeep and maintenance of retail area	
SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT Community centres (What's on-clubs/groups?) Schools Other leisure facilities/amenities (e.g. sports centres, libraries)	

Figure 5.2 Environmental Assessment Inventory

Sampling

In qualitative research, due to its flexibility, it is often problematic to set out a quota with regard to how many individuals or organizations should be recruited as research participants. However, we must have an idea of who we want to speak to and why. This research study relied on purposive sampling (and in Petersburn some snowball sampling) which meant focusing on 'people who were relevant to the question asked' (Bryman, 2004). In my case this meant residents in the three case study areas; and more specifically a mixture of owner-occupier and social-renter residents[19]. Following on from the precedent set by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) in their study 'Owner-occupation, social mix and neighbourhood impacts' this was the only criterion for resident participants taking part in the study:

> "Because tenures was the main independent variable, and also because it was felt that to ask too many personal questions would deter participation in the study, demographic, and socio-economic information was not collected." (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; p.97)

Since I was interested in asking respondents about sensitive aspects of their lives such as neighbours and health and well-being, like Atkinson and Kintrea, it was deemed that asking about other personal issues (e.g. socio-economic information) might put people off and therefore I did not go down this route.

A purposive approach was also used in relation to the key actor sample. The criteria for this group was that they were all professionals who worked in or near the case-study areas and that they all had knowledge and experience of the regeneration processes which had occurred within the neighbourhoods.

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[19] Although it is important to note that there are other forms of tenure within the three areas, specifically the private rented sector and shared ownership, for our purposes (and in keeping with mixed community policy agenda) social renters and owner-occupiers are the focus of our investigation.

Access

Bryman (2004) indicates that there are only two types of research setting: an open setting and a closed setting. For this investigation I wanted to access individuals in both of these settings. An open setting signifies a public arena where people interact with others, in this case residents in their communities. The legendary figure of Doc who acted as a gatekeeper or sponsor for Whyte (1955) in his study of 'Street Corner Society' is cited in every methodology textbook, and researchers who manage to secure their own version of Doc have a definite advantage when it comes to securing access to the people they wish to speak to. Although no Doc was found in any of the three case study areas I did manage to gain access to residents through a combination of means.

At the outset I did consider accessing residents directly through their local housing associations (HA), however, after thinking over this option I rejected it. This decision was reached mainly because of concerns about the *type* of resident I might reach by going down this route, namely *atypical* residents who were more likely to be closely involved with the housing association through links with Residents Associations or Housing Association Committees, and who might therefore be more guarded in their views on local regeneration in their area. In *Petersburn* I had previous ties to the area and therefore knew some of the local residents, who I contacted by telephone (initially) and asked if they would like to take part in the study. This could obviously have presented problems with regard to subjectivity and I was careful to conduct interviews here in a professional manner (as I did in Darnley and Arden) and to remain in the researcher role.

In the event having previous connections to the area did not prove to be problematic; in fact having experiential knowledge of the neighbourhood proved to be an advantage in relation to both carrying out the environmental assessment and to understanding the changes which had occurred as a result of regeneration. It should also be pointed out that not all respondents in

Petersburn were known to the researcher and that a snowball approach to recruitment was used to access five of the participants.

A snowball sampling strategy involves initial respondents in a study recommending other individuals who might be willing to take part; who in turn do likewise. Snowball strategies are associated with qualitative research which is explorative and descriptive in nature. They were initially connected with participant observation research, for instance in Whyte's (1955) study referred to above. More recently however they have been utilized to reach target populations in interview-based research.

In their 2001 paper Atkinson and Flint (2001) describe this process as 'chain referral' which 'seeks to take advantage of the social networks of identified respondents to provide a researcher with an ever-expanding set of potential contacts'. The writers offer a useful evaluation of snowball research strategies highlighting the potential advantages and disadvantages of such techniques. The suggested benefits include: the fact that snowball sampling can allow researchers to access impenetrable or difficult to reach populations (such as the deprived or socially stigmatized); the 'ascending' nature of snowball techniques which work upwards to locate 'those on the ground' (significantly these are very often the people a qualitative researcher most wants to speak to); and that snowball sampling can potentially produce in-depth results quickly.

On the other hand Atkinson and Flint also identify some shortcomings in relation to snowball strategies. The first of these is selection bias due to the fact that the elements are not randomly drawn but instead rely on subjective choices made by the respondents whom the researcher first accessed (ibid). This limits the validity of the sample and means that the results are not generalizable. Another key concern which the authors draw attention to is the fact that snowball sampling may lead to an over emphasis of the social cohesiveness which exists in social networks and this in turn means that

'isolates' (i.e. those who are not part of the particular network which the researcher has tapped into) are ignored. On reflection although Atkinson and Flint acknowledge that snowball sampling 'lies somewhat at the margins of research practice' they also point out that in recent years it has become an useful tool for social science researchers particularly when trying to access difficult-to-reach populations. The authors conclude that it becomes more problematic when considered in relation to sampling in the more formalized and statistical sense.

I did have difficulty reaching owner-occupier residents in Petersburn and after some consideration with regard to the 'pros' and 'cons' I chose to use snowball sampling. I was aware of the potential drawbacks (as discussed above) but on reflection for pragmatic reasons (mainly time constraints) it seemed the most viable option for recruiting this group of participants.

In *Arden* and *Darnley* although I didn't recruit participants directly through the local housing association I did use the HA newsletter which is delivered to all households in *Arden* and *Darnley* to inform residents about the research and to invite potential participants to get in touch. This strategy proved to be successful in the *Arden* area, although not in *Darnley*. Some of the participants who were recruited in this way in *Arden* then recommended other residents who might be interested, and these individuals subsequently did take part in the study.

Darnley proved to be the most problematic community when it came to recruitment. As well as trying to access residents via the newsletter I also put posters up in some local shops. All my efforts were to no avail and eventually I tried a door-to door leafleting campaign-targeting different sections of the neighbourhood, at different stages of the research. However, I had to target four separate areas within the neighbourhood before this ultimately paid off. This process was time-consuming and stressful and the fieldwork in the other two case study areas was completed well in advance of that in *Darnley*. A

knock-on effect of the recruitment difficulties we experienced in *Darnley* was that I simply ran out of time and could not carry out a focus group in the area. In Petersburn and Darnley I wanted focus group participants to be respondents who had already taken part in the in-depth interviews (a fuller discussion follows shortly.

In all three areas residents were provided with an information sheet detailing the research study aims and methods in layman's terms, as well as details about the researcher. Potential participants were invited to get in touch with the researcher to discuss any queries before the research began.

A closed research setting is one which centres on professional bodies or private organizations and the two sets of key actors in this study fall into this category. In order to access this group it is crucial that a researcher provides a clear explanation of his/her research aims and methods (Bryman, 2005). With this guidance in mind I sent a preliminary letter to the housing associations and estate agents involved outlining my research and also initiating a preliminary meeting where they could ask questions and seek clarification before the study began.

The Resident Sample

As previously described the resident sample was purposively selected based on the criteria that an individual was either a social-renter or owner-occupier living in the community. Since the size of the sample was small it cannot be taken as being representative. However it did include a mix of men and women of different ages and this added more scope and robustness to the findings.

More original residents than 'incomer' residents contacted the researcher with an interest in participating in the study; this might be attributed to 'incomer' residents being less connected with the regeneration process or indeed with the neighbourhood in general or to lifestyle issues (e.g. working patterns); although we can only speculate with regard to the reasons for this.

Characteristics of the resident sample group

Twenty-eight residents in total were interviewed in the three communities. The group was made up of seventeen female participants and eleven male participants and the age of the interviewees ranged from twenty-seven years to seventy-one years.

In Petersburn twelve individuals took part in the study; nine of these were original residents and the remaining three were incomer owner-occupiers who had bought homes in the neighbourhood post-regeneration. Seven of the original residents were social renters and two had become owner-occupiers since the re-development of the area. In Darnley six residents were interviewed, three owner-occupiers and three social renters; all of the participants in Darnley had lived there since the mid-nineties. In Arden the ten participants were all social renters; six of whom had lived in the area for over thirty years and four who had moved there during the last ten years. Seven of the Arden interviewees lived in the original housing and three resided in the new-build social housing. The sample demographic in Arden would have been more reflective of the neighbourhood (and therefore more rounded) if it had included some owner-occupiers, however, no individuals in this group came forward with an interest in taking part in the study. **Table D** summarizes key characteristics of the resident sample.

Petersburn	Arden	Darnley
Social renters	**Social renters**	**Social renters**
P1-55yr old woman, retired	**P1-**48yr old man, unemployed	**P1-**48yr old woman, employed
P2-42yr old woman, employed	**P2-**49yr old man, employed	**P2-**58yr old woman, retired
P3-52yr old woman, employed	**P3-**37yr old woman, employed	**P3-**32yr old man, employed
P4-50yr old man, employed	**P4-**66yr old woman, retired	
P5-59yr old man, retired	**P5-**38yr old man, employed	**Owner-occupiers**
P6-40yr old woman, employed	**P6-**44yr old woman, employed	**P4-**47yr old man, employed
P7-29yr old man, employed	**P7-**55yr old woman, unemployed	**P5-**35yr old woman, employed
Owner-occupiers	**P8-**57yr old woman, retired	**P6-**51yr old woman, unemployed
P8-40yr old woman, employed	**P9-**62yr old man, retired	
P9-41yr old man, employed	**P10-**72yr old woman, retired	
P10-28yr old man, employed	**No owner-occupiers**	
P11-37yr old woman, employed		
P12-50yr old man, retired		

Table D-Characteristics of the Resident Sample

Characteristics of the local actor sample group

I opted to speak to professionals working in the housing and regeneration fields in the three communities. In Petersburn two key local actors with background knowledge of the areas and the changes which had taken place in them were interviewed. The first of these was a Housing Officer who had worked with GAP Housing Association (this was the HA which had overseen the first stage of regeneration in the area in the early to mid-nineties) and who (at the time of writing) was still involved with regeneration projects in the area (as part of a private-sector organization). Petersburn is now managed by Linkhousing and I did try to obtain an interview with their Regeneration Officer without success (due to internal personnel changes). The second key actor participant interviewed in Petersburn was a local estate agent based in the wider North Lanarkshire area, who whilst willing to be interviewed was keen that his identity and that of his company remained anonymous.

Arden and Darnley are both under the remit of Glen Oaks Housing Association and the most senior housing official within the organization was interviewed about the two neighbourhoods. As Darnley and Arden are geographically close one local estate agent in the area was also interviewed about both neighbourhoods. As was the case in Petersburn this participant did not wish his company's name to be identified.

Three rationales underpinned the decision to include key actor interviews in the study; firstly that their insights on mixed communities would provide a counterpoint to residents' views; secondly that they would have some knowledge of the mixed community agenda; and thirdly the nature of their professions meant that they were in a position which allowed them to see what works, and what doesn't work, in mixed tenure communities. I also chose to interview local estate agents in each of the three areas because this would add another dimension to the study; in relation to gauging the impact of tenure mix on the local housing market in each neighbourhood. Alongside these two groups

I originally sought to interview local health professionals, however this proved to be untenable (see below under ethical considerations).

Ethical considerations

Any social research project must operate within ethical boundaries although there are 'no clear ethical solutions' (Mason, 2000) laid down for social researchers. All researchers however recognize fundamental ethical considerations which must be addressed as part of the research process. As the first step in my ethics process I had to gain ethical approval from my university department, and although this does not guarantee good research practice it enabled me to assure those taking part in the study that as a researcher I was accountable for my work and that my research practice was being monitored.

Initially I was keen to interview healthcare professionals including G.Ps, district nurses, and health visitors as part of my study. However in order to do this I would need to have obtained local health-board ethical approval; since this involved a lengthy and complex application procedure which would have placed serious time restrictions on my fieldwork I decided against this option and chose an alternative group of professionals.

The need to obtain informed consent from individuals prior to their taking part in a research study is standard practice. Silverman (2001) suggests that the process of obtaining informed consent should involve several considerations. These are as follows:

- Giving information about the research which is relevant to subjects' decisions about whether to participate
- Making sure that subjects understand that information (e.g. by providing information sheets written in the subjects' language)
- Ensuring that participation is voluntary (e.g. by requiring written consent)

    – Where subjects are not competent to agree (e.g. small children), obtaining consent by proxy (e.g. from their parents
    (Silverman, 2001)

I followed these informed consent 'guidelines' with all of my participants and copies of the information sheet and consent form included all of these recommendations (See **Appendix II** for information sheet and **Appendix III** for consent form).

Another ethical issue which I was careful to deal with at the beginning of my research study was the question of anonymity. I was careful to ensure to all my participants that all information given by them would be treated in the strictest confidence and that interviewees would be anonymized. I also assured those taking part that they would have access to the final version of the submitted thesis.

Above all the issue of trust lies at the core of good research practice (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995) and this consideration should inform all ethical decisions. I was eager to build-up a relationship with respondents which was founded on trust and this was particularly important due to the sensitive nature of the matters they were being asked to discuss (housing, relationships with neighbours, health). All of the steps discussed above sought to ensure that ethical robustness was built into my study and helped consolidate trust and confidence.

Interviews

I used semi-structured interviews with all of my research participants, a qualitative technique which lays emphasis on depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data (Mason, 2002). This approach allows the researcher to concentrate on how the interviewee frames and understands issues and events,

and what the interviewee views as important in explaining and understanding events, patterns and forms of behaviour (Bryman, 2004).

The main characteristic of semi-structured interviews is that they do adhere to some kind of standard format from one interview to the next, and this is usually achieved through use of an interview or topic guide. The semi-structured interview was particularly appropriate for my purposes since the standardization of questions means that some degree of comparability between cases can be achieved when using a multiple case study design (Bryman, 2004).

I carried out two pilot interviews which allowed me to 'test' my interview guide; following these interviews I was able to modify the guide accordingly. Both pilot interviewees had difficulty with the meaning of certain questions around the concept of equality within their communities; we were then able to consider alternative ways of asking these questions in order to make them more accessible to interviewees (see **Appendix IV** for interview guide).

While conducting interviews I also kept in mind the attributes which help to make a successful interviewer, such as; the need to be clear, gentle and sensible while also being able to challenge inconsistencies without appearing too critical; and the skill of interpreting interviewees' statements without imposing meaning on them (Kvale, 1996).

Focus groups

Focus groups have several advantages for the social researcher. The first of these is that they allow the researcher to see the ways in which individuals discuss particular issues as members of a group, and whether this differs from the way they react in one-to-one interviews. Focus groups also offer individuals the opportunity to probe and challenge one another's viewpoints, and this in turn potentially allows the researcher more insight into what people really think about specific issues (Bryman, 2004) Used in conjunction with semi-

structured interviews focus groups can help to 'confirm results' (Morgan, 1997) although they also provide their own 'unique contributions' (ibid) to research data.

I originally intended to carry out focus groups in all three case study areas, however as previously intimated I had to abandon the idea in relation to *Darnley* due to time limitations. I did hold one focus group in each of the other case study areas. My focus groups in *Arden* and *Petersburn* were carried out after the semi-structured interviews with residents. In *Arden* (the comparison case) the group was made up of seven social renters, and in *Petersburn* the focus group consisted of six participants in total- four social renters and two owner-occupiers. All of the focus group participants were original interviewees.

I carried out my focus groups some time after conducting the semi-structured interviews in Arden and Petersburn. I asked the same participants who had agreed to be interviewed if they would also be willing to take part in a focus group (made up of local residents) to further discuss the issues raised in the interviews. My aims here were to explore the ways in which participants discussed the key issues within a group setting and to discover if the opinions and perceptions which they had offered in their one-to-one interviews with me changed within the focus group environment. In essence then I wanted to talk to individuals within both the 'private' and 'public' realms to determine any differences which might emerge between the two.

I was keen to make the focus groups as interesting as possible for the participants and I also wanted to avoid 're-treading old ground' by simply revisiting the same material which I had asked about in the interviews. In order to achieve these ends I devised four 'scenarios' (based around the key research themes) which participants had to 'imagine' themselves in using role-play exercises.

In Scenario 1 I wanted to focus on changes which had occurred within the areas over time and residents' perceptions with regard to the significance of these.

This scenario involved getting participants to take part in a 'mock-quiz' where the questions were based around neighbourhood changes. Scenario 2 explored perceptions of stigma and for this task I asked participants to imagine they were one of two types of 'outsider'; this could be an individual who lived in one of the surrounding neighbourhoods or a visitor with no previous knowledge of the community. Participants then had to imagine what opinions these 'outsiders' might hold and were invited to share these with the group. Scenario 3 investigated participants' perceptions of equality and inequality within their communities. This was done by providing participants with a series of statements such as *"Everybody 'round here's the same…?"* and asking them to discuss these within the group. The final scenario (Scenario 4) looked at tenure mix itself and involved a general group discussion around key issues including: owner-occupation; neighbours; and participants' neighbourhood social networks. (See **Appendix V** for Focus Group Guide)

Participants seemed to enjoy the 'scenario' format of the focus groups and due to the more informal environment (as compared with one-to-one interviews) they tended to be more open when discussing key issues. As a result the data generated from the focus groups proved to be very valuable and complemented the data gathered in the interviews.

The logistics of organizing venues for the focus groups and also of trying to secure participants' attendance were time-consuming and stressful. In addition facilitating the focus group was a challenging experience, and a balancing act between trying to stop the discussion 'going off at a tangent' while still allowing for a degree of latitude (Bryman, 2004). On reflection holding focus groups was definitely worthwhile. The biggest challenge lay in analyzing the data, as well as in presenting it in a meaningful manner.

Data Analysis

The data analysis phase of the research process involved sorting and ordering the data which I had collected in interviews and focus groups (transcripts and field-notes) into a system which facilitated interpretation. The transcription process was particularly time-consuming and due to time constraints (which have already been discussed) the data from Darnley had to be passed to a professional transcriber. In order to aid this procedure I summarized key issues which had emerged in interviews and focus groups immediately after they had taken place. These summaries were a useful tool when it came to coding the data since they acted as an 'aide-memoir' and highlighted key themes.

The approach which I adopted was a thematic analysis one. This strategy relied upon identifying key themes and ideas from the data. In this type of analysis these themes and ideas are not pre-defined prior to coding the data but rather are informed *by* the data (Ezzy, 2002). In reality this meant highlighting key, recurring words and phrases in the data, establishing patterns (similarities and differences) and being alert for anomalies.

Data collection, coding of data and transcription were conducted concurrently and although this was often a challenging part of the research process it also meant being immersed in the data which facilitated the identification of emergent themes. Initially I began using the CAQDAS (computer aided qualitative data analysis software) package NVivo to analyze the data. These types of software packages can be a 'pragmatic tool to support qualitative researchers' (Flick, 2002) and the main advantages offered by programmes like NVivo are: a faster way to code and analyze data; and a more systematic approach to tackling qualitative research analysis.

Programmes like NVivo operate on a 'code and retrieve' basis; meaning that sections of data (e.g. interview transcripts) are given codes and can then be retrieved for examination using the assigned codes. I found that the processes involved for entering information into the NVivo system and using it to code

data was particularly time-consuming and crucially that it seemed to 'detatch' me from the data; hampering my understanding and interpretation of the data and ultimately obstructing the creative process. Seale points out 'CAQDAS is no substitute for thinking hard about the meaning of data' (Seale, 2005). Accordingly my research seemed best suited to 'manual' coding and analysis of data and it was this approach which best allowed me to: construct 'explanations and arguments' from data (Mason, 2002); informed the writing-up of my findings; connected the policy and literature theory with my own research evidence, and enabled me to gain a clearer picture with regard to the reality of health and well-being in mixed communities.

Validity

Validity or credibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) can essentially be described as confidence that the research findings credibly represent the perspective(s) of the research participant (s). The argument here goes that since the intent of qualitative research is to describe or understand the phenomena being researched from the participants' viewpoint then, the participants are the only ones who can reasonably judge the credibility of the results. Flick (2002) suggests that two key measures can be taken to improve the credibility of a piece of qualitative research. These are: analyzing interviews to ensure that respondents are given the opportunity for 'unimpeded narrative' (in other words that there are no leading questions etc.) since this helps the researcher to provide a 'valid depiction' (p.222); and 'communicative validation' which 'aims at involving the actors (subjects or groups) in the further research process' (p.223).

Flick's latter recommendation involves meeting up with participants at a later date, providing them with a copy of their interview transcript and giving them an opportunity to 'validate' the views they expressed in the interview. This is an idea which I would liked to have used as part of my own research process,

unfortunately however, given time constraints and the logistics of meeting up with respondents again I was unable to do so. Flick's other recommendation was one which I did employ by taking care to design robust interview guides (and to 'tweak' these when necessary) which avoided leading questions or over-prompting of interviewees.

Moreover I also used other techniques (including the use of pilot interviews, frequently updated field-notes, and environmental assessments) to strive for the highest degree of credibility within my research and my extensive engagement with the three case-study areas (and the people who lived in them) over an extended time-period was a key factor here. Triangulation was another intrinsic feature of my research which lends it credibility. Flick (2002) suggests that there are different types of triangulation and we used two of these. A triangulation of data sources by interviewing both local residents and key actors; and a triangulation of methods by conducting both interviews and focus groups as well as carrying out environmental assessments.

Generalizability

The concept of generalizability (also referred to as external validity or transferability) essentially means that findings from a research study have applicability in other contexts. Flick attests that:

> "The problem of generalization in qualitative research is that its statements are often made for a certain context or specific cases and based on analyses of relations, conditions, processes etc. in them". (Flick, 2002; p.230)

And some researchers challenge the notion that qualitative research should aim to be generalizable. Lincoln and Guba (1985) maintain that due to its intrinsic nature there can be no generalization in qualitative research although they also advise that systematic documentation and comparison of the collected data

material along with a clear description of theoretical considerations can enhance the accessibility of a study.

The research study-a summary

This study aimed for a transparent and rigorous approach with regard to all

Stage 1 – Systematic policy and literature review

Stage 2 – Development of the analytical framework

Stage 3 – Case study selection process

Stage 4 – Environmental assessments of case study areas

Stage 5 – Field-work (interviews and focus groups)/transcription

Stage 6 – Data analysis

Stage 7 – Writing-up of findings

*N.B. stages 5 and 6 were conducted concurrently

Figure 5.3-Stages of the Research Process

aspects of the research process. The key stages are summarized in

Figure 5.3

Chapter summary

This chapter clarified the research aims and research approach as well as the methods which were used in the pursuit of achieving those aims. This involved an examination of the 'bigger-picture' with regard to qualitative research, looking at the philosophical underpinnings of the tradition alongside its inherent research methods. In doing so it established why qualitative research

methods and techniques were the most appropriate strategies for investigating the phenomena which are the focus of this study.

The chapter also provided a discussion of the case-study selection process. The next chapter fleshes-out the knowledge of the three case study neighbourhoods providing an abridged history of each alongside information on tenure mix distribution and physical layout.

Chapter 6: Neighbourhood Profiles

<div style="border">

Introduction

6.1 Petersburn
6.2 Darnley
6.3 Arden
6.4 A summary and comparison of key neighbourhood characteristics

Chapter summary

</div>

Introduction

This chapter provides profiles of the three neighbourhoods. The profiles comprise a synopsis of the changes which have occurred in each area over the last few decades[20] and a 'photo-gallery' illustrating these. In the final section of the chapter key neighbourhood characteristics are presented and compared.

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[20] The information about the changes to the three case-study areas was obtained through a combination of interviews with the key actors, local authority and housing association documents and in the case of Petersburn the experiential knowledge of the researcher.

6.1 Petersburn
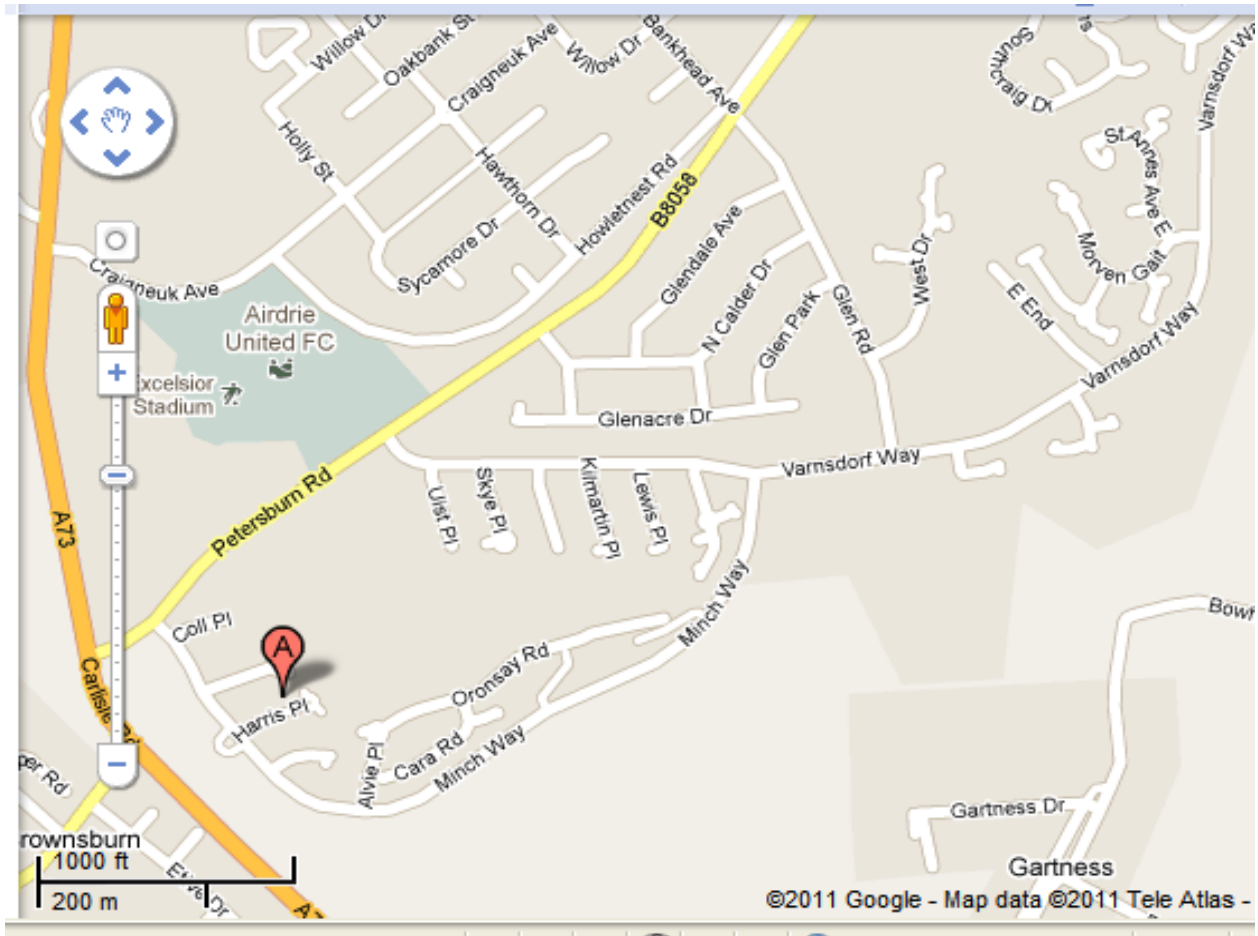
The map **(Replicated from Google maps 5/5/2010)** above shows the Petersburn area where the research was conducted. Icon 'A' represents the centre of the research area. The surrounding streets from Coll Place to Oransay Road the regeneration development area.

Petersburn-the background

Petersburn is a small housing estate located approximately one and a half miles from the town of Airdrie in North Lanarkshire. Airdrie itself is a post-industrial town (with a population of just over 35,000) which lies around twelve miles to the east of Glasgow and incorporates several large housing schemes and ex-mining villages.

Petersburn was built as a new, modern council housing estate by Monklands District Council (since boundary changes MDC has evolved into North Lanarkshire Council) and the original population was made up of mainly local people from the surrounding Airdrie area. The estate is situated about a mile and a half away from the town centre in a semi-rural area, surrounded by green-space; the Calder Glen (a tree-filled valley) is on its doorstep and fields and hills are within easy walking distance. The original estate was built in the late 1960s and was designed around a modernist architectural vision; in keeping with this influence the key materials used in construction were concrete and breeze blocks. This translated into a neighbourhood comprised of rows of grey, square, flat-roofed, houses, all south facing and with all of the windows (except one) at the back of the buildings. This design meant that there were no traditional streets or pavements; and in their place was a network of alleyways and 'runs' between the rows of houses. The main road which encircled the estate was also 'pavement-less' and residents wishing to cross it could do so by using one of the two underpasses which were built at either end of the estate. The wider layout of the estate was also congruent with the overall modernist vision; this encompassed several key features including: a parkland area in the centre of the estate which contained playing-fields and paths for walking and cycling, and which was easily accessible to all residents; play-areas for younger children which were dotted around the estate, and also reflected the modernist style with concrete climbing frames and cylindrical concrete tunnels; as well as functionally designed garages and car parks which served several rows of houses.

Two new primary schools were built on the estate at the same time as the construction of the new houses; other amenities included a shop in the middle of the scheme and a strip on the periphery of the estate which included a community centre, a pub and some smaller units for rent (these became a bookmakers, a food outlet and a 'mini-market' and remain so today). Apart from these retail and leisure services no other services or amenities were

provided on the estate, however, a reliable and frequent bus-service operated between the estate and the town centre. At this point demand for housing in the neighbourhood was high and vacancy rates low.

Petersburn- the change over time

When it was built initially Petersburn was a social rented council owned estate. The new estate was striking in appearance, well-landscaped and presented an attractive option for potential residents. Furthermore, internally the houses were well-laid out with large rooms and good-sized back gardens; these features alongside the proximity of the two new schools meant that many of the early residents were families with young children. For over two decades the estate remained more or less unchanged although the flat roof design had begun to cause dampness problems (issues with mould on walls and ceilings and condensation) in some of the houses and crucially the general physical layout had not stood the test of time and had deteriorated somewhat. At this point demand for housing in the neighbourhood dropped and vacancy rates were high. Towards the end of the 1990's the estate was part of a stock transfer from the local authority to a housing association (Gap Housing) and at this point a small-scale renovation of some properties on the estate was undertaken. Gap Housing was eventually taken over by the much larger Link Housing Association (Now Link Group) in 2000 and from that point onwards an extensive regeneration (funded in conjunction with the Link Housing and the Scottish Executive) programme was put into place in Petersburn.

Petersburn today

The regeneration process involved the staggered demolition of the old houses on the estate and the construction of new houses and one-storey flats. The new estate was planned as a mixed-tenure community and now comprises 262 properties, incorporating rented, shared-ownership and owner-occupied houses

and flats. This figure breaks down into 188 social rented properties; 41 shared ownership properties; and 33 owner-occupied properties. The regeneration programme was completed in 2004.

Crucially the mix of different tenure properties is 'pepper-potted' throughout the estate and all of the houses and flats are built to the same specifications (both internally and externally). The regeneration was carried out in stages and original residents were given the choice of moving to another Link neighbourhood or moving into a new property on the estate; furthermore if they decided to stay they were allowed to choose the site of their new home at the planning stage; most original residents opted to stay. A small number of original social renters also opted to buy (or take out shared ownership on) a new property on the estate rather than rent. There are also new 'incomer' residents living on the estate in social rented, shared ownership and owner-occupied properties. The physical layout of the estate is now a traditional one with streets and pavements. The park area in the middle of the estate has also been refurbished, although there have been no wider changes implemented, for instance in relation to the service or retail environment. Since the regeneration demand for housing in the area is now high and turnover and vacancy rates have dropped.

Petersburn Photo Gallery

Picture 1

Picture 1 shows the deterioration which had occurred in the old scheme just prior to regeneration

Picture 2

Picture 2 provides a more panoramic view of the estate just before the first stage of regeneration

Picture 3

Picture 4

Pictures 3 and 4 highlight the new design of the estate and include a mixture of social rented and owner occupied properties.

Picture 5

Picture 5 shows the park-land area pre-regeneration with some rows of original housing in the background. The white, roofed houses were part of the small-scale initial renovation programme. These houses still remain on the estate today and were not part of the more recent regeneration initiative.

Picture 6

Picture 6-The new park incorporates a play area for younger children as well as a skate-park and other amenities for older children and teenagers.

6.2 Darnley
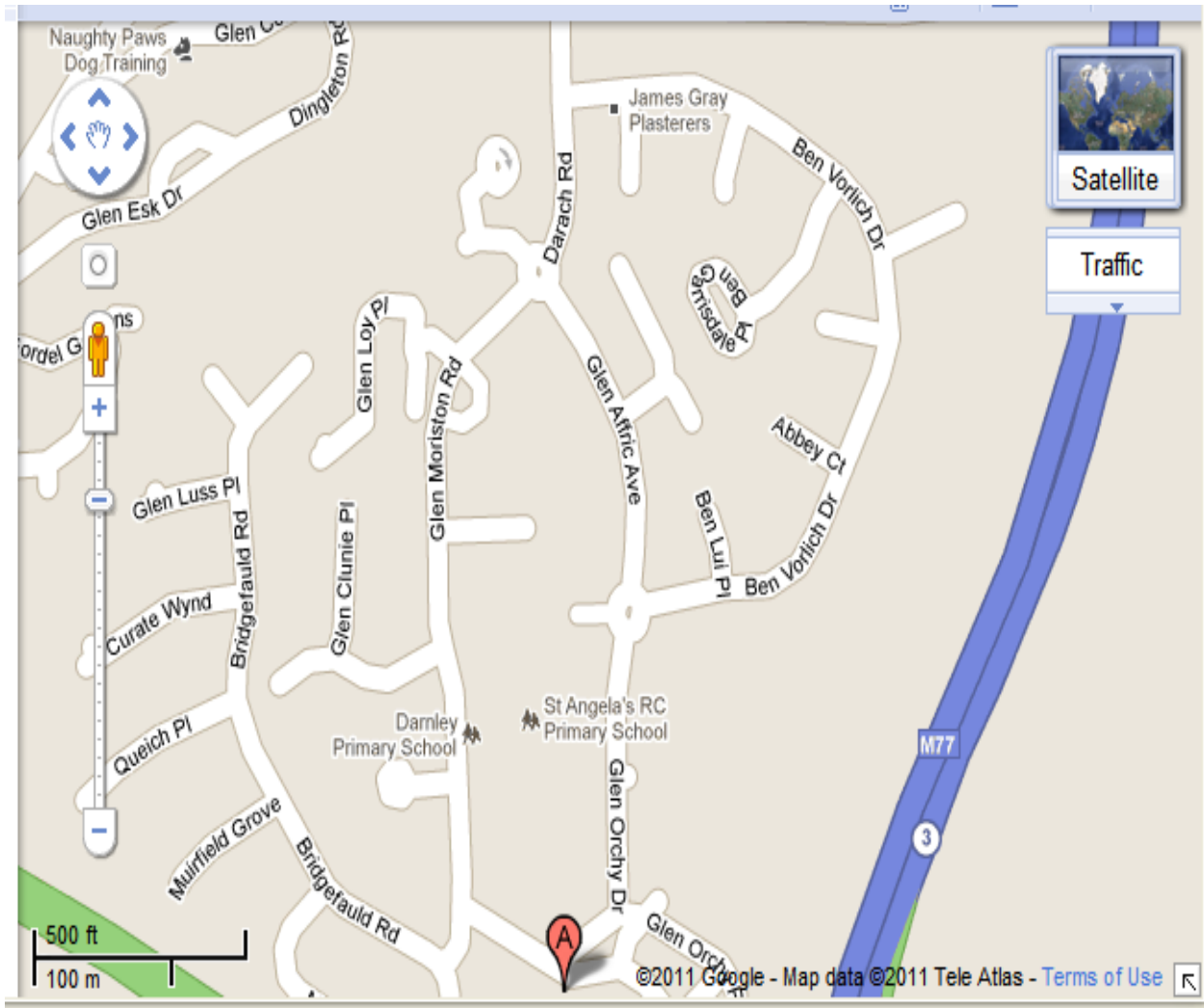
Icon 'A' in the map of the Darnley area **(Replicated from Google maps 5/5/2010)** above represents the point where recruitment initially began.

Darnley-the background

Darnley is situated on the south-western periphery of Glasgow (around 3 miles/5km from the city centre) and just to the west of the Arden estate, our third case study area. It lies adjacent to the M77 on its southern boundary and a railway line borders it to the north. Darnley is surrounded by open countryside in the form of Darnley Mill Park and Waulkmill Glen both of which are within easy walking distance and a stream known as the Brockburn runs through the estate and divides it on the west.

The original Darnley development emerged at the tail-end of Glasgow Corporation's long-term response to the city's post-war housing shortage and the original population came from the inner-city and surrounding areas. Darnley was the last major municipal housing development undertaken by the Corporation before its demise under Local Authority restructuring. The estate was constructed in three phases between 1969 and 1979 under the direction of Scottish Special Housing Association (which then became Scottish Homes). Darnley, like Petersburn, was built around a modernist design using the ubiquitous modernist materials; exposed concrete, coloured render and breeze blocks.

The Darnley estate featured several interlinked, medium-rise blocks 6-8 storeys high, which at that time was an innovative design and a move away from the high-rise towers which had been built elsewhere in the city during the late sixties and early seventies. The blocks were built in long, linked chains around the Brockburn and housed 1,338 one-to-five apartment maisonettes and flats; all of the properties had a concrete balcony at the front. Each block had its own stair tower and access from one block to the next was by means of raised concrete walkways, in addition tarmac car parks were situated next to each block.

Initially Darnley was conceived of as a self-contained and self-supporting community and several key facilities and amenities were built into the estate

alongside the housing. These included: seven retail units beneath one block of flats in the centre of the estate; two primary schools; a library; a bowling green; and a community education centre. The planners made use of the surrounding topography and designed roads, playing fields and public spaces around the estate which were congruent with the undulating landscape. Like Petersburn in its initial phase of existence demand for housing in Darnley was high, and turnover and vacancy rates low.

Darnley-the change over time

There are striking similarities between Petersburn and Darnley in relation to their evolution and decline. Originally Darnley, with its new, modern appearance and semi-rural setting was considered to be an appealing estate, and an attractive living environment, particularly for families with young children.

Soon after construction however many of the problems inherent within the design manifested themselves; these related to both the interior and exterior living environments. The flats and maisonettes although designed well internally, with spacious rooms, began to suffer from dampness. In addition the deck access design resulted in safety and security issues for residents. These centred on lack of control over who entered the blocks of housing.

The surrounding environment in Darnley was also creating problems. Wide open spaces around the estate which lacked any purpose or any sense of community ownership had become unwelcoming 'no-man's land' areas and the arena for acts of vandalism, graffiti and fly-tipping. A poor transport infrastructure was also in place at the time which highlighted Darnley's detached location on the periphery of the city boundaries. Unsurprisingly, and again echoing Petersburn, demand for housing in Darnley dropped during this period and turnover and vacancy rates rose.

From the mid-1980s the deterioration in the physical environment continued and Glasgow District Council implemented a comprehensive regeneration strategy for Darnley in 1990. The strategy involved the creation of a partnership between the local authority, Scottish Homes, private developers and Darnley Community Forum to carry forward a £50m investment plan for the Darnley neighbourhood. The objective was to transform Darnley into a mixed tenure redevelopment and the plan incorporated the demolition of over 600 local authority properties, the refurbishment of 300 others as well as the construction of 300 new social rented homes by the LA and local housing associations. Moreover, private developers were to construct a further 400 homes for low cost home ownership.

The regeneration programme in Darnley resulted in the demolition of the high density deck access blocks and these were replaced with traditional two/three and four apartment houses with their own back and front doors and gardens; these were all available for social renting. In addition the original retail units were also demolished (apart from the Post Office) and these were not replaced. Although, at this time the Pollock Shopping Centre was also being constructed adjacent to the scheme, it was not part of the Darnley renewal plan.

Darnley today

The overall tenure mix in Darnley (at the time of writing) is approximately 56% social rented housing and 44% owner-occupied. Darnley is managed by Glen Oaks Housing Association (as discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to key actors). Although the three constituent communities in Darnley represent three 'mini' mixed communities and each incorporates a combination of social rented, shared ownership and owner-occupied housing a clearly defined physical segregation exists between the different tenure types. Furthermore, substantial distances lie between the three areas and this intensifies the segmented and expansive nature of today's Darnley. Indeed it might be more

accurate to say that today there is more than one Darnley and that three distinct neighbourhoods co-exist under the Darnley name.

The focus of our research study is the Southpark Village area which contains both owner-occupied and social rented housing estates. The owner-occupied and social rented housing is separated by a main road (Nitshill Road). The two areas are situated within a five minute walking distance from one another and are easily visible to one other but due to their geographical separation as a result of the road they appear to be distinctly separate communities rather than one large mixed community.

The owner-occupied housing was constructed in the late 1990s and combines cul-de-sacs of solidly built suburban family homes and rows of terraced smaller properties. The original social rented housing was demolished and re-built from the late 1990s onwards and the neighbourhood now features streets of modern semi-detached houses and one-storey flats of varying apartment sizes, all of which have back and front gardens and driveways.

Darnley Photo Gallery

An aerial view of Darnley soon after construction

Picture 1

Picture 1 is an aerial view of Darnley soon after construction

Picture 2

Picture 2 shows the original deck-access blocks

Picture 3

Picture 3 depicts some of the blocks following renovation in the mid-nineties

Colleen F. Rowan
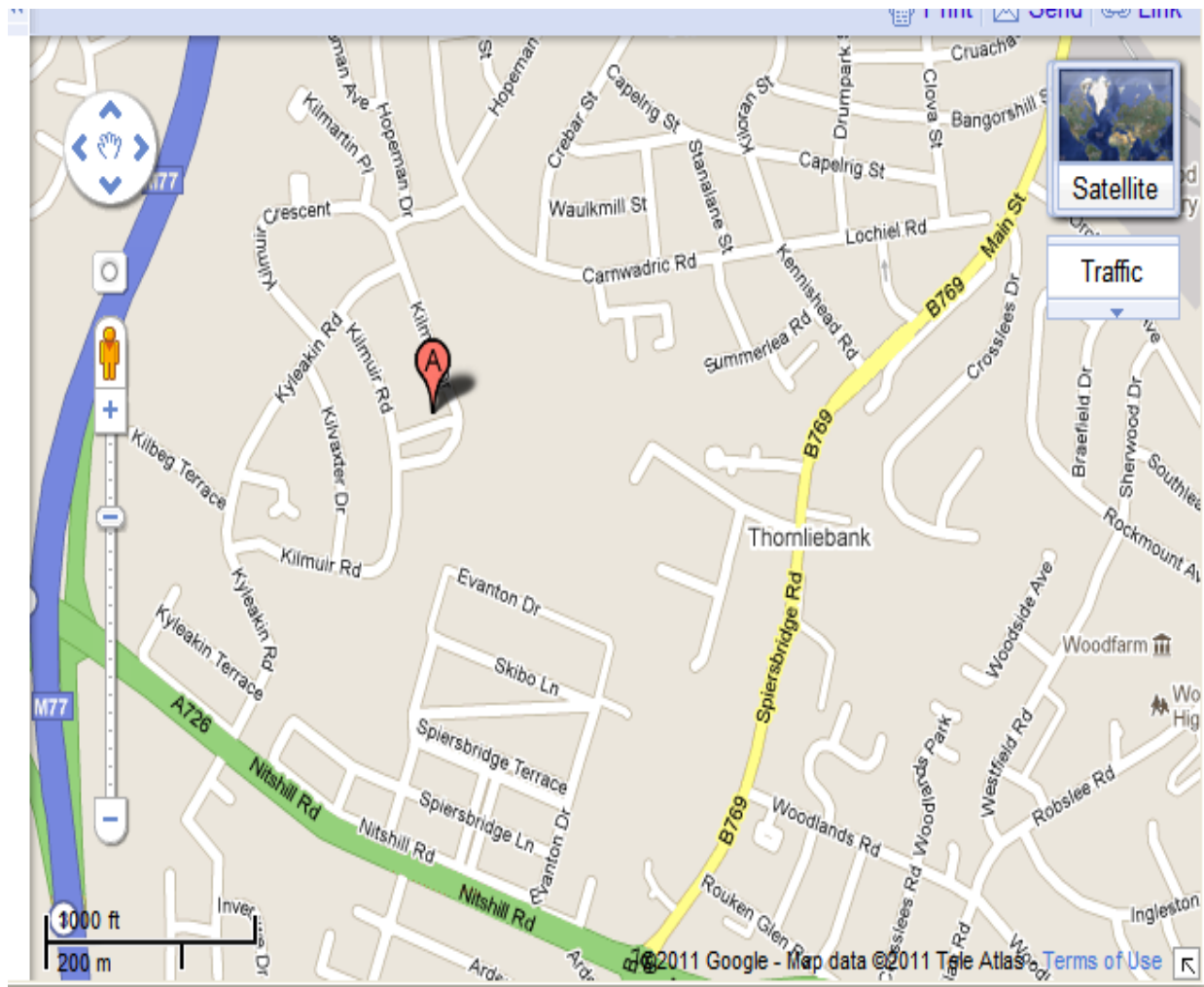
Picture 4

Picture 5

Pictures 4 and 5-Houses on the owner-occupied estate

Picture 6

Picture 6-Houses on the social-rented estate

6.3 Arden

The map above **(Replicated from Google maps 5/5/2010) shows the Arden area with Glen Oaks housing association represented by icon 'A'.**

Arden-the background

Arden lies around one and a half miles to the east of Darnley and is on the south-western edge of the city. It therefore shares the same surrounding environment as Darnley and lies close to the Brockburn and to Waulkmill Glen. Arden was constructed between 1953 and 1957 by Scottish Special Housing Association to re-house families from the inner city run-down tenements and featured low-rise four storey blocks of flats with balconies, as well as, two primary schools, a row of retail units and a pub.

Arden was a social rented community designed around solidly built 1950s tenement style housing and was a high-density estate incorporating approximately 1100 three and four apartment properties and housing around 3000 residents. Original residents' perceptions of Arden when it was a new estate mirrored those in Darnley and Petersburn; since it was considered an attractive option for children with young with families in terms of both the housing stock and the surrounding environment. Also, like Darnley, Arden was envisaged as a self-contained and self-supporting community. Unlike the other two case-study areas Arden pre-dated the modernist era of estate design.

Arden-change over time

By the mid-1970s onwards several factors had converged to initiate a process of decline in Arden which continued until the mid-1990s. These were: sustained under-investment in the upkeep and maintenance of the area by Glasgow District Council; Arden's density, lack of amenities, and poor transport infrastructure; and the estate's geographical position 'cut-off' from the wider city environment. All of these issues persisted in Arden until the estate was acquired by Glen Oaks Housing Association in 1999. Since then the Association has carried out several renovation programmes as well as demolishing 144 of the worst properties in the difficult-to-let streets. In 2005 the first phase of a

long-term regeneration programme was completed with the construction of 42 new social-rented homes. This was the first new-build project to take place in Arden for almost fifty years.

Arden today

Although Arden today has several Right-to-Buy properties scattered throughout it remains fundamentally a social rented community. Apart from the difficult-to-let properties which were demolished and replaced with new-build housing the original housing stock (albeit renovated) still remains in place. At the time of writing the local housing association was in the process of trying to sell land to a private developer which would introduce owner-occupied housing to the area and also generate income for the association to spend on improving the existing social rented sector in Arden.

Several changes have been incorporated into the wider physical environment in Arden. These include the creation of a community garden maintained by residents, a new skateboard park and a 'Chill Out' drop-in centre for the young people in the neighbourhood. In comparison to Petersburn and Darnley however the alterations to the physical environment in Arden have been more incremental in nature and have not resulted in a dramatic transformation.

Arden Photo Gallery

Picture 1

Picture 1 gives us an idea of how the original housing looked

Picture 2

Picture 2 shows renovated properties in Arden

Picture 3

Picture 3-One of the difficult-to-let areas just before demolition which was replaced with new-build social rented housing shown in Pictures 4 and 5

Picture 4

Picture 5

Pictures 4 and 5 show some of the new-build social housing.

6.4 A summary and comparison of key neighbourhood characteristics

Key neighbourhood characteristics

Although the three case-study communities are different with regards to tenure mix and configuration they do share some similarities. For instance all three are singly managed by one housing association and contain a mixture of refurbished and new build properties. **Table E** summarizes these key neighbourhood characteristics as well as documenting the location of each community.

Table E-Summary of Key Neighbourhood Characteristics

Neighbourhood characteristics	Petersburn	Darnley	Arden
Location	Airdrie, North Lanarkshire 12 miles from Eastern periphery of Glasgow	South Western periphery of Glasgow (3 miles from city-centre)	South Western periphery of Glasgow (5 miles from city-Centre)
Original pop	Airdrie and surrounding villages	Glasgow inner-city and surrounding areas	Glasgow inner city and surrounding area
Built environment	A mixture of houses and one-storey flats/a mixture of new build and refurbished properties	A mixture of houses and one-storey flats/a mixture of new build and refurbished properties	A mixture of low rise tenements, houses and one-storey flats/a mixture of original, refurbished and new build properties
Tenure Configuration	A 'pepper-potted' layout and 'tenure-blind' design	A segmented layout (not 'tenure-blind')	Some owner-occupied properties dispersed throughout as a result of RTB
Management	Single management by one housing association **Link Group**	Single management by one housing association **Glen Oaks HA**	Single management by one housing association **Glen Oaks HA**

Colleen F. Rowan

Table F offers comparisons across the three areas and the Scottish average across a range of indicators. The data is taken from the Scottish Observatory of Public Health's (SCOTPHO) Community Health and Wellbeing Profiles (2008/2010) at small area or 'intermediate' level.

Table F Comparing the Case Study Areas (Source: ScotPHO Health and Wellbeing Profiles 2008/2010)

	Arden &Carnwadric Pop 9,533	Darnley & South Nitshill Pop 6,586	Petersburn Pop 500 (app)	Scottish Average
Male life expectancy	68.9yrs	69.2yrs	74.4yrs	74.5yrs
Adults claiming Inc Ben/SDA	16.2%	8.6%	8.9%	5.6%
Adults with long term illnesses	24.3%	18.9%	23.1%	20.3%
Adults without educational qualifications	48.8%	37.3%	20.1%	13.8%
Population inc deprived	28.2%	16.4%	21.2%	15.1%
Average house prices	£112,013	£164,652	£101,312	£133,872

The three areas lie below the Scottish Male Life Expectancy Average of 74.5 and are lower across the board for all indicators used.

Within all of the domains included in **Table E** the three areas where our case-studies are located fare worse than the Scottish average. South West Glasgow performs worst of all across a range of health and well-being indicators. These results are reflective of deprivation levels within North Lanarkshire and South

West Glasgow. House prices in the three locations are also below the Scottish average; the higher house prices in SWG (compared with NL) are presumably related to its proximity to Glasgow city centre.

It was evident that the three case-study areas were representative of the types of multiply-deprived (or socially excluded) neighbourhoods which the mixed community agenda hoped to target and to improve through physical regeneration allied with tenure diversification. Petersburn, Darnley and Arden were therefore extremely suitable locations for our exploration into individuals' lives in these types of neighbourhoods.

Chapter summary

The neighbourhood profiles provided in this chapter helped to familiarize us with the three case study areas. As well as allowing us to develop a sense of each place the background knowledge gained here was a valuable tool which facilitated our understanding of individuals' perceptions of living in the three areas. In the following two chapters we present our findings.

Chapter 7: Perceptions of Neighbourhood Change and Stigma

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Introduction

7.1 Summary of sample characteristics
7.2 New housing
7.3 The wider neighbourhood environment
7.4 Safety and security
7.5 A sense of community
7.6 Stigma
7.7 The impacts of neighbourhood change and stigma on health and well-being

Chapter summary

</div>

Introduction

In the previous chapter we outlined key aspects of the physical and social environments in the three case-study communities and also highlighted changes to the neighbourhoods that had occurred over time. We will now consider how individuals believed specific features of their neighbourhoods had impacted on their health and well-being.

Our analytical framework contains four different characteristics of place which we wished to explore with individuals in the three neighbourhoods. These are: area changes; stigma; equality; and social/tenure mix. This chapter focuses on area changes and stigma.

The findings in relation to area change are discussed under four key themes which emerged from the data, these were: new housing; the wider neighbourhood environment; safety and security; and a sense of community.

In the section on stigma we concentrate on three key issues which emerged. These were: perceptions of area reputation and how these have evolved over time; *internal* neighbourhood stigma; and neighbourhood attachment.

Finally, we look at how individuals in the three communities perceived that neighbourhood change and stigma had impacted on their health and well-being. The findings here are separated into three sub-sections: health behaviours; impacts on physical health and on psychosocial health.

Firstly, however it will be beneficial to re-familiarize ourselves with the sample group.

7.1 Summary of Sample Characteristics

Twenty-eight residents in total were interviewed in the three communities. The group was made up of seventeen female and eleven male participants and the age of the interviewees ranged from twenty-seven years to seventy-one years.

In Petersburn twelve individuals took part in the study; nine of these were original residents and the remaining three were incomer owner-occupiers who had bought homes in the neighbourhood post-regeneration. Seven of the original residents were social renters and two had become owner-occupiers since the re-development of the area. In Darnley six residents were interviewed, three owner-occupiers and three social renters; all of the participants in Darnley had lived there since the mid-nineties. In Arden the ten participants were all social renters; six of whom had lived in the area for over thirty years and four who had moved there during the last ten years. Seven of the Arden interviewees lived in the original housing and three resided in the new-build social housing. Two key local actors with background knowledge of the three areas and the changes which had taken place in them were also interviewed in each community

7.2 New Housing

Respondents were generally very positive with regard to new housing in all three areas. Although the seven individuals in Arden who still lived in the original housing expressed satisfaction with their own homes they also believed that the new social-rented housing which had been constructed was beneficial for the area overall.

> "I just think it's good for Arden-they [they new houses] look great and it has really changed the look of the place. I do love my own wee flat though, I mean I've been here for over twenty years but the new build stuff just fits in really nice and its great for the folk that have got them too." (**'Eileen' social renter, Arden**)

The three owner-occupiers in Darnley also believed that the new-build social rented housing was good for the neighbourhood; however they also described it as being something which was disconnected from their own lives.

> "They are definitely very nice houses…built well, and designed well so its something that makes the place… the whole place nicer…but, well… they're over there and we're over here, so it's not something that I really think about in relation to where I stay. That's more about my own street, or the street next to me. Although I would rather see them, nice new houses when I'm passing in the car or walking the dog-you know?" (**'David' owner-occupier, Darnley**)

In the three communities the respondents who resided in the new housing were enthusiastic about several aspects of their new homes and for the most-part these were the same for both owners and renters. Although there was a general consensus of satisfaction around specific features of the new housing original long-term residents in both Petersburn and Darnley tended to discuss these in relation to their old homes and in these comparisons the new houses were on the whole viewed more favourably. For the group of Arden respondents this was not a relevant issue.

Internal features

Most respondents expressed satisfaction with specific internal features including the layout of the new houses, design of kitchens and utility rooms and inclusion of both an upstairs and downstairs toilet.

> "The house is just brilliant, we love it. The new kitchen especially with the wee utility room just off it…I mean I still just stand at the kitchen door sometimes and look at everything-so streamlined and tidy." **('Liz', social renter Petersburn)**

> "The thing I like the best is the layout of the house, everything is perfect. The rooms and loads of things like the kitchen layout and worktops." **('Susan' social renter, Arden)**

> "Having a toilet upstairs and down stairs is great, for us because my mum's not as good at getting up and down the stairs as she used to be, and with the kids it's so much easier too." **('Traci', owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

Although the response to the new houses was generally very positive some shortcomings were also highlighted, for a few residents in Petersburn and Darnley the fact that the bedrooms in their new homes were smaller was a cause for concern; in Petersburn another issue was that some houses no longer had a view of the local glen.

Gardens

In all three areas both social renters and owner occupiers living in the new houses valued having their own gardens for a number of reasons. One perceived advantage of the new gardens was that they made the new houses more attractive, as described by one participant in Arden.

> "The gardens in the street are one of the best things about it for me anyway. It's a great sight when you turn into the street, especially in the summer. It cheers me up every time." **('Ian' social renter, Arden)**

For others this was allied to the fact that the gardens offered a 'defensible space' which added to a sense of security in their new homes.

"Apart from the fact that I now have a lovely garden, which by the way, I didn't do! [laughs] 'cause it was my husband, its my own wee bit and I can see who's coming up my path and anybody who comes in has to open the gate and we can hear that and we know that somebody's coming to the door." (**'Liz', social renter Petersburn**)

Some residents also enjoyed having their own outdoor space and got a lot of pleasure from spending time in their gardens.

"I definitely love my house though, and I do get a kick out of it and doing stuff in the garden an' that. So aye… I suppose I do feel better about life in general and have a wee spring in ma step…but it's the whole thing having my own house and the garden goes along with that." (**'Barry', owner occupier, Petersburn**)

Gardens were also valued for the opportunities they provided for interacting with neighbours, as one woman in Darnley commented.

"We always have a wee chat if we're out in the garden-hanging out clothes or just sitting out. We've even had a couple of joint barbecues! Though we're not as pally with the neighbours on the other side…but its still a wee nod or good morning when we do see one another" (**'Karen' social renter, Darnley**)

In contrast two original residents in Petersburn spoke about initially feeling exposed and of experiencing a loss of privacy in their new back gardens. As we have previously discussed the former back gardens had six foot wooden fences on every side and neighbours could only be glimpsed through the wooden slats. In contrast the new gardens had low, waist-high fences which allowed residents to see (and be seen) by neighbours in adjacent gardens. Although on reflection both residents stated that this had been more of a problem for them immediately following regeneration and that they were now more comfortable in their new gardens.

"It was just at first, I wasn't that used to seeing people out the back, or being seen! Really it was just that it had been so private before and then it was all open with really low fences and it kind of freaked me out for a wee while." (**'June', social renter, Petersburn**)

'Normal' houses

For a few respondents in Darnley and Petersburn several features contributed to a sense that they were now living in houses which looked like traditional dwellings and this was another source of satisfaction. These features included having windows at the front of the houses as well as 'real' roofs and the use of different materials, like wood and bricks, on the outside of the houses. The last factor contributed to a sense that the regenerated neighbourhoods contained different colours, rather than being uniformly grey concrete.

> "So you're not getting up in the morning and looking out and staring at grey walls, grey pavements, grey everything. Because now you have different colours of brick and wood on the houses and fences painted different colours too…and I can't tell you what a difference it all makes." **('Ena', social renter, Petersburn)**

One of the social renters in Darnley who had lived in the old deck access blocks also commented on the difference that colour made to her living environment.

> "I didn't really feel as if I noticed it before, you know, just how grey and depressing it was to live in. Grey and flat and like a prison block. This new house is like a breath of fresh air. **('Anne' social renter, Darnley)**

Some Petersburn and Darnley respondents spoke about the more traditional style of housing in terms of enjoying the fact that their new houses were 'ordinary' or 'normal' looking.

> "Its nice to live somewhere that looks like a normal house-don't get me wrong I loved my old house inside, the size of the rooms and the way it was laid out but I just didn't like the look of it from the outside, I mean it was like a big concrete box. Well rows of concrete boxes! And it just wasn't very pleasant to look at or to bring people into. **('Tommy' social renter, Petersburn)**

> "One of the nicest things is that now we've got an ordinary house in an ordinary street. What I mean by that is that we're not living in a big concrete jungle anymore, somewhere that looks out of place and run-down. Now it's just like we've got a house like everybody else." **('Anne' social renter, Darnley)**

This issue didn't arise in Arden, perhaps because the original housing had been built in typical, traditional post-war tenement style.

For respondents in Darnley and Petersburn the attractive appearance of their new homes was a crucial factor which added to their satisfaction with them. The importance of aesthetics was also referred to in relation to the wider environment in Arden and Petersburn as we will shortly discuss.

'Like bought houses'

A consistent thread which ran through all three communities around new houses was the fact that they looked like owner-occupied houses or 'bought' houses as many respondents described them, and were perceived as being built to the same quality. This greatly pleased the social renters who lived in the houses, and the issue was also commented on by the owner-occupiers in Darnley and Petersburn.

> "My house looks just like the ones over the street that are bought...I mean there's no difference, and if I was going to buy a house I couldn't get any better than this. It's definitely what I would go for if I was buying, and that's what it should be like for all rented housing as far as I'm concerned. It's not like the old council days. **('Tommy', social renter, Petersburn)**

> "The wee street looks like its all bought houses. I mean they are really nice and the way they are laid out and everything. I know people who have their own houses and they are not as nice as these." **('Marie' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

> "If you were coming into this street and you didn't know it then you would think that these were private houses...they do look bought, and the quality is the same inside...I mean the kitchens and all the doors and everything. **('Margaret' social renter, Arden)**

These comments suggest that mixed-tenure communities where the social-rented housing resembles, and is the same quality as owner-occupied housing is an important issue for people and one which we will return to in the following chapter.

Costs

In all three areas the cost of rents, council tax and other household bills for the new houses was a significant anxiety for most of the social renters. However, respondents did qualify this by saying that the increased costs were offset by the satisfaction they got from living in their new homes.

> "The rents went up as soon as we got them [the new houses] and so did our council tax, and it's a bit of a struggle because we are on my wage 'cause my wife had to give up work through sickness. I mean the house is lovely and we are lucky to have it but it's a balancing act with juggling the finances every month with everything else we have to pay." **('Johnny', social renter, Petersburn)**

> "It's the cost of everything-rent, council tax, bills. But in saying that you get the benefit of a lovely new house, and to be fair I love it, love having this wee flat so it's well worth it. **('Tina' social renter, Arden)**

For owner-occupiers costs were discussed in relation to house prices and also with regard to upkeep and maintenance of homes. One owner occupier in Petersburn was particularly pleased with what he had paid for his home.

> "Aye it's definitely well worth it…a three bedroom house in this area, especially when you look at the fact that we've got this big garden and driveway, and into the bargain the whole spec of the house. It's really good quality." **('Tony' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

However, owner-occupiers in both Darnley and Petersburn pointed out the costs which they incurred with regard to the upkeep and maintenance of their properties. Furthermore this led some owner-occupiers to make comparisons between themselves and social renters who were perceived to have got the better deal in this respect.

> "We do have to pay for everything. You know if anything goes wrong?-so to give you an example, last month the boiler, our boiler broke down and we had to get it fixed and that was up to us…you know to do that…it came out of our pockets. But my neighbour-well across the road-when it happened to her (not the same thing-but she had no hot water) the housing association just send somebody out and that's it. No extra charge it's all paid for by them [H.A.] because you rent your house off

them. So there is...I think anyway...em.. definite pros and cons to having your own house." **('Kate' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

"As far as I'm concerned it's the extra costs that make it harder, and we just about manage to keep our heads above water. Paying the mortgage, council tax and for the general upkeep of the house. Sometimes...and we have discussed it...I think we would be better off renting because then we would get all our repairs and everything done for nothing. So I have looked at the houses we're talking about and thought...well-you know? It must be great to be in a house that looks like a private house and then not really have to worry about all the upkeep stuff and cost." **('Marie' owner-occupier Darnley)**

The comparisons made here are obviously extremely relevant with regard to perceptions of relative deprivation and we will go on to discuss these in greater depth in the next chapter.

'An asset to the area'

As well as being pleased with the new houses at an individual level residents in the three areas generally agreed that the new housing improved the overall physical appearance of their neighbourhoods and was therefore a change for the better.

"It's like night and day, I mean the state of the place, these streets and the rundown houses. There's no comparison to now because they [the new houses] are just lovely...and I mean it's just obvious that that's got to be good for the place, for Arden, for the local community." **('Susan' social renter, Arden)**

One original renter in Petersburn emphasised that as well as being a positive feature for the local community the new houses also enhanced the appearance of the estate for visitors.

"We've now got houses to be proud of and are not embarrassed to bring people here" **('Tommy' social renter, Petersburn)**

The local actors in each community echoed the residents' sentiments and stressed the positive outcomes of the new housing for the areas.

"The houses are such good quality, and the place itself it's such a nice looking estate now...to want to live in. Totally unrecognizable, compared with what, how it used to look. People are so happy with their houses and the change, because it's like...well...tenants have told me that it's like living in a different place" **(Local Actor 1, Petersburn)**

"As far as I'm concerned the regeneration is all good. I mean the new housing is an asset to the area. There's no doubt in my mind, and I don't see how there could be in anybody else's that that's the case." **(Local Actor 2, Darnley)**

It is evident that the new housing was a significant component part of overall neighbourhood change for the residents of the three communities. However other changes which had occurred were also perceived by participants as being important. We will now consider respondents' views on changes to the wider neighbourhood environment.

7.3 The wider neighbourhood environment

Wider environment spaces

For long-term, social renters in both Petersburn and Arden changes which had taken place in the wider neighbourhood environment, particularly in communal neighbourhood spaces, were viewed as being largely beneficial. Incomer residents in Petersburn who were all owner-occupiers placed less importance on these types of changes than social renters in the community. In Darnley alterations to the wider physical environment were not remarked upon by either owner-occupiers or social renters.

As we noted earlier the improved overall physical appearance of their neighbourhoods was a major source of satisfaction for some respondents in Arden and Petersburn and this was particularly true for long-term residents.

"It's so much better looking now...and it's not just the houses but the park and the trees they've planted round the road...and the fencing and

everything. It's the look of the whole place-you know?" **('Fiona' social renter, Petersburn)**

"Most of it [Arden] is nicer…to live in and look out at." **('Mary' social renter, Arden)**

In Petersburn the new layout of the estate with 'normal' streets and pavements was a key improvement to the wider neighbourhood environment, and also one which encouraged some residents to use it more often, as one woman commented.

"Well I definitely go out and about more in the scheme. Go and visit friends and family, take my grand-daughter up the park and that makes you feel better." **('Liz' social renter, Petersburn)**

The regenerated park itself was another change which was welcomed by most original residents. Many positive comments were made about the park and most focused on the fact that it was now used more regularly by the local community for a range of activities. These included; dog walking; taking young children to the play-park; letting older children walk to school unaccompanied; and for meeting up with friends.

"I let my older boy walk to school on his own now and up to play about with his pals. Now that they've got somewhere decent to play, and it's not the same as it was with gangs hanging about…well teenage laddies with nothing to do and then making a mess and sitting drinking and that." **('Fiona' social renter, Petersburn)**

On the other hand, some participants did point out some problematic issues in relation to the park. These were largely concerned with littering, vandalism and under-age drinking and some residents felt that the park had become a no-go area particularly at night.

"So it's like two steps forward and three back. You get a great thing like that on your doorstep and then some clowns ruin it. But it's mostly young ones from outside the estate that come in and do the damage. But we're left with a park that's not safe for the wee ones." **('Tommy' social renter, Petersburn)**

In Arden individuals spoke about a new community garden which had been developed by utilizing a vacant space previously known as the 'snakey'. For some residents this was a big improvement.

> "I think it's lovely and the kind of thing we should have. It gives me a lot of pleasure anyway and I think that's true for a lot of people and it was just nothing before." **('Mary' social renter, Arden)**

Another change to the physical environment which was appreciated by some residents in Arden was the construction of a skateboard park for young people. One man thought this was of real benefit to the community.

> "It gives the weans that are interested something to do and somewhere to go and it's on their doorstep and if that means that there's less hanging about the streets that's good for the whole lot of us." **('Tam' social renter, Arden)**

In Arden too, however, some residents complained that these new public spaces were being vandalized and one key actor respondent confirmed that this was an ongoing problem.

> "It's frustrating and demoralizing but it's not only Arden kids who are involved. There's a gang warfare thing, kids from here and the surrounding areas and that's when a lot of the damage is done." **(Local Actor1, Arden)**

The local actors in Petersburn and Arden who had been closely involved with the regeneration in the neighbourhoods believed that changes like the new park and the community garden had resulted in more than just physical environment benefits for the community.

> "It [the park] has helped to create better community cohesion and community satisfaction and given local people a sense of pride and ownership, and em…because everybody was involved from the start…like asking the young people what they wanted to be in the park and getting the community groups on board with the Trust it's meant that people have their say in their local community, definitely." **(Local Actor 1, Petersburn)**

> "All of this is about trying to make things better for the local community. Give the whole community something that's theirs and that

everybody can enjoy using, something to be proud of.” **(Local actor 1, Arden)**

In Petersburn the notion of increased community cohesion engendered by changes to the physical environment was called into question by some of the owner-occupier responses. As we already noted incomer owner occupiers in Petersburn felt that the changes which had occurred in the wider physical environment were of less consequence for them than for original residents in the area. Two reasons appeared to inform this perception. Firstly, incomer residents felt that they had not experienced the changes and therefore were less equipped to make comparisons.

> “I don't know what it was like before. I mean I've heard some stuff from friends who did know the old Mull but I've not lived through it so I can't really say.” **(‘Kate' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

Incomer owner occupiers also pointed out that the changes in wider neighbourhood spaces were not as important for them because they didn't use the local neighbourhood environment.

> “If I'm really honest I might live here but I don't do anything here, or even in Airdrie. I definitely wouldn't walk about here. I don't need to and again being honest I don't want to.” **(‘Tony' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

> “When we get in from work we shut our door, and if we're going out it's in the car so I don't really think about the rest of the place. **(‘Kate owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

This reaction suggests that in Petersburn the incomer owner-occupiers who took part in the study tended not to use the wider neighbourhood environment and this obviously has implications with regard to interaction with social renters in the estate. Furthermore incomer owner-occupiers do not perceive themselves as being part of the Petersburn community and this has ramifications with regard to many of the mixed community policy agenda claims based around social capital, the ‘role model' effect and community cohesion. We will return to this issue in our discussion chapter.

One of the two original owner-occupiers also indicated that she was not out in the local neighbourhood environment very often however the other resident in this category stated that he did use the park on a daily basis to walk his dog and to take his children to the play-area. Unlike the incomer owner-occupiers however both of these respondents did feel connected to the community.

When asked about changes which had occurred in their neighbourhood over time residents in Darnley didn't comment on physical environment changes, and this was true for both the owner-occupiers and social renters. For Darnley residents other changes, as we will see, held more significance.

Maintenance and upkeep

The maintenance and upkeep of their local neighbourhoods was another element of neighbourhood change which residents in all three areas were keen to discuss. For both owner-occupiers and social renters in Petersburn and Darnley the issue was an important one and this was also the case for the social renters in Arden. This subject was talked about in relation to the local housing associations' role in taking care of the neighbourhoods and also in relation to residents' input.

In Darnley residents were generally satisfied with the local housing association's management of the area, and this was spoken about in relation to maintenance of both properties and wider environment spaces. Social renters had direct experiences of the housing association's repair service and comments from this group tended to focus on these.

> "I think they do a good job, especially the repairs service. If you need something done it's usually really quick that the guys come out, unless they need a part or that." **('Danny' social renter, Darnley)**

Owner-occupiers' observations were more directed towards the housing association's role in maintaining the appearance of the wider physical environment, and these were mostly favourable.

> "Darnley is well-kept, I mean the new shrubbery areas and the new housing is. The place…everywhere really…and that's down to the council and probably the housing association, I would think." (**'David' owner occupier, Darnley**)

However for other Darnley residents some problems had not been addressed by the housing association. These were around the upkeep of communal neighbourhood spaces, for instance one woman referred to a landscaped space which she felt had not been adequately maintained.

> "They need to do something about that bit…it's an eyesore and brings down the look of the whole place" (**'May' owner-occupier, Darnley**)

The communities of Arden and Darnley are under the remit of the same housing association and residents in Arden were also largely positive about the performance of the housing association in maintaining the area. Respondents were happy with the overall level of maintenance provided and spoke about the association's role in developing and maintaining the wider neighbourhood environment (for instance the community garden).Some residents also referred to housing association initiatives which had sought to improve the living environment in Arden-these were a 'litter-picking campaign' and a 'Brighter Balconies' project.

> "I think that they kind of things do make a difference. Because people who live here are good people and they want to live in a place that looks nice…just the same as people everywhere…and it [Brighter Balconies] fairly brightened the place up." (**'Mary' social renter, Arden**)

The local actor interviewed who was affiliated with the housing association responsible for Arden and Darnley pointed out that the two areas were very different from one another in several ways. Firstly, Darnley was a larger, more spacious environment with less housing density than Arden; secondly, Darnley was a 'multi-tenure' environment; and finally Darnley did not suffer from the same level of 'concentrated' deprivation as Arden. There was no suggestion that because owner-occupiers lived in Darnley the association was more stringent with regard to upkeep and maintenance of the area; in fact the

respondent suggested that the approach to estate management in Arden was more 'hands-on'.

> "We have worked with the tenants organizations [in Arden] and developed estate action plans with them...given money to encourage tenants to be more active and involved in making decisions that will improve their own community." **(Key actor 1, Arden/Darnley)**

In Petersburn the housing association approach to estate management was also discussed both by the local actors and by the residents. The local actor highlighted the dual nature of the association's approach to estate management; this involved both working with the community to maintain the neighbourhood environment and also 'policing' the area with regard to property maintenance, vandalism, graffiti and other acts of anti-social behaviour.

> "It's important to set out what's acceptable and what isn't...and for most residents...they just want to take care of their homes and gardens. But you get the minority who are a problem sometimes. And then it's about saying-for instance we were round and did a garden inspection and you really need to keep your garden tidy. Obviously, if it's an elderly or disabled, person then we would arrange for it to be done. If not then it would be a letter sent out or a visit." **(Local Actor 1, Petersburn)**

The key-actor did state that the presence of owner-occupiers in Petersburn was definitely a factor which influenced estate management but was also keen to point out that maintaining the area was for the benefit of the whole community, owner-occupiers and social renters alike.

For most residents in Petersburn the transformation in the neighbourhood environment, and its ongoing upkeep was particularly appreciated and as far as some of the original residents were concerned was also long overdue.

> "Trying to explain the difference between then and now...god, it's like night and day...I mean it was like bombed out Beruit before. The place had got so run down...there wasn't a path you could walk on...missing slabs...the lamp-posts went out and were just left, and rubbish had been dumped. I mean stuff that people who were moving out had just left.

Now it's all clean and really nice and it's kept that way." **('Tommy' social renter, Petersburn)**

Respondents in all three areas also referred to the part that residents themselves played in contributing to the maintenance of their areas. This was spoken about in the context of property and garden maintenance. In Darnley owner-occupiers spoke about this very much at a micro-level (their own street) rather than at estate level.

"It's always been the same since we moved in here, and everybody round about…along the whole street has always looked after their properties. The gardens as well…though mine's is always tidy I'm not green-fingered like M next door…because theirs is gorgeous!" **('May' social renter, Darnley)**

One social renter in Darnley did indicate that she derived some enjoyment from the 'really nice' owner-occupied gardens when she passed them, but she also pointed out that there were some equally attractive gardens in her own street. The segregated nature of tenure-mix in this part of Darnley did not appear to produce the conditions in which a 'role-model' effect, with regard to property upkeep and maintenance, might occur. Indeed, the impression given by the residents in Darnley was one where two separate communities (one owner-occupied and one social rented) co-existed.

In contrast several owner-occupiers and social renters in Petersburn thought that owner-occupiers had a positive influence with regard to maintenance and upkeep of properties. For owner-occupiers the notion of a 'role-model' effect was more evident.

"In any area if people have bought their houses they are going to look after them and here because it's quite small and everybody's in together-you know bought houses and the housing association houses…well it rubs off. And people think oh I like what they've done there, say for instance with gardens. In fact one example is the hanging-baskets that everybody's got outside the front door." **('Kate' owner ocupier, Petersburn)**

However social renters whilst acknowledging that the introduction of owner-occupation was beneficial for the area were less convinced about the existence of a 'role-model' effect.

> "I think that having bought houses is a good thing. They [owner-occupiers] look after their properties and that encourages other people to do the same. But I have to say that since the scheme's been changed people would do that anyway." (**'Johnny' social renter, Petersburn**)

We will examine respondents' perspectives on the 'role-model' effect and tenure mix in the next chapter and at that point we will consider what impact the different physical layouts in Darnley and Petersburn have on residents' perceptions around these matters.

In Arden the majority of the participants felt that it was important for residents to take some responsibility for their own properties and also to some extent for the wider physical environment. A key concern for this group was the small number of individuals in Arden whom they believed failed to do this.

> "Nearly everybody I know looks after their own bit...but there's some folk who just don't care. They dump things everywhere, let their weans run riot and it just brings the look of the place down." (**'Margaret' social renter, Arden**)

This was an issue which was also brought up in Darnley and Petersburn, and like Arden, respondents in the two communities identified a core element of residents who were seen as being negligent with regard to upkeep and maintenance of their properties.

> "In my street there are...what-around 30 gardens? And only two of them are untidy and overgrown. That says it all as far as I'm concerned. It's always the same people...letting the place down." (**'Tommy' social renter, Petersburn**)

It is interesting that a group of 'negligent' individuals was identified in each community; this is closely related to perceptions of stigma and we will return to it further on in the chapter.

Overall, respondents did report an improvement in the upkeep and maintenance of their neighbourhoods over time and in Petersburn the introduction of tenure mix was one element of regeneration which was regarded as having contributed to this.

Local services and amenities

There were mixed views on local services and amenities in the three areas some favourable and some more negative. Furthermore, certain services were valued more highly than others in all three areas.

In Arden and Darnley some social renters expressed dissatisfaction with the poor provision of local retail outlets. In Arden residents complained that one row of local shops was inadequate for their needs and that more investment was needed in the area.

> "It's a joke really because you can't get anything except the basics there, and if you're looking to get more than that then forget it-no chance!" **('Margaret' social renter, Arden)**

However, some residents in Arden and Darnley used the Tesco superstore, which was located a few miles away, in the Silverburn retail park; however one woman stressed that this was not an option for everyone in the area.

> "I get a big weekly shop at Tesco over there cos it's just so much easier and you can get everything there. But I always ask my wee neighbour if she's needing anything because she's not fit to get there herself, and that's who misses out when there's no shops near-the pensioners or young mums who mebbe don't have a car and don't want to trail two or three kids with them." **('Karen' social renter, Darnley)**

In Peterburn some social renters spoke about the fact that the original shop which had been situated in the middle of the scheme had been demolished and not replaced when regeneration occurred. The majority of these respondents were happy with this situation because they associated the shop with problems like underage drinking, gang fights and anti-social behaviour; furthermore most

residents were able to use two other shops in the wider Petersburn area which were both within walking distance.

> "It's much better this way because that shop was like a magnet for trouble. It was like a war-zone on a Friday and Saturday night. I don't mind going round to the shop at the Four Isles [local pub], I mean it's only a ten minute walk away" (**'Ena' social renter, Petersburn**)

For owner-occupiers in Darnley and Petersburn the local retail environment was not an issue which was of much concern for them, and some social renters echoed this viewpoint.

> "I mean I don't use the local shops, there's no need, well I drive round there sometimes on a Sunday morning for the papers-that's it." (**'David' owner-occupier, Darnley**)

> "Local shops are not something that fit in with working life. I use the 24 hour Tesco in Coatbridge for everything I need. When we were young my mum was in the house all day and got the shopping every day but that's not modern life." (**'June' social renter, Petersburn**)

Although some respondents were disappointed with the lack of improvement in their local retail environments others believed that this aspect of neighbourhood change was not a major issue, particularly in Petersburn where residents welcomed the fact that another shop had not been built on the estate.

In relation to other services, for instance health and dental services, respondents in the three areas were satisfied with the provision of these. Individuals generally linked this satisfaction to proximity and also to good transport links which enabled them to access these services.

> "The health centre is only 20 minutes away on the bus and there's a bus every ten or 15 minutes so there's no problem there." (**'Liz' social renter, Petersburn**)

> "My doctor is only over in Thornliebank, and that's easy to get to on the bus, or my daughter comes and gives me a run." (**'Mary' social renter, Arden**)

Only one resident in Darnley discussed problems which her elderly neighbour experienced with access to local transport services.

> "She just can't make it down to the bus-stop because it's away at the road-end so that's a big distance for her. I do think that there should be a bus that comes right through the estate. It's a shame…I mean if I'm about with the car then it's not a problem but at other times…" **('Karen' social renter, Darnley)**

Residents in all three areas rated social and leisure amenities more highly than retail, transport or other services and most discussion around the service environment was concentrated on these issues. We will present those findings in the following chapter.

7.4 Safety and security

Respondents also commented on issues of safety and security which were associated with neighbourhood change and a number of factors were reflected upon here. Both owner-occupiers and social renters in all three areas felt that changes to the physical environment had made their neighbourhoods safer overall. As with previous aspects of neighbourhood change original residents made comparisons between their experiences of safety and security issues in the past and in the present.

Some original residents in Petersburn reported an increased sense of security and connected this with the design of their new houses and streets, and specifically to the fact that they could now see what was happening in their street and also interact with other people. One woman highlighted the difference between then and now.

> "In the old place you could only see neighbours out the back (through the fence) but when you shut your front door you shut out the world. The new way breeds good neighbours. You can see who is coming or going and you can look out for people more, and, you know at first it was a real novelty to watch the postman-that kind of thing. And I

suppose for somebody who hasn't lived here then they won't really get it." **('Liz' social renter, Petersburn)**

Other respondents in Petersburn drew attention to further safety and security benefits which they linked to the increased visibility of the new layout. These included residents being more likely to let children 'out to play' since they could 'keep an eye on them'; early warning with regard to any potentially anti-social behaviour such as groups of youths hanging around or playing ball-games; and the opportunity to monitor 'strangers' entering the street.

Two of the social renters in Darnley also contrasted safety and security in their new houses with their experiences in the old deck-access blocks, and, like the cohort of original residents in Petersburn, they felt safer in the more traditional style of housing.

> "One big thing for me is knowing that I'm coming along the street and not worrying about having to wonder who's going to be hanging about on the stairs or having to hunt people from the stairs, or clean up the mess they left. It could be quite scary sometimes…intimidating even…you know? Now it's my house with the garden, and anything that happens isn't right outside my door." **('Karen' social renter, Darnley)**

Although most original residents in Petersburn and Darnley now felt safer since regeneration had occurred they spoke about some more recent problems in their neighbourhoods, and these were subjects which were also raised by owner-occupiers. In Petersburn the main safety concerns involved the 'narrowness' of the new streets and the speed of traffic through the streets (this was raised especially in relation to children playing in the street). In Darnley residents complained about groups of young people occasionally running through their gardens and causing damage.

In Arden the majority of the participants thought that safety and security in the neighbourhood had improved since the construction of the new housing since this had replaced the most run-down blocks of flats. This was related to the positive knock-on effect of an altered neighbourhood demographic.

"Aye, they [the old flats] were a disgrace and they had just got worse and worse over the years. And you didn't know who they were putting in them, all the junkies and alkies...people who weren't from here who needed a house. But now that's all changed, and it's people from here that's moved in, and people that have wee families. There's none of that being wary when you're going past, or just avoiding it all together." **('Helen' social renter, Arden)**

However other residents in Arden looked further back to the period when the scheme had first been built and reminisced about how safe it had seemed then.

"We all moved in at the same time and we all had the weans, so everybody knew each other. You could let them out to roam about the whole day and you knew that if a wean gave you cheek you could give them a telling off or go to the door and complain. You wouldn't do that now cos you wouldn't know what you were getting involved with and what would happen." **('Eileen' social renter, Arden)**

In general though there was a consensus amongst most respondents that they generally felt safe in their homes and communities, and that safety and security had improved on the back of neighbourhood changes. However, despite this some residents in all three areas, and particularly social renters, singled out certain locations (blocks of flats or houses) which they tended to avoid because these locations were associated with anti-social or criminal behaviour. We will explore respondents' perceptions about these shortly when we look at stigma.

7.5 A sense of community

Another issue raise by respondents was how changes to the physical environment impacted upon their sense of community; we will also talk about a sense of community in relation to tenure and social mix in the following chapter.

In the three areas responses around this topic reflected what had happened to the physical layout of the places as a result of regeneration. In Darnley and Petersburn perceptions differed between owner-occupiers and social renters.

Colleen F. Rowan

In Darnley owner-occupiers spoke about a sense of community operating very much at a micro-level within their own street; furthermore, for this group the construction of the newer social housing was not a factor which had influenced this in any way.

> "We've have always had a feeling of being in a community in this street. I mean it's not like we're in and out of one another's houses or anything, but definitely looking out for one another. Watching the house when our neighbour goes on holiday or taking in their bin." **('May' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

> "The housing estate is not…em…it's not, like, part of my community or my world. There's the distance between us, the road to cross, and it's I suppose a different community from here. But I'm sure that the folk who live there will probably say the same about over here" **('David' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

The social renters in Darnley agreed with the owner-occupiers on this matter; although this comment from one man highlighted that this did not mean there was no interaction between the two groups.

> "I don't think that the way the place is laid out is like one big community-more like wee separate communities. But the bought houses have been there for ages and they're like a rooted community. But our bit is like a community too, but I mean I have a few mates who stay over there and we go out, play five-a-side and that…so I don't think I'm going out with a member of my community or their community! [laughs] Just I'm going out with mates." **('Danny' social renter, Darnley)**

This respondent clearly felt that the lines betweeen the various parts of the Darnley community were blurred and that interaction occurred quite naturally between individuals regardless of where they lived. between Nonetheless the segmented nature of tenure distribution in Darnley appeared to have an impact on what the majority of respondents thought with regards to a sense of community with most owner-occupiers and social renters believing it would be more accurate to talk about more than one community existing in Darnley.

As we have established Petersburn has a pepper-potted tenure distribution where owners and renters live alongside one another and there were mixed

views around a sense of community from the residents. Some social renters felt that the community spirit and closeness which originally existed in Petersburn had been consolidated during the period of neighbourhood decline and remained just as strong in the regenerated neighbourhood.

> "We always had that sense of everybody sticking together - well we moved in at the same time, the weans grew up together and we all knew one another. There were the gala days and all that. Then we were still all here when it got so bad, and we didn't want to move, we just wanted somebody to realize how bad it had got and we still looked out for each other and that's what got a lot of us through. So from that point of view- aye- we definitely have a community - always have had." (**'Liz' social renter, Petersburn**)

The fact that the decanted, original residents had been given the opportunity to move back into houses alongside their old neighbours was a factor which several respondents thought had allowed the old sense of community to endure and this sentiment was endorsed by one of the key actors.

> "So tenants came along, right at the start and sat with Housing Officers and looked at the plans, and then they decided where they wanted to be…in terms of the house they wanted…and for most people the new house was more or less where the old one had been, same neighbours round them…" (**Local Actor 1, Petersburn**)

Most social renters in Petersburn regarded the introduction of owner-occupied housing throughout the estate as having little impact on their sense of community although two respondents did indicate that their owner-occupier neighbours seemed to be separate from the rest of the community. This viewpoint was reiterated by the three incomer owner-occupiers and by one of the original resident owner-occupiers.

> "It's not something I really think about really. I mean I live here but I couldn't say if there's a sense of community. Everybody's really pleasant mind you, and my neighbour's took in packages for me-and I'd do the same…and I always say hello to the people round about but that's as far as it goes. But mebbe for the people who've been here for ages it's different." (**'Tony' owner-occupier, Petersburn**)

Overall, the sense of community in Petersburn was felt most keenly by the group of original resident social renters and once again the new traditional style of the houses and streets was seen to be a positive influence.

> "The new houses and the way you can see what's happening round about you-up the street, out the back, they all make it easier to be community minded. In the past, especially when it got really bad, well you just wanted to get in and shut your door." **('Johnny' social renter, Petersburn)**

In Arden most residents gave the impression that a sense of community had always existed and that although this had fluctuated over the years it still remained strong. However, for some residents the new housing in the area was seen as a positive feature which had led to increased community spirit for the people who lived in them.

> "Arden has always had community spirit. It's a good place. People look out for one another, and I think the new houses are great for that, you know who your neighbours are, and see everybody coming and going." **('Mary' social renter, Arden)**

In Arden and Darnley the majority of respondents did not explicitly connect changes to the physical environment with a sense of community whereas in Petersburn there was more of a tendency to do so. In Petersburn long-term residents associated the more traditional layout in the new scheme, and their proximity to former neighbours with an enduring sense of community.

7.6 Stigma

Area reputation-in the past

Only one respondent within the sample (an incomer owner-occupier in Petersburn) had no prior knowledge of the neighbourhood they lived in, and therefore no idea of the area's reputation. All of the other respondents spoke about area reputation in terms of a 'then and now' scenario. In other words residents spoke about how the areas had initially been viewed, how they had changed over time and the image they had today. Respondents spoke about

how they themselves perceived their neighbourhoods and how they were seen by other people.

Respondents accounts of their areas' past reputations were initially focused around the neighbourhoods when they had first been built and these were generally very positive. In the three places a key element which had enhanced their reputation was their proximity to green-space and open countryside. Residents spoke about feeling lucky to be living there and also about the reactions of family members and friends.

> "We were over the moon when we moved in here. It was lovely and just to have all that space round about. The weans loved it, and it made me feel happy, all the green…and compared with what we'd had before right in the middle of the town and so rundown. A slum when I think on it now. So my ma and my sisters were so jealous! It was like I had won the lottery!" **('Mary' social renter, Arden)**

> "It was right next to the glen and the view was brilliant. I got up every morning and the first thing I did was look out over to Calderbank [a nearby village]. You could see the seasons changing-brilliant!" **('Johnny' social renter, Petersburn)**

In Darnley and Petersburn the modern design of the estates was a source of satisfaction, and this modernity was also a factor which added to their positive reputation with outsiders.

> "I can remember when we came to see the house and thinking wow! 'Cause it was quite futuristic looking, the place and the houses and thinking plenty of space for the kids to roam about and no major roads, and how we would have this massive living-room and bedrooms. Compared to living with my mother and father-me and the wife and the kids it was just such a total vision for me that day" **('Johnny' social renter, Petersburn)**

> "It just seemed so perfect, all new and laid out so nicely and people did comment on it…saying how different it was and how lucky we were to have got a flat there and how they were going to try for one." **('Anne' social renter, Darnley)**

Most original residents focused upon positive attitudes about their area's reputation; however, some individuals remembered concerns which had been raised when the areas were newly constructed. In Arden these were around transport issues and the peripheral location of the estate; in Darnley and Petersburn they related to the modern design of the estates which (as we noted above) was paradoxically also regarded as an advantage. These were issues which came to the fore and which contributed to the stigmatizing of the areas over time.

Reputation over time

Respondents in all three areas had experienced a process of decline in their neighbourhoods, from the 1980s onwards and many believed that this had resulted in a bad reputation in the eyes of outsiders. This area stigma led to a range of reactions from respondents including; anger, and sadness. Furthermore, residents also felt that they had been let down, and that the areas had suffered prolonged under-investment.

> "The place got so rundown, they were giving anybody houses, the problems here were the same as in a lot of other places…in Glasgow. But we didn't get any help-the council didn't help- em…put the money in. We're away out here, and it was-out of sight out of mind. But I got mad when people used to say how bad Arden was." **('George' male social renter, Arden)**

> "We were the forgotten people, the forgotten place, and it felt like it was just left to get worse and worse…to rot. It was heartbreaking for us to live in it and watch it happening. **('Anne' social renter, Darnley)**

In Petersburn some residents also highlighted how the design of the scheme had led to problems and how this had compounded the area's bad reputation.

> "It was a recipe for disaster from the start. You couldn't see what was happening and so it was a troublemaker's paradise. The young ones were drinking and causing damage, and they were coming in from the outside too, so it ended up that the place got wrecked. But it had already gone

way before all that cos the council didn't care-they had stopped doing any repairs." **('June' social renter, Petersburn)**

In some cases respondents described feeling ashamed when telling outsiders where they lived but this was also coupled with a sense that their area had been unjustly stigmatized. Others felt that their area was not as bad as other nearby neighbourhoods.

> "It was just that one time, we met up with a couple at a friend's wedding and when they asked where we came from I was mortified because the man said 'oh I hear you have to take the pavements in at night in case they get nicked'…I was raging cos it's never been like that here. **('Eileen' social renter, Arden)**

> "Aye it did get really bad and it was a nightmare to live through but it was never as bad as say Craigneuk or Whinhall." **('Ena' social renter, Petersburn)**

Whilst the majority of respondents recognized that their neighbourhoods had developed a poor reputation they were quick to point out that outsiders did not know what it was like to live there, and to defend their communities.

> "Even at its worst, when it was lanes of boarded-up houses and rubbish dumped, no lamp-posts-the apocalypse! [laughs] We still had decent people who cared about the place, and that's what kept us going." **('Liz' social renter, Petersburn)**

> "It's easy to slag somewhere off but if you don't live there you don't know what it's like and believe me there's a big difference between what people say about Arden and living here." **('George' social renter, Arden)**

Some respondents also believed that outsiders labelled residents in a certain way when they found out where they lived. One Darnley resident described how her husband had lost out on a job opportunity because he lived in Darnley.

> "The fore-man who interviewed him actually said it to his face…that he didn't think it would be a good idea to give him a start because they didn't really take people on from Darnley or other areas like that! He said that they had tried in the past and the people weren't reliable! You couldn't get away with it now!" **('Anne' social renter, Darnley)**

The general consensus amongst respondents was that over time their neighbourhoods had deteriorated due to a range of factors and this process of deterioration was explicitly connected to the stigmatization of their communities.

Present-day reputation

Respondents' views on the present-day reputation of the three neighbourhoods were mixed. In Petersburn there was a dichotomy between owner-occupiers' and social renters' opinions. All of the social renters thought that Petersburn's reputation had improved for the better since regeneration. This was attributed to the new housing and to the more attractive overall appearance of the estate; in addition the presence of owner occupiers was regarded by most social renters as having helped to reduce stigma.

> "Having bought houses in the scheme is definitely a good thing. It sends out a good message, that people want to buy houses here, because if it was so bad then nobody would buy them." (**'Brian' social renter, Petersburn**)

One respondent spoke about how friends who didn't live in Petersburn had changed their attitude towards it for the better, although she also referred to an incident when another outsider had demonstrated an entrenched negative perception of the area.

> "They [friends] were well impressed, as soon as they saw the new houses. They were like 'how do we get one? It's definitely not even like the same place.' But then I got this taxi driver and he was so cheeky. He said 'Aye they've put in the new houses and tarted the place up but it's still the same old folk, and give it a few years and it'll be away as bad as ever again'. I think he was just jealous though." (**'Fiona' social renter, Petersburn**)

Whereas there was a definite perception amongst social renters in Petersburn that stigma had lessened this was not shared by the group of owner-occupiers. The two original resident owner-occupiers and the three incomer owner-occupiers believed that Petersburn's bad reputation still lingered. One original

resident owner-occupier who worked in a local recruitment agency explicitly stated that although she lived in Petersburn she would be less likely to employ someone from the area.

> "I've lived here all my life and I hate to say it but I would take somebody on from another area before somebody from here because I know what most of the people are like, and that includes my own brothers. They don't really want to work and you can't rely on them...and by the way it's not just me being a snob because a lot of my colleagues think the same. The area's got a bad reputation and that's not going to go away" **('Traci' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

Although social renters in Petersburn had referred to the role of owner-occupation in helping to reduce stigma, this was not an issue which was raised by owner-occupiers themselves. Owner-occupiers offered different reasons for having purchased a house on the estate which included: being close to extended family members and place of employment; and reasonable house prices. None of this cohort spoke directly about owner-occupation and reduction of stigma.

The majority of respondents in Darnley, both owner-occupiers and social renters, thought that the area's reputation had improved considerably from the mid-nineties regeneration of the area onwards, and tenure mix was seen as being an influential factor here.

> "Since the private houses were built and the old blocks demolished it's not even like the same place any more. I don't think that people see it as the old Darnley, or even think about how it used to be." **('David' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

Despite tenure-mix in Darnley being delivered in a segmented fashion, with the separation of owner-occupiers and social renters this did not seem to matter to residents with regard to its significance in helping to reverse negative perceptions of their area. In fact the presence of owner-occupiers was welcomed by some of the social renters for precisely this reason.

> "The bought houses round there are lovely, and that's something that people see when they are driving through or visiting and so that's what

people remember. A well kept place with nice homes and gardens" **('Karen social renter, Darnley)**

In both Petersburn and Darnley the key actors also thought that the reputation of the areas had definitely been enhanced as a direct result of re-development. Furthermore, for this group of respondents tenure diversification was viewed as being an integral mechanism within the regeneration process which had helped to reverse the negative image of the two areas.

> "The neighbourhood is totally transformed-you wouldn't know that it was the same place. I mean it was always in a great area, it had just become an eyesore but obviously now it's catering for homeowners and for people who are going to bring a change about in the way it's perceived" **(Local Actor 2, Petersburn)**

> "Darnley is now somewhere people want to live. It's not the Darnley of the bad old days…when it was a…nightmare…well that's what most people thought. A council estate that had just been left to…it's not like that anymore. People want to buy houses there, and it's an established area, with good schools, good shopping near…Silverburn, and lovely houses." **(Local Actor2, Darnley)**

In Arden however the story told by both residents and local actors was one of a deep-rooted neighbourhood stigma. The key actor described a scenario where the housing association had inherited an Arden which had suffered from years of neglect and under-investment from the city council. Frustrated by the situation, the housing association had worked alongside celebrity designers on a television programme entitled "Justin and Colin on the Estate" which aired in 2007. The key actor explained the rationale behind the decision to take part in the programme.

> "It was about raising Arden's profile whilst highlighting the lack of funding needed to regenerate the area, and although we came in for some criticism, especially about stigma, a lot of good came out of it." **(Key Actor 1, Arden)**

As a result of the programme the Chill Out facility for young people in the neighbourhood was created (half of the funding came from a charity auction organised by the celebrity duo), the community hall was refurbished, and the

community garden plan and Better Balconies competition were initiated. The majority of residents interviewed thought that the programme had shown the inhabitants of Arden in a good light, and that it had been beneficial overall although a small number complained that it had portrayed Arden in a negative light. Overall, however, most residents agreed that the programme did little with regards to reducing the poor reputation that Arden had with outsiders.

> "It'll take more than that I think! It's [Arden] just been tagged that way-bad area, bad place to live-end of story…for the folk who don't live here that is." (**'Tam' social renter, Arden**)

Other residents spoke about their disappointment and anger when outsiders demonstrated negative attitudes and lack of knowledge about the 'real' Arden.

> "My sister-in-law phoned and I missed it, so when I phoned her back I said 'sorry I was just out in the garden picking up papers and stuff that had got blown in' and she laughed and said 'I don't know why you bother, I mean I can't imagine anybody else does that about there'. I was so angry, I mean she doesn't know what it's like to live here or what the people are like, and I mean everybody in this street…in fact in the place…all the people I know take a pride in looking after their homes and gardens. But there's no point trying to tell people that." (**'Agnes' social renter, Arden**)

Two key reactions came from Arden's residents with regard to stigma; a sense that the area's reputation would always remain poor to outsiders and a feeling of frustration because they couldn't do anything to change this. For the key actor though there were signs that stigma was being eradicated.

> "The new housing has been an asset-it's attracted people to the area, and after the programme the demand for housing in Arden went up. It's definitely not like it used to be and that's what we've got to get across." (**Local Actor 1, Arden**)

As well as talking about outsiders' perceptions of their areas respondents also suggested that internal neighbourhood stigma also existed within their communities and we will now consider this matter.

Internal Neighbourhood Stigma

As we have already discussed (see Chapter 3) the literature suggests that stigma can operate from *without* (outsiders looking in) and from *within* (residents' perceptions) neighbourhoods. It became apparent that most social renters in our three case-study areas thought that certain individuals and places in their estate had a bad reputation.

> "Aye there's some people that are always in bother. The police are never away, and you just give them a wide berth because everybody knows that they are trouble." **('Helen' social renter, Arden)**

> "It's the same families who've always had that bad name about them, for causing trouble. The parents have passed it down and now it's the next generation who are causing the trouble." **('Fiona' social renter, Petersburn)**

Some common findings emerged which were discussed by many of the social renters in all three areas. Firstly, respondents described internal stigma as being confined to a specific location in each area and this was usually one or two houses or blocks; in addition, certain families were singled out as being responsible for causing the bad reputation due to being involved in anti-social behaviour or criminal activities; this resulted in many respondents avoiding the residences of those who were labelled trouble-makers.

> "It's common knowledge that they are dealers, I mean the dogs in the street are barking it. There's people coming and going all the time and loads of young ones hanging about I mean what else is going to be going on? And they have these parties, if you can call them that, they are up all night. Well, all weekend really. That's just not what you want to be living next to is it?" **('June' social renter, Petersburn)**

> "It's just a couple of houses, and they're right next to each other. They have people coming and going all the time and some of them look pretty rough. I don't like walking by there and I don't like the grand-kids playing down that end." **('Anne' social renter, Darnley)**

The existence of internal neighbourhood stigma was a sensitive issue to ask about, however, responses seemed to suggest that although respondents categorized some of their fellow-residents as having a bad reputation they did not see this as stigmatization.

> "Well if you fly with the crows…eh? If people are going to act that way then other people are going to talk about them and say 'They're this or they're that…bad neighbours or bringing the place down' If you don't want labelled then don't act like that." **(38 year old male social renter, Arden)**

Despite the fact that long-term residents in the three communities resented outsiders judging or stigmatizing their neighbourhoods many felt that they had a right to do so because they lived there and therefore had experiential knowledge of factors which contributed to a bad reputation.

> "If somebody who doesn't live here says that's a terrible place then you're like 'how do you know?' but it's different if it's somebody who lives here because they have a right to and they **do** know what it's really like" **('June' social renter, Petersburn)**

Interestingly the owner-occupiers in Darnley and Petersburn had very little to say about internal neighbourhood stigma. One Darnley respondent in this group did state that she thought there were some 'bad bits' in the neighbourhood but she had no direct knowledge of these. This lack of awareness with regard to internal neighbourhood stigma suggests that owner-occupiers were not as 'tuned-in' to intra-neighbourhood dynamics as social renters thus reinforcing our earlier findings that owner-occupiers in general tend not to use the neighbourhood environment as much as social renters.

Neighbourhood Attachment

We also wanted to explore the impact that stigma had on residents' level of attachment to their neighbourhood and respondents were therefore asked if they would move away from their neighbourhood if given the opportunity to do so. The consensus amongst most respondents was that they would choose not

to move, however the group of owner-occupiers in Petersburn were an anomaly here.

Social renters in Petersburn and Arden demonstrated a strong attachment to their neighbourhoods and were happy about living there; in addition some participants defended their decision to remain in their communities.

> "I like it here, I always have, and even when we got the chance to move away when they started to decant people out we never even thought about moving away. It's like anywhere else its got its good points and its bad points but its where I'm from and I'll probably always stay here." **('Liz' social renter, Petersburn)**

> "Some of the family have moved away, been away for years, and sometimes they'll go 'how come you're still there?' and I tell them it's cos I want to be here. It's where I brought the family up, and I know everybody, all the neighbours and I don't know how they can't just accept that I actually really like it here." **('George' social renter, Arden)**

In Darnley both owner-occupiers and social renters expressed a desire to stay in the area and all of these respondents appeared to share a real commitment to their area.

> "This is a good place to live and I tell everybody that. No doubt that I will definitely stay here for ever probably. Well, mebbe if I won the lottery then it would be a different story!" **('David' owner occupier, Darnley)**

Perhaps the fact that Darnley had existed as a mixed community for around a decade longer than Petersburn had an impact on the levels of neighbourhood attachment for both social renters and owner-occupiers.

The group of owner-occupiers in Petersburn didn't share their social renter counterparts' neighbourhood attachment. The three incomer owner-occupiers and two original resident owner-occupiers all indicated that they would move away from the area if they had the chance. One woman explained that she stayed in the area for pragmatic reasons, and stated that when her circumstances changed she would move away.

"It suits me just now because my mum babysits and we need to be near the family for that, but when the kids get up a bit we will definitely be off. I wouldn't want to be here for the rest of my life. You want to move on, do better for yourself not stay in the place you grew up in for the rest of your life" (**'Traci' owner-occupier/original resident**, **Petersburn**)

For another owner-occupier buying a house in Petersburn had been a strategic decision which had enabled him to get on the property ladder and he made it clear that he had never intended to remain in Petersburn.

"You're talking a great price, so I was looking to buy my first place and it fitted the bill, plus I knew that I would be able to sell it on cos I knew people were always looking to buy here and the estate agent had said that too." (**'Tony' owner-occupier/incomer resident, Petersburn**)

This lack of neighbourhood attachment for owner-occupiers in Petersburn suggests that owners are not putting down roots in this particular mixed community. If this is also the case in other mixed communities then the long-term sustainability claims for mixed communities are debatable. On the other hand, we can assume that in some 'organic' mixed communities owner-occupiers also come and go and this does not necessarily affect their sustainability. On balance then, perhaps, as long as an area is popular and individuals want to buy houses in it, then their length of stay is not important.

7.7 The impacts of neighbourhood change and stigma on health and well-being

As we discussed in Chapter 2 neighbourhoods can impact on a range of health outcomes. In line with the pathways laid out in our analytical framework (material and psychosocial) must now consider what impacts perceived neighbourhood change and stigma had upon residents' health behaviours and upon their physical and psychosocial health.

Health behaviours

In our study respondents were asked how they felt aspects of neighbourhood change, including stigma, had affected their health behaviours. The majority of the residents in the three case-study areas did not believe that they had altered their health behaviours as a result of area changes.

In Arden none of the participants reported altered health behaviours, and in Darnley only one resident explicitly linked taking care of her new garden with getting more exercise. A small number of respondents in Petersburn made the strongest connections between changes to the physical environment and changes to their own health behaviours and this group were all original resident social renters. For all of these individuals the changed health behaviour involved getting more exercise either as a result of the new physical layout of the scheme, the re-furbished park, or their new gardens.

> "I'm out in the garden all the time. It's given me real pleasure to create it from scratch, and I'm like the gardening oracle for some of the neighbours! [laughs]-telling them when to cut things back or plant stuff. But I definitely get more exercise now-I had just let the garden in the old house go…lost the heart for it." (**'Johnny' social renter, Petersburn**)

> "The kids have wee rosy cheeks at the end of the day, even when the weather's not too good I take them up there after school for a runaround-it does them the world of good, and me too! [laughs]…and I just wouldn't have done it [before] cos it was a disaster area." (**'Fiona' social renter, Petersburn**)

> "I'll walk to pick the kids up from their pals' houses or after football training [in the local school] where before I used the car every time. It's killing two birds with one stone cos we can walk the dog coming back down through the park and it's got that I enjoy it, I feel as if the exercise is good for me." (**'Brian' social renter, Petersburn**)

Although other social renters and owner-occupiers in Petersburn didn't describe any changed health behaviours for the small group who did so these were clearly important.

Some residents expressed the opinion that their health behaviours were personal and were therefore a topic which they didn't wish to discuss. A number of respondents also felt that health behaviours were a matter of individual responsibility rather than the result of external neighbourhood factors.

> "It's a cop out to say I smoke or drink too much because I live here or there. Actually that makes me really angry I mean most people know what's good for them, or what's bad for them, so it's got nothing to do with the place you live in. at the end of the day you make the choice." **('Margaret' social renter, Arden)**

> "I think it's more about how you are on a personal level. If you never take any exercise or never eat a bit of fruit and veg that's not going to change because you move into a new house." **('May' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

Overall there was little evidence that respondents had modified their health behaviours or lifestyles due to wider changes to the physical environment. Furthermore, explicit behavioural changes alluded to by one individual in Darnley and a small number of respondents in Petersburn were all related to an increase in physical activity; no other health behaviours were commented upon.

Physical health impacts

Most respondents did not attribute wider neighbourhood change with having any impact on their physical health. The small number who did speak about physical health impacts did so in relation to tangible benefits which had occurred as a result of their new housing. Some individuals were particularly satisfied with features of their new homes which made managing a specific medical condition easier for them. These included: downstairs toilets, low light switches and easy to operate taps. For example, one woman described how her

mother who lived with her and suffered from rheumatoid arthritis now had a much better quality of life.

> "It's just such a bonus for her now, knowing that once she's up and dressed and comes down the stairs there's none of the hassle and stress… thinking about having to negotiate them again to go to the toilet. It was murder for her, and sometimes it wiped her out for the whole day." (**'June' social renter, Petersburn**)

Another female respondent in Arden thought that moving to her new flat had helped to ease a variety of ailments.

> "I can't tell you how much better I feel physically cos of this wee place. Everything's so handy for me, am not climbing stairs or trying to keep a big house clean and…it's all really easy to keep on top off and my chest's been better since I've been here and my legs and I don't get the same breathlessness that I used to." (**'Agnes' social renter, Arden**)

Two respondents also spoke about the advantage of now having a garden for family members who suffered from respiratory conditions.

> "Its chronic bronchitis he's got…my man…and it's better for it, for him especially if it's close [humid] if he can sit out the back and get some fresh air." (**'Eileen' social renter, Arden**)

> "My youngest boy has asthma and we were in a flat before so it wasn't like he could just go outside and get some air if he was feeling wheezy, I mean obviously he's got the inhalers but it helps to get fresh air too." (**'Danny' social renter, Darnley**)

A few residents stated that their physical health had deteriorated over the last few years but did not associate this with neighbourhood change. In fact, some participants felt that moving into a new house had helped them to cope with the decline in their health.

> "I've got a heart condition and as soon as we moved in it got worse and worse but it would have done that anyway and having the new house to live in far outweighs any of the stress of moving in." (**'George' social renter, Arden**)

Although most respondents did not report physical health benefits as a direct result of neighbourhood change many individuals did talk about feeling better

overall since regeneration had taken place. Some respondents related this general improvement in their physical and mental health to experiencing less stress on a day-to-day basis; and others to now living in a better house or in a nicer neighbourhood. The interconnected and multi-causal nature of health influences at the neighbourhood level was highlighted by residents' inability to separate physical health impacts from other more implicit health impacts. We will now examine the range of psychosocial impacts experienced by respondents.

Psychosocial health impacts

Undoubtedly, the biggest impact on health resulting from neighbourhood changes was in relation to psychosocial outcomes, and this was evident in the three communities. However, it was only original residents who emphasized these psychosocial impacts, and these were also all social renters. Changes in the physical environment and how residents felt about these changes had a clear impact on respondents' general state of mind and on perceptions of their own health and well-being. This was also the case in relation to how residents felt about stigma and area reputation. Many respondents explicitly connected changes in their neighbourhoods and perceived reduction in stigma with improvements in their mental health and well-being. For the group of original Petersburn residents these associations were the strongest. One woman described how beneficial the changes had been for her.

> "Well, I'm not kidding, me and everybody round about me was on anti-depressants for the stress. I mean it was like living in a ghetto, and it just felt so bleak living here. But now we're all off them and it's…that's all down to the new houses and the way it looks now, there's no comparison." (**'Liz' social renter, Petersburn**)

For another the perception that the area's reputation had improved was linked to an increased pride and a removal of the 'shame' she had felt while living in the run-down Petersburn.

"God aye, I would definitely say that it's changed for the better, and I'll tell you one thing it's made me feel better too. I mean I was embarrassed and ashamed of the place…don't get me wrong I mean I used to defend it but it wore you down, and mentally I just feel so much better. That constant strain's away now and I'm proud of where I live." **('June' social renter, Petersburn)**

In Arden the opposite was true, and here some residents indicated that perceptions of enduring stigma had a negative impact on their mental health and well-being. Furthermore, this was also related to a sense of powerlessness and lack of control about the situation.

"It's maddening that you feel there's nothing you can do to change the reputation that Arden has got, cos it's just not like that, and at the end of the day , if you thought about it all the time it would get you down even more." **('Tam' social renter, Arden)**

Aspects of neighbourhood change that residents linked directly to an improvement in their overall well-being were ones which we have explored earlier in the chapter. Aesthetic improvements in relation to new housing and new physical layouts played a vital role here and for the majority of respondents (especially long-term residents) these features of physical change were the ones which they explicitly connected with feeling better in themselves.

"Aye its made a big difference to how I feel in myself…when you're living in a depressing place it brings you down…and it goes two ways…from the new houses got built I feel better. It's nice to live in a nice house and look out your window at nice houses across the street." **('Liz' social renter, Petersburn)**

"It's been like a new lease of life really. I just feel so much better on the whole…especially with my house…but really with the whole place since it got better…don't get me wrong there's still days I could see it far enough [laughs] but most of the time its ok." **('Anne' social renter, Darnley)**

Original residents in Petersburn and Darnley were also satisfied with the more traditional layout of their new houses and neighbourhoods and the knock on effects of these on issues such as security.

"Its peace of mind that it's gave me now knowing that I can lock my door at night and not need to worry about what's going on outside. I'm not worrying about what might happen or have to get involved. I'm in my own wee bubble of tranquillity [laughs]. **('Anne' social renter, Darnley)**

For some residents in Arden the fact that the housing association was proactive in instigating positive changes was another reason for enhanced well-being.

"Aye, its made a big difference in the place, having the new houses and the thing for the weans [the 'Chill Out' facility] and you know it makes you feel like somebody's actually bothered about the place...to put money in after years with nothing at all...though still not enough. But it makes me feel better personally, like it's not the place that time forgot." **('Margaret' social renter, Arden)**

The two most recurrent issues which respondents talked about in relation to well-being in all three communities were the reduction in stress which they had experienced on a day-to-day basis and their perception of a better quality of life as a result of neighbourhood changes.

"Our quality of life is so much better, honestly. You just feel better in yourself because you've got the nice house and garden and the scheme too it's...you wouldn't recognize it. That siege mentality is away, you know just battening down the hatches for the next thing to happen. So satisfied all round I'd say." **('Tommy' social renter, Petersburn)**

"Less stress without a shadow of a doubt, because it's a different way of living now...you don't have that feeling of 'god I have to face this place again'...that's how depressing it had got" **('Karen' social renter, Darnley)**

Although most respondents fell short of making explicit connections between neighbourhood changes and quantifiable physical or mental health gains it was clear that for many the psychosocial benefits had been significant in terms of reduced stress and general anxiety levels as well as an overall improvement in well-being. Residents' perceptions of stigma and area reputation were also tied to their sense of well-being. In Petersburn and Darnley this association was a positive one, with a number of residents citing improved area reputation with feeling better in general; whereas in Arden the opposite scenario was true.

As we explored in Chapter 4 much academic debate surrounds the existence of psychosocial factors which might influence health at the neighbourhood level as well as the pathways along which these might feasibly operate. However, it was evident that many respondents in our study perceived that neighbourhood changes had a direct and mostly positive impact on their well-being.

Chapter summary

Our findings demonstrate that for residents in Petersburn, Darnley and Arden several aspects of neighbourhood change were particularly significant. There was a general consensus amongst respondents, both renters and homeowners, that the new housing and changes to the wider physical environment in each area had been beneficial for the areas overall. In Petersburn the improved appearance of the neighbourhood was the most important component of regeneration for the majority of respondents.

While changes to wider neighbourhood environment spaces were generally welcomed by social renters these were not deemed to be as important by owner-occupiers in Darnley and Petersburn; this was due to the fact that they did not tend to use their local neighbourhood environment. This has obvious repercussions for some of the rationales which underpin the mixed community policy agenda, including the 'role model' effect and 'bridging social capital' which are dependent upon interaction taking place between the two tenures.

In relation to upkeep and maintenance the consensus amongst most respondents was that this had improved over time in their communities. Furthermore, most individuals agreed that this was the joint responsibility of both the local housing association and residents themselves. There was some evidence in Petersburn amongst a small number of both owner-occupiers and social renters that a 'role-model' effect did in fact operate in this regard, however, this was not the case in Darnley. We can conjecture that this might

be due to the different tenure distributions in the two neighbourhoods; the 'pepper-potted' nature in Petersburn lending itself more readily as a crucible for the development of a role-model effect.

With regard to local services the majority of respondents were relatively satisfied with transport services and access to health services in or near their communities. Some social renters in Arden and Darnley were less satisfied with the local retail environment and would like to have seen more local shops in their communities. This was not the case in Petersburn however where original residents were happy that the local shop had not been replaced following re-development since this had been perceived as a flash-point for anti-social behaviour by many residents. There was also a feeling amongst many residents in the three communities (both social renters and owner-occupiers) that shopping locally was an obsolete activity which did not fit in with modern life; and this group tended to use larger, nearby retail outlets. Although some respondents, especially in Darnley, did point out that older people found it more difficult to get to both retail and transport services.

Respondents also commented upon some of the knock-on effects of changes to the physical environment such as safety and security issues and a sense of community. In all three areas residents spoke about neighbourhood changes having a positive impact on their feeling of safety and security. In Arden this was linked to the demolition of old difficult-to-let blocks of flats and their replacement by the new houses. In both Petersburn and Darnley this was an important issue for residents who spoke about substantive safety and security benefits arising from the traditional design of their new homes and neighbourhood design. With regard to a sense of community the cohort of original residents in Petersburn were the most vocal about how neighbourhood change (again connected to the traditional layout) had enhanced this aspect of their estate; residents in Arden and Darnley did not make the same connections.

Some interesting and varied opinions emerged around stigma and area reputation. Respondents in the three areas spoke about these issues along a distinct time-line trajectory. There was a consensus amongst respondents that when the areas had initially been built, and the original residents had moved in, that they were sought after neighbourhoods with good reputations. Residents also agreed that this 'honeymoon' period had lasted for a few decades and had then been followed by a process of decline which had in turn led to a poor reputation in the eyes of outsiders.

In Arden most of the residents believed that this bad reputation and neighbourhood stigma endured to the present day. In Darnley both owner-occupiers and social renters felt that following area regeneration stigma had been eradicated. In Petersburn whilst social renters felt that the estate no longer had a bad reputation owner-occupiers were convinced that it remained in place. Internal neighbourhood stigma around certain places and individuals in the three communities was only discussed by social renters and although respondents had strong feelings of anger around outsiders judging their neighbourhoods they felt that they had the right to do so because they lived there. The fact that owner-occupiers in both Darnley and Petersburn were not aware of any internal stigma is probably related to the fact that since they do not use the area as much as their social renter neighbours they are not as aware of internal neighbourhood dynamics.

The impacts of neighbourhood change and stigma on health and well-being were most apparent in relation to psychosocial outcomes, and these were described by respondents in a variety of ways, including: 'feeling better overall'; 'better in my-self'; 'a better quality of life'; and 'less stressed'. These impacts were related to a variety of the factors discussed throughout the chapter and were only highlighted by original social renters, suggesting that neighbourhood influences on health are stronger for social renters than for owner-occupiers, at least within these three communities.

There was very little evidence that neighbourhood changes had affected health behaviours, although a small group of residents in Petersburn did indicate an increase in their exercise levels due to their new gardens (one Darnley resident also referred to this), the changed physical layout of the estate and the new park. Finally, respondents only discussed explicit physical health impacts in relation to their new houses making it easier to manage and cope with existing medical conditions. None of the participants reported an improvement in their physical health as a result of neighbourhood changes.

As well as asking respondents about changes to the physical environment and stigma we also explored other facets of place which we will now go on to discuss in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8: Perceptions of Tenure Mix and the Social Environment

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Introduction

8.1 Tenure mix and neighbourhood demographics
8.2 Neighbourhood turnover and stability
8.3 Perspectives on tenure mix
8.4 Social impacts of tenure mix
8.5 Relative deprivation and equality
8.6 Health and well-being impacts

Chapter summary

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Introduction

This chapter explores respondents' perceptions of tenure diversification and considers how tenure mix has impacted on the social environment in each of the two more mixed communities.[21] Our first priority must be to establish the perceived impacts of tenure mix on neighbourhood demographics and, allied to this, on neighbourhood turnover and stability; in doing so we will build up a picture of the social environments in each neighbourhood.

We will then turn our attention to residents' perspectives on various aspects of tenure mix. These are: tenure awareness; interaction between tenures; and individual attitudes to tenure mix. Following on from this we will consider our findings in relation to the social impacts of tenure mix and here we will look at

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[21] This strand of the research was obviously not as relevant for respondents in Arden where there have been no systematic attempts to introduce tenure diversification and the sparse distribution of right-to-buy owner-occupation has not had the same overall impact on the physical or social environment of the neighbourhood as the tenure mix changes which have occurred in Petersburn and Darnley. Nevertheless, we asked Arden respondents about the changing social environment in their community and also about their views on tenure mix in general and it will be useful to consider these alongside the findings from the two mixed communities.

the concepts of social capital and the 'role-model' effect as well as the perceived impacts of tenure diversification on community cohesion and community involvement.

In the next section we will present our findings around the notions of relative deprivation and equality in the context of mixed communities reflecting on respondents' perceptions of these issues in the three neighbourhoods.

Ultimately, we will look at the connections respondents made between tenure and social mix and their health and well-being. These findings will be discussed in relation to physical health impacts, health behaviours, and mental and psychosocial health impacts.

8.1 Tenure mix and neighbourhood demographics

In both Darnley and Petersburn there was little sense amongst respondents that the composition of their neighbourhoods had changed drastically due to tenure mix. In Darnley as we have already established owner-occupiers and social renters lived in separate 'enclaves' and had done so since large scale regeneration had taken place in the mid-nineties. One social renter did comment that he would like to have seen more social rented housing being built.

> "It would definitely be a good thing to have more rented houses in the area. I mean the new housing…our houses are great but it would give more people the chance to live here even if they can't afford to buy and just be good from that point of view." (**'Danny', social renter Darnley**)

Only one Darnley respondent, an owner-occupier, commented upon the changes to the socio-economic make-up of the neighbourhood and connected these to tenure diversification.

> "There's more money here now…different types of houses…different types of people living here…professionals who've bought their homes years ago and people buying here over the last few years. It's good for the area." (**'David', owner-occupier Darnley**)

This sentiment was echoed by one of the local actors who also spoke about the beneficial impact of the changing neighbourhood demographics.

> "Darnley …its thought of now as a desirable place to live…to buy here…in fact I'd say that its quite affluent and that its in a great location and…you know…even a few years ago that wasn't the picture at all-it was seen as being… em… a poor area. Now it's more mixed and that's a big reason for the turnaround" **(Local Actor 2, Darnley)**

Overall the majority of respondents in Darnley didn't remark upon tenure mix and its impact on the overall neighbourhood demographic. This is perhaps not surprising due to the size of the Darnley neighbourhood and also to its sprawling lay-out; indeed in Chapter 6 we highlighted the fact that many residents perceived Darnley as being made up of several mini-communities nested within a larger one.

Since Petersburn is a much smaller community (188 social rented properties and 33 owner-occupied) with a 'pepper-potted' tenure distribution we might have expected the changing neighbourhood demographic to have impinged more upon residents' consciousness; however this did not prove to be the case. Although a small number of long-term original residents did refer to the neighbourhood being different they related this more to the physical changes which had occurred and tenure mix was viewed as being a component part of these.

> "It's been a lot of big changes…long overdue…and the bought houses are part of that but I don't think it's changed the way the scheme is-how people are with one another. You're just the same with people. So its [tenure mix] not really made a difference to the people living here no." **('Liz' original social renter, Petersburn)**

This issue of people being 'just the same' in Petersburn regardless of tenure will be picked up in our discussion around relative deprivation later on in the chapter. The influx of a small Polish community over the last few years seemed

to have more significance for some residents (including owner-occupiers and social renters) than tenure mix with regard to the demographic makeup of the Petersburn community. For these respondents this was a positive addition to the neighbourhood population.

> "It's great because the kids…especially my youngest…is getting to know about a different culture and coming home saying wee things in Polish- 'hello', 'thank-you', that kind of thing. I just think that's brilliant." **('Traci' owner occupier, Petersburn)**

> "The Polish people have mostly all moved into the flats at the top of the scheme just across the road from us…and they are all so nice. We always say 'hiya' when we see one another in the mornings and one of the guys is a mechanic and he helped my man out when he couldn't get the car started one day…and didn't take anything for it. They are all hard-working, decent people and that's the kind of neighbours you want." **('Fiona' social renter, Petersburn)**

There was also a growing Polish community in Arden which had come about as the result of a joint initiative organized by the housing association and a local employer. Only a couple of the Arden residents mentioned this new demographic group but their comments were positive and echoed those of Petersburn residents.

> "The weans just accept it-it doesn't matter to them where their wee pals come from…and I always talk to the mums up at the school." **('Margaret' social renter, Arden)**

> "I think it's… they've brought something new to the place…a different culture and it's always good to learn about things like that. **('Tam' social renter, Arden)**

One of the key local actors in Arden described how the Housing Association had attempted to facilitate the Polish residents' integration into the existing community using strategies like 'meet and greet' social nights in the community hall. Again, we will discuss these general attitudes to the Polish community in Petersburn and Arden when we talk about relative deprivation further on in this chapter.

8.2 Neighbourhood turnover and stability

In both Petersburn and Darnley the key actor respondents highlighted reduced resident turnover as being a key beneficial outcome of regeneration. In both communities the demand for social rented housing was high and this was coupled with little outward migration of tenants. Furthermore, the key actors stressed that the reduced resident turnover and the desirability of the neighbourhoods had come about as a result of holistic regeneration strategies.

> "Petersburn is a shining example of that because it [the regeneration] took in so much more than just providing new houses, although that was the first step. It's about all the other things that go hand-in-hand with the physical changes that you were asking about. Well, and I'm pretty sure I don't need to tell you this…it's…like if you're going to change a place, make it better… then everything is in the mix. Years ago maybe it was more about renovating or putting up new houses, but we've moved on and it's definitely for the better. So yeah, change the houses, the place but at the same time put things in that make a difference on top of that… and it's all of they things together that then changes the mindset and takes away, say for a start the bad rep. So I would…can't…I find it hard to point to just one thing, and say that's it." **(Local Actor 1, Petersburn)**

> "As I said to you before, Darnley is totally different- away from the 'bad old days' and it's down to all the changes. The developing of the area and making it mixed-that's all made it a popular place to live." " **(Local Actor 2, Darnley)**

In chapter 7 we noted that many respondents believed that tenure mix had led to a reduction in stigma (see chapter 7.3). One key actor suggested that the reduced turnover in Darnley was the end result of this reversal of stigma and part of the reason that owner-occupiers wanted to settle there.

> "People know that it's got a good reputation now, there's none of that negativity about living there that there used to be and on top of that it's in a great location with everything near-hand. Over the years I think that's why it's been such a popular place to buy…and once people have bought a house there then they stay." **(Local Actor 2, Darnley)**

In Petersburn tenure mix and the knock-on reduction in stigma were also linked to reduced turnover.

> "Petersburn is now a place that people want to move into. There's demand for the rented properties, for shared ownership and…to…buy there. The image isn't that it's the last place in the world that you would want to live any more…and people want to put down roots there too…now." **(Local Actor 2, Petersburn)**

In Arden restricted tenure mix had been achieved through Right-to-Buy and limited regeneration was concentrated on the provision of some new social rented housing. The two local actors here suggested that despite the lack of new owner-occupied properties or wider regeneration programmes Arden had become less stigmatized (although this was challenged by a number of the resident respondents-see Chapter 6) and consequently turnover had reduced.

> "There's no doubt in my mind that it's changed for the better. The old attitudes to it [Arden] are long gone. People are staying put now. It's not constant turnover." **(Local actor 2, Arden)**

All of the owner-occupiers in Petersburn indicated that they would move away from the area if they had the chance (as we discussed in Chapter 7); however according to the key actors, who were both local housing professionals, resident turnover for both social renters and owner-occupiers remained low. So whether owner-occupiers had chosen to remain in the area for pragmatic reasons (such as extended family networks and their role in providing childcare) rather than from an affinity with the area reduced turnover was the ultimate outcome.

Although social renters in Darnley and Petersburn didn't talk about 'reduced turnover' many did refer to feeling 'settled' in their communities. Furthermore, some respondents attributed the stability of their neighbourhoods to regeneration; and tenure mix was viewed as a key contributory factor in this process.

"I'm happy to stay here now…to live here for the rest of my life probably…and at times before we had the new houses and the place had gone to the dogs I wanted to leave, even though I had been here for most of my life and raised my family here. I think most people I know feel the same…you know, more settled." (**'Johnny', social renter Petersburn**)

"It's a good area now and people want to stay here whether you live in a private house or in this bit…and it's given people the choice of both." (**'Karen, social renter Darnley**)

8.3 Perspectives on tenure mix

Tenure awareness

In both Petersburn and Darnley respondents were asked if they knew who owned and who rented their homes in the neighbourhood. Not surprisingly in Darnley, a segmented mixed community where the tenures are separated and where there are obvious differences in the physical appearance of the two tenures, all of the residents (both social renters and owner-occupiers) indicated that they knew which houses were 'bought' and which were rented. Another factor which contributed to tenure awareness in Darnley was the staggered re-development of different parts of the neighbourhood particularly for long-term residents.

"Aye, we watched them being put up and then everybody moving in. I know quite a few folk who bought them, a couple of lassies I worked with for a few years. I think one of them is still there in fact." (**'Anne' social renter, Darnley**)

As Petersburn is designed as a 'tenure-blind', pepper-potted mixed community we might have expected residents to be less aware of who rents and who owns their homes on the estate, however, this was not the case. For the cohort of original, long-term residents in Petersburn (consisting of seven social renters and two owner-occupiers) tenure awareness was a given; and all of this group could identify who were owners and renters in the community.

"I think most people who have lived here for a while know who's moved into the bought houses and who's with the housing association. I think its just common knowledge really." **('June' social renter, Petersburn)**

A degree of tenure awareness in Petersburn also extended to the three incomer owner-occupiers. However, one difference between this group and the group of original residents was the distance over which this awareness extended. Whereas original residents demonstrated an awareness of tenure mix breakdown throughout the estate, for incomer owner-occupiers this was confined to their own streets, or in one case to the individual's part of the street.

"I know who's bought in this bit...this stretch of the street. My neighbours and the next few blocks...but I'm not really sure further along and I haven't a clue anywhere else." **('James' incomer owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

This limited tenure awareness amongst incomer owner-occupiers is something which we might have anticipated based upon our earlier findings around this group's general lack of use of the neighbourhood environment. It also implies a degree of 'distance decay' (see chapter 3) with regard to tenure awareness within the incomer owner occupier group.

In Darnley a few respondents highlighted how the obvious physical differences between the two tenures made it easy to tell them apart.

"It's not that hard for anyone to work out what are the private houses and what are the housing associations' [houses]. Although they [the social rented houses] are really nice and don't look like the old council housing that you used to get." **('Marie owner-occupier, Darnley)**

This easy differentiation between the two tenures is an obvious sign-post for outsiders coming into or visiting the area and might conceivably have a stigmatizing impact, an issue which we will re-visit in our discussion chapter. In Petersburn, although the owner-occupied and social rented houses look the same this has not led to a true 'tenure-blindness'. For some respondents this

was due to the fact that a number of owner-occupiers had customized the exterior of their homes by putting in extra features, as one woman pointed out.

> "They two houses across the street are bought…and you can tell they've got the money because they've got the mono-blocked driveways and the outside lights…and one of them's got a big covered decking bit at the back as well." **('Liz' social renter, Petersburn)**

We will explore this matter further in the relative deprivation section later on in the chapter. Having established that residents in each of our mixed communities were conscious of the presence and location of both sets of tenures we then wanted to find out about the potential interaction between owner-occupiers and social renters in both Darnley and Petersburn.

Interaction between tenures

Since the mixed community policy agenda suggests interaction between tenures is the pathway along which many beneficial outcomes, such as the engendering of social capital and the 'role model' effect flow we were interested in ascertaining if any interaction occurred between owner-occupiers and social renters; and if so how much and what type of interaction. In each community the way in which the tenures were mixed played a crucial part in both the amount and type of interaction. In general respondents in Petersburn reported more day-to-day interaction with individuals in other tenures than was the case in Darnley, although this often involved only a brief acknowledgment or greeting to a neighbour.

> "You know-a 'Good Morning' or a wee 'How you doing' that kind of thing. It's just being neighbourly, being a good neighbour." **('Ena' social renter, Petersburn)**

However, some other residents in Petersburn described a closer mixed-tenure neighbourly relationship.

> "We've got so many different bins now with the re-cycling that it's hard to keep up. They all go out on different days…the paper and glass

ones...and then the garden rubbish...and sometimes when it started I would forget and go to work and miss it. So then my neighbour... he's retired said, well asked, if I wanted him to put mine out with his. So that kind of thing...you know." **('Tony' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

This respondent then elaborated on the reciprocal nature of the relationship he had with his older, social-renter neighbour.

"It's a two way street but cos I always hand him in a coupla trout when me and my brother have been to the fishing. It's always nice to be nice- but eh?" **('Tony' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

Interestingly, this participant had commented earlier on in his interview that he didn't really know if there was a sense of community in the area since he didn't really feel a part of it. Although for many respondents in Petersburn the notions of being neighbourly and being part of the wider community were perceived as being two separate issues.

"I always make time for my neighbours...I mean the ones on this side have been my neighbours from the scheme was built...we moved down here together into the new houses. But I'm just the same with the newer neighbours on the other side... I mean pass the time of day and that...keep an eye out if they are away. But I don't see them about as much in the scheme or really know anything about them where me and May [through the wall] go away back and know one another's kids and grandkids". **('Liz' social renter, Petersburn)**

This comment also highlights the feeling amongst most Petersburn residents (both social renters and owner-occupiers) that neighbourly behaviour transcended tenure and was something which occurred both within and across tenures.

In Darnley, due to the geographic layout of tenures, there were no opportunities for the casual, neighbourly interaction of the sort which several residents in Petersburn described; this therefore had an impact on the amount of contact and interaction between the two groups. Nevertheless, residents in Darnley did speak about their own experiences of similar neighbourly incidents.

"We always look out for one another, we...my husband cuts S. next doors grass and trims the hedges since her husband passed away." **('May' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

However, these were obviously not 'cross-tenure' interactions. One respondent in Darnley queried the need for interaction between owner-occupiers and social renters.

"What is it? 'Big-brother is watching you?' Another way of telling us how we should be living our lives...? So write it down in a journal who did you talk to today? Come-on it's ridiculous! You can't make people talk to each other but that doesn't mean you've got a problem with anybody" **('David' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

In both Darnley and Petersburn a number of respondents identified three catalysts which sparked interaction between the two tenure groups. These were: children; dogs; and existing ties. Children appeared to be the most significant mechanism for creating interaction between the tenures; and furthermore, this was often a sustained type of interaction centred on children's friendships with classmates at the local schools.

"Both of my girls have wee pals who come after school sometimes and the odd sleepover, and they go to their houses too. So I know the mums and dads...we take it in turns to pick them up. You wouldn't let them go to a strange house without sussing the people out first...in today's world nobody would...as long as they are nice people, and you can trust them...I don't care where they stay." **('Marie' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

"The weans have got really close since we all moved into the street...especially cos there are about four or five who are all in the same class. It's good because they have each other at school and then at night and at the weekends. I think we're all happy about it and... it's probably let us get to know one another more than other people who don't have kids." **('Fiona' social renter, Petersburn)**

Moreover, one owner-occupier in Petersburn and one social renter in Darnley pointed out that their children did not possess any awareness of housing tenure and that they believed this was a good thing.

"She [daughter] doesn't know that we've bought our house and that wee V's mum and dad haven't. Why does that even matter? ...not to weans it shouldn't anyway. I grew up in a council house and I'm not a snob. I've brought them up to treat people as people no matter what...treat other people the way you want to be treated." **('Traci' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

"I just don't think it matters at all. I mean people's life situation...circumstances are their own business. You don't become friends with somebody because of where they live, or how much money they make...and I think if you start off not knowing or caring about that stuff then it's how you'll be the rest of your life...not judging people on all that." **('Danny' social renter, Darnley)**

Other parents, both owner-occupiers and social renters, described a more spontaneous, informal interaction which occurred when they dropped their children off or picked them up from school.

"We always say 'hello-how's things?' That kind of chat-talk about how busy we are at work, and obviously the kids...and you get to know faces and names." **('Marie' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

Dog-walking was another activity which some respondents in both neighbourhoods linked to interaction between tenures; and shared community spaces were obviously the arena in which these encounters took place.

"You get to know the other dog-walkers and usually pass the time of day...usually it's about the great British fallback for that type of conversation...the weather! To be fair sometimes you can't avoid it if it's only two of you walking around the park in a blizzard!" **('Barry' original resident owner-occupier Petersburn)**

"I know a lot of folk to nod or say 'hiya' to...because of the dog...well because we've all got dogs...and aye I know who stays over there who stays here...but it's still just the same type of thing when you see them. The dog-walking 'rules'! [laughs] ... a wee nod or 'hiya' when you pass. **('Karen' social renter, Darnley)**

The consensus amongst the respondents who commented upon it was that the type of interaction which happened as a result of dog-walking was of a

superficial nature and didn't extend much beyond the required social niceties. However, some respondents acknowledged how important the layout of the neighbourhood environment was in facilitating this sort of interaction between people in general (not just across tenures).

> "I think it's really crucial to have somewhere local that people can go for a walk whether they've got a dog or not. I mean you see the whole age range up there [the park] mums and dads with toddlers, kids on bikes and older people-the lot- just out for a wee walk. It's a chance to see other folk out and about and if other people are going to be about then you'll use it more, especially if you're older and a wee bit wary." **('Tommy' social renter, Petersburn)**

Another factor which led to cross-tenure interaction was the existence of previous family or social relationships. In Petersburn the two original resident owner-occupiers had grown up on the estate and lived with their parents in the original social housing; then moved into their own social rented properties; and post-regeneration had bought new homes in the area. Both of these residents obviously had strong family and social ties within the neighbourhood and these superseded housing tenure issues.

> "The scheme has changed, but I don't think the people have…for me it's great that I'm near my mum for the weans [babysitting] and I know everybody…the good and the bad. But nobody's any different with me because we've bought our house…and I'm near some of my old neighbours." **('Fiona' social renter, Petersburn)**

> "It's not any different…I mean with other people…we are just the same as we used to be…and whether you've bought or still rent we've all got these great new houses. I mean I grew up here and the people I ran about with when I was a laddie, the people I gave cheek to as well, some of them are still my neighbours." **('Barry' social renter, Petersburn)**

In Darnley some residents spoke about how social and work-related activities sometimes led to tenure interaction, although as one social renter noted this was not an issue which he had previously given much thought to.

> "I used to work in the same place as a couple of the guys [who live in the owner-occupied housing] and we would take it in turns to take the car to work...week and week about-you know? But its not as if I don't know them from before...I don't think of them as 'the property owning class' or anything! [laughs]...I know well two of them anyway...we were all at school and we still play five-a-side and that." **('Danny' social renter, Darnley)**

Our findings on social interaction between renters and owners in our two mixed communities illustrate that the way in which tenures are distributed influences the extent and nature of the interaction which takes place. In Petersburn where tenures are pepper-potted more casual day-to-day cross-tenure interaction occurs between neighbours. In both communities, however, respondents highlighted some key factors which they believed led to interaction between owners and renters.

Residents' attitudes to tenure mix

Tenure mix had become the 'norm' in both Petersburn and Darnley and overall it was an issue which some respondents had thought about. When asked directly for their opinion on the issue respondents expressed a range of attitudes on the subject and interestingly these often seemed to contradict their earlier views. For instance one woman in Petersburn who had previously indicated that she thought it was good for her children to mix with a range of other children from different backgrounds, including social rented housing, appeared to be actively hostile to the notion of tenure mixing when asked to explicitly comment on the subject.

> "I don't think it's a good idea at all to be honest. I think people should live next to other people who are all about the same things. You know...care about the same things-taking care of their houses and wanting to get on." **('Kate' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

This respondent's opinion that social renters and owner-occupiers lived different lives and wanted fundamentally different things was reflective of the group of owner-occupiers in Petersburn and was also shared by one owner-

occupier in Darnley and like the Petersburn resident he also regarded tenure mixing as being undesirable and unlikely to succeed.

"There's no point in trying to kid on that everybody is the same and putting a name to it and saying its mixed tenure doesn't make it a reality…I mean cos in reality we're not living the same lives." **('David' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

Interestingly, in both Petersburn and Darnley the attitudes of both tenure groups were split the same way, with social renters in the two communities being more supportive of tenure mix; in contrast some owner-occupiers were directly opposed to the notion of tenure mix although they were obviously living in a mixed community. Most respondents, whether they owned or rented their homes were either indifferent or ambivalent with regard to tenure mix.

Social capital

As we noted at the beginning of the last section cross-tenure interaction should in theory lead to an exchange of social capital between the two tenure groups, or at least this is a key aspiration for policy. Although we have already discussed the concept of social capital in detail (see Ch3 section 3.5) it will be useful at this point to provide a quick recap.

Fundamentally social capital refers to the connections and networks forged (in this context) at the neighbourhood level and also encompasses the end-products of these. For example, this might mean an individual hearing about a job opportunity from a neighbour or fellow-resident. Furthermore, it is assumed that the 'bridging' type of social capital which would allow this type of fruitful networking to take place replaces the inward looking 'bonding' social capital found in mono-tenure communities. 'Bridging' social capital can refer to links that connect people to other people or arenas out-with their normal social circles however in the mixed community literature it is usually conceived as being the transfer of useful information. Another clear assumption

appears to be that owner-occupiers are the receptacles of social capital and that they then pass this on to social renters who are the beneficiaries of social capital.

Since social capital is an academic term and a concept which is not easily transferable to the 'real' world respondents were not asked about it directly. However by asking respondents about other issues around tenure mix and their communities we were able to build up a picture of the channels along which social capital might flow and the nature of social capital in Petersburn and Darnley. To put it more straightforwardly this meant exploring residents' social networks and the social and practical resources which they shared with one another.

In Petersburn the group of original residents, consisting of seven social renters and two owner occupiers, had already spoken about the strong ties which they felt with their neighbourhood. Allied to this the majority of respondents in this group indicated strong social networks amongst extended family members, friends and long-term neighbours who lived on the estate. Social capital transactions amongst this cohort of participants could be described as being of the 'bonding' variety since they did not seem to involve the sharing of 'valuable' information (for instance about job opportunities) focusing instead on practical gestures of support and examples of neighbourly behaviour. One woman spoke about the support she received from her parents in relation to childminding.

> "My mum and dad are so good. I mean I couldn't work if it wasn't for them. They pick them up [her children] from school every day and then I collect them from there when I'm finished. That's why we bought a house here because it's less hassle for my mum and dad; they're not having to go miles out of their way to pick up the kids-just the local school." (**'Traci' owner-occupier, Petersburn**)

Another woman indicated that she had lived alongside her elderly neighbour pre and post regeneration for over thirty-five years and that they had built up a

close friendship over this period. As a result she now did regular shopping and other errands for her neighbour.

> "I just go in on a Monday before I go down the street, and B's got a wee list wrote out and I just pick it up along with my own stuff when I'm in Morrisons. I do the same with her repeat prescription…just get it when I'm down getting my own. It's never been a problem, and she has helped me out over the years, especially when the kids were wee…but that's not what you do it for." (**'Liz' social renter, Petersburn**)

There was no evidence in Petersburn that either the three incomer or two original owner occupiers had engendered 'bridging' social capital. In fact cross-tenure interaction for the incomer owner-occupiers (as we documented in the preceding section) was quite limited in nature and revolved around immediate neighbours and activities like dog-walking and picking up children from school. In fact only one incomer owner-occupier spoke about an interaction which could be described as an example of 'bridging' social capital, and on this occasion he was the recipient.

> "My neighbour has drove the delivery van for the wee newsagent in Craigneuk [an adjacent estate] for years and he told me they were looking for paperboys and my nephew got took on I think he definitely put a word in…and I mean its not like we're dead close or that…so it was a nice thing for him to do." (**'James' incomer owner-occupier, Petersburn**)

Interestingly this illustration goes against the grain of 'bridging' social capital theories (see Ch 3 section 3.5) which suggest that information and resources will flow from owner-occupiers to social renters.

As we discussed in the previous section the segmented tenure layout in Darnley does not lend itself to any neighbourly interaction between social renters and owner-occupiers therefore examples of 'bonding' social capital were usually confined within tenures. The respondent who talked about his car-sharing experience (in the previous section) was the exception here and this cross-tenure interaction appeared to owe more to long-standing connections

between the individuals than to tenure diversification. Therefore social capital resources in Darnley were, in the main, transferred from owner to owner and from renter to renter. One woman frequently referred to the relationship which she and her husband had with their elderly neighbour and as was the case in Petersburn the individuals had been neighbours for a long period of time.

> "We always pop in and see how she is and if she's needing anything…G [the respondent's husband] as I said, makes sure the garden's in shape and also if any wee things are needing done like changing a bulb or anything." **('May' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

Some of the social renters in Darnley also spoke about informal social networks and a sharing of resources and responsibilities.

> "Well four of us in this street have all got weans and grand-weans at school together so we take it in turns to walk them up in the morning and collect them at three. So it means we don't all need to do it every day and you know they're ok because we all know one another and trust one another." **('Karen' social renter, Darnley)**

As was the case with long-term residents in Petersburn owner-occupiers and social renters in Darnley drew upon already established, mature social networks which had developed over a number of years. The findings in Darnley produced no evidence for the existence of any 'bridging' social capital interactions between owner-occupiers and social renters and this is probably partly due to the segregated nature of tenure distribution, since opportunities for casual exchanges with neighbours are not feasible.

According to the policy literature the provision of wider environment spaces can facilitate interaction between individuals. However although both Darnley and Petersburn have places where residents from different tenures have a chance to meet and interact, for example the local parks in both places, this interaction was limited (see previous section) and our study produced no evidence that it resulted in a transfer of knowledge or resources between individuals.

Respondents in Darnley and Petersburn identified various social networks and connections which they shared with fellow residents; and these were stronger for long-term residents from both tenures in each community. In addition although individuals provided examples of what we might consider social capital 'in action' (e.g. sharing of resources) these were usually considered by respondents as part and parcel of everyday life in their neighbourhoods. In our final discussion chapter we will consider the merits of social capital as a theoretical construct for exploring neighbourhood dynamics.

The 'role-model effect'

Another key aspiration of the policy agenda, and one which is closely connected with both cross-tenure interaction and the transfer of social capital is the 'role-model effect' (RME). In chapter 3 (see Chapter 3, section 3.5) we explored the policy and academic literature on the RME. However, as we did with social capital, it will be useful to briefly reacquaint ourselves with the concept in relation to the contemporary mixed community agenda before we go on to discuss our findings.

The basic premise of the RME in a mixed community setting revolves around the idea that owner-occupiers may act as positive role-models for social renters in a neighbourhood setting. Some of the perceived outcomes of the RME are: raised aspirations; changed attitudes and behaviours; and the introduction of 'bridging' social capital. The expectation is that all of these ingredients will then coalesce to create stronger, more 'outward' looking communities. The other assumption made with regard to the 'role-model effect' is that it will result in changed behaviours with regard to upkeep of properties; health behaviours; education and training; and employment aspirations.

We might assume that there are two ways in which the RME can happen: firstly, by direct example; and, secondly, by cross-tenure social interaction leading to the transfer of social capital. In the previous chapter we found some evidence that a 'role model by example' effect was operating in Petersburn in relation

to upkeep and maintenance of properties and gardens. In Darnley, probably due to the segregated physical layout, there was no suggestion that this had occurred.

As we might have expected from our findings on cross-tenure interaction and social capital there was very little evidence that respondents in Petersburn and Darnley had experienced any RME. There was a general recognition amongst owner-occupiers and social renters in both areas that the introduction of owner-occupation had been beneficial overall (and as we have already discussed in the previous chapter) this was closely linked to physical change and the reduction of stigma. However, it appeared that aside from the upkeep and maintenance example respondents had little to say about a RME. Indeed some residents were vehement in their repudiation of a RME and this transcended tenure-group.

> "God that's so condescending...honestly, I mean it's like something from the bad old days. Your 'betters' are going to show you how to live! Come on - who could even think about that...happening the now." **('David', owner-occupier, Darnley)**

> "It's something that I've never thought about actually...it's a big assumption to make...I mean it's like saying if you live in a bought house than you're basically 'good' and if you don't you're 'bad'. I think we all know life's a bit more complicated than that" **('Fiona' social renter, Petersburn)**

One of the local actors in Petersburn also pointed out that owners and renters could not be slotted neatly into two distinct, homogenous groups. Furthermore although this respondent believed that a RME did operate one of the local actors interviewed believed that there were 'role-models' within the community from both tenure groups and that being considered a 'role model' was more the result of an individual's own attitudes, values and behaviours rather than their tenure type.

"I genuinely don't think that it matters whether you have bought your house or are a tenant. How you live your life, your core values and how you live your life on a daily basis, and how you treat other people in your community-so neighbours-that's what's important here." **(Local Actor 1(LA1), Petersburn)**

When urged to elaborate on this issue LA1 spoke about 'a very small hardcore of anti-social tenants' who had caused problems within the community before regeneration and who continued to do so. This issue was also raised in our findings on stigma (see Ch6 section 6.3) and comments from a few residents in Petersburn indicated that they felt that this 'hardcore group' would not be amenable to any form of intervention from a 'role-model'.

"It wouldn't matter to them if Mother Theresa was living next door to them, it wouldn't change the way they are. In fact they'd probably break into her house or turn her into a ned...I know that sounds terrible but they really are that bad." **('June' social renter, Petersburn)**

However, two respondents (one an owner occupier from Petersburn and one a social renter from Darnley) spoke about a less overt RME, although neither explicitly described it as such; this was cross-tenure interaction between children. Earlier in the chapter we quoted these two residents who were keen to encourage 'tenure blindness' in their children and both participants also felt that this type of interaction would be constructive and instructive for all children.

"I just think that they [children] don't have any of that in them-you know...what kind of house do you live in... before we can be friends. That's something that's put in you and I definitely think that if you make friends when you're five...in primary 1...like my daughter and her wee pal then it's not going to matter to you 10 years later. So it's...about taking people for who they are and not judging...and I think it's their generation that'll move away from all that. **('Traci' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

"Everybody is the same...worry about the same things and that...and want the same things for their kids. Being at school with other kids from different backgrounds...better-off and worse off than you...whether they live in a private house or not...that's got to be a good thing because then you get to know the people and not just make up your mind about them. But that's being happening for years-eh? I don't think kids today

really care about all that...and that's great as far as I can see. **('Danny' social renter, Darnley)**

As far as these two residents were concerned social interaction between children from different tenures, especially at school, provided an opportunity for children to bond with one another, form friendships and also to become more open-minded about individuals in general, no matter which tenure group they might belong to. In this scenario children would be acting as 'role-models' for each other seemingly by minimizing tenure prejudice at an early age. However there was no direct evidence in either Petersburn or Darnley that this was indeed the case.

Overall, asking respondents about the 'role-model effect' proved to be problematic. Firstly, the whole notion of the RME is one which is based on an assumption which could be construed as patronising and condescending and secondly, it was difficult to broach the subject without then *sounding* patronising and condescending. However, although we found little evidence of a RME operating in either Petersburn or Darnley as a result of social interaction two respondents did point to the part children might play in creating a RME and therein leading to more understanding about tenures. Nevertheless, the role that children play in leading to tenure integration in mixed communities is a theme which is established in the literature and one which has also emerged in our data and we will pick up this point in our final discussion chapter.

Community cohesion and community involvement

The theory is that social mix in all its guises (tenure mix included) at the neighbourhood level will lead to demographic balance; enrich the life of residents and create tolerance by exposing individuals to alternative lifestyles. In short diversity within a community is perceived to be a good thing which will engender community cohesion and community involvement.

In Petersburn and Darnley there was not much evidence that these aspirations had been attained. Most people didn't really see themselves as being that 'different' from people living in another tenure with regards to lifestyle or income; therefore it did not appear that tenure mix had led to any real diversity. (We will also explore this issue in relation to relative deprivation.) Furthermore, as we have already seen levels of interaction between the two tenure groups did not lend themselves to the creation of a social environment where individuals could learn very much about one another's lives.

However, the exception to this and a recurring theme in our findings was the role often played by children in leading to deeper levels of interaction between residents from different tenures. This was highlighted by one mother in Darnley.

> "Once the kids were friends and started doing things together outside school it mean that we were dropping them off at one another's houses and then taking it in turns to run them here and there and then we just got talking…so now we're friendly too. I go to yoga with her every Wednesday…and we know each others' darkest secrets." **('Marie, owner-occupier Darnley)**

There did not appear to be an increase in community cohesion in either Darnley or Petersburn as the result of tenure mix. As we have previously established existing social networks are the mechanisms that seem to be key in creating community cohesion in both areas. In Petersburn incomer owner-occupiers were not really interested in being 'part of the community'.

> "Nah, like I said it's a great house and I do get on with the neighbours and all that but I don't want to be anybody's best mate round here or join the local Tenant's Association or that…" **('Tony' incomer owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

On the other hand there was no evidence that social cohesion was 'diluted' by the introduction of mixed tenure in Petersburn. One social renter indicated

that the social dynamic of the neighbourhood had remained much the same as far as she was concerned.

> "To me the place is the same. You get on with most people and even if you don't really know your new neighbours then you're still going to go 'hello' and be pleasant. I mean it was much the same with some of my old neighbours." (**'June', social renter, Petersburn**)

In Darnley social cohesion at a micro-level (confined to neighbours of the same tenure) was a given. Many residents here basically felt that their community was not particularly close-knit at a wider level; however this didn't seem to matter. Most residents still believed that Darnley was a functioning 'normal' community.

> "If it ain't broke don't try to fix it! Just because people aren't totally revolving their lives round one another doesn't mean that they're not looking out for one another. You can't make people socialize or create community spirit." (**'David' owner-occupier, Darnley**)

This resident also pointed out that present-day communities were very different from communities in the past and that this also had an impact on community cohesion.

> "I come from a wee village originally...a mining village...and then all the men were at work and all the women ran the house and all my aunties and my granny stayed in the same street and everybody basically knew one another. In fact were related!" (**'David' owner-occupier, Darnley**)

More community involvement and civic engagement are also policy objectives of the tenure mix agenda but again in both communities there was no real evidence for this. In Petersburn one woman expressed negative comments about it being 'stalwarts of the community' and the 'busybodies' who had always got involved in local activities like tenants associations.

However, another Petersburn resident suggested that since regeneration (though not tenure mixing per se) people like his wife now were more open to the idea of getting involved.

"There wasn't any point before because all it ended up was everybody moaning about what was going on in the scheme and how bad it had got. Now my wife is in it [the Residents Association] and is happy to be involved with it." (**'Tommy', social renter Petersburn**)

Again many examples of community involvement in both communities (e.g. local youth groups, school clubs, brownies, fundraising activities etc) hinged on children. So therefore parents and grandparents were more likely to be involved in these activities.

"I help out with the netball team two nights a week. It's held in the school and it's not just for the kids from the school. They have a lot of different things in the hall on different nights…like the Brownies." (**'Fiona', social renter Petersburn**)

"You get to meet people and [through helping with his son's football team] and you're doing something for the weans in the area…not just your own kids…and it keeps some of them off the street cos that's what they would be doing." (**'Danny', social renter Darnley**)

There did not seem to be a great deal of evidence to support the notion that tenure mix led to more community cohesion and involvement and furthermore it appeared that respondents in both communities did not feel these were components which were lacking in their neighbourhoods in the first place. This seems to suggest that systematic tenure diversification (despite the policy claims in this regard) is not a pre-requisite for the emergence of these features within a neighbourhood. Certainly the evidence from Arden supports this hypothesis. Arden respondents universally emphasised the close-knit nature of their community and residents' high levels of engagement.

"Everybody is involved in one way or another-with the school stuff or the residents association and it's always been like that. I mean we are a real community-pulling together, looking out for one another" (**'Mary' social renter, Arden**)

"Aye I do think there's community involvement and people getting involved…especially round about the kids but it's not always through the school…it can be just the parents getting together to organize things too" (**'Margaret' social renter, Arden**)

Notably children were again at the heart of the social networks and activities which fostered community cohesion in all three areas.

8.5 Relative Deprivation and Equality

As we did for the concepts of social capital and the 'role model effect' it will be valuable to provide a brief outline of Relative Deprivation (RD) theory here (see Ch4 section 4.3 for a full discussion). The core rationale of the RD hypothesis centres on the notion that individuals feel worse about themselves if they compare their lives with others and perceive that 'others' are doing better; in a mixed community context the supposition is that social renters will compare their lives with those of owner-occupiers. The impacts of RD are assumed to operate through the stress process in the neighbourhood context; and in this scenario long-term exposure to RD would result in an accumulation of stress which might erode an individual's health and make him/her more vulnerable to any given disease, as well as being detrimental to overall well-being.

Our findings on RD differed in Petersburn and Darnley and this can be attributed to the different physical layouts and tenure distribution in each neighbourhood. Although, it is worth noting that in both communities individuals were more reluctant to talk about this aspect of the study than any other. It was clear that respondents felt uncomfortable discussing their own socio-economic status or that of their neighbours. Where individuals had been forthcoming with comments around their neighbours' lifestyles, for instance in relation to how they brought up their children or general 'anti-social' behaviour, when it came to the issue of how individuals or their neighbours 'were doing financially' there was a definite unwillingness to engage in any dialogue and this was true of both social-renters and owner-occupiers. This reluctance amongst research participants to comment on comparisons and

notions of inequality has also been a phenomenon which has come to light in other studies and we will return to this point in our final discussion chapter.

In Petersburn a few original resident social renters perceived that a small number of incomer owner-occupiers considered themselves to be 'above' the rest of the community.

> "Some of them think that they are a wee-bit, you know, above it all. Well that's the impression I get anyway-but I mean any of us could buy our house-they're not any different from the rest of us. I'd rather have this than the way it used to be." **('Ena' social renter, Petersburn)**

This comment seems to suggest that for this woman at least there was a 'trade-off' between the beneficial aspects of a mixed community and living alongside some owner-occupiers who she perceived to be 'above it all'.

However, this respondent's comment that 'they're not that different from the rest of us' was the general consensus amongst most of the social renters in Petersburn. This group of respondents indicated that in their opinion most people who lived in Petersburn shared the same kind of lifestyles, income bracket and aspirations.

> "Everybody is more or less the same, aye. We all drive the same kind of cars, work in the same kinds of jobs, and wish we could win the lottery every week! But most ordinary folk are the same." **('Brian' social renter, Petersburn)**

> "Well I don't think anybody's that different round here. I mean there's nobody that I want to be or anything! [laughs]. I mean you might see that somebody...a neighbour...got a new car and think wish that was me, that's just human nature though isn't it?...but I'm happy with my life-more or less." **('Fiona' social renter, Petersburn)**

However, in one social renter's opinion individuals in Petersburn were definitely not all the 'same' and for him this was something to celebrate.

> "No, definitely not...everybody who lives here isn't the same. Of course not, but that's what life's all about. It would be a pretty boring world if we were all the same wouldn't it?" **('Johnny' social renter Petersburn)**

In marked contrast to the social renters, the owner-occupiers in Petersburn definitely didn't believe that everybody in the neighbourhood was the same; and this was true for both the incomer and original resident owner-occupiers. This group perceived themselves to be 'different' from the social renters on the estate particularly with regard to their life aspirations. One original resident who had previously spoken about growing up as a social renter and who now encouraged 'tenure blindness' in her children felt that social renters and owner-occupiers had different attitudes and goals.

> "I think that if you've made a commitment to buy your house then you're going to work hard to keep it, and that you want to keep moving on in life. So you get your first house and then sell that and move to a better area and your kids are going to better schools. Then you're teaching them to keep wanting more out …in life. I'm not putting anybody down here by the way cos most of my family rent their houses but what I'm saying is that some people are quite happy to stay where they are for the rest of their life, and that's up to them."**('Traci' owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

One incomer owner-occupier also thought that owners and renters wanted different things in life and that owners had higher expectations and goals.

> "Definitely people who own their houses are more likely to be in better jobs and want to have more in life…for themselves and for their kids…and most people do now… I think people who are staying in council houses are older people who've lived there all their lives or people who don't want to work or have any kind of get up and go." **('James' incomer owner occupier, Petersburn)**

Crucially, this statement focuses on perceived aspirations rather than on actual differences in lifestyles or incomes and conceivably this aspirational mind-set could offer a psychosocial pathway to positive health outcomes by boosting self-esteem and providing a locus of control. In contrast poverty of aspiration might result in an individual feeling disempowered or having little self-esteem. In our discussion chapter we will trace the various potential health pathways suggested by our findings.

Although there were differences of opinion on notions of difference and similarity amongst the social renters and owner-occupiers in Petersburn there was also a consensus around one particular group in the community. This was the group of 'anti-social' and troublesome individuals that respondents had referred to throughout the study. Some owner-occupiers and social renters identified this group as being 'different' from the rest of the community in their behaviours and values. Furthermore, a few respondents also expressed the view that they had more in common with the Polish incomer residents than with the group of 'bad' residents.

> "They are just bad through and through and they are definitely not like us. In fact they are not like anybody else in the scheme. All they do is cause trouble and they neither work nor want. I mean I think every one of them is not working. They don't need to do they…get their money from other things." (**'Ena' social renter Petersburn**)

> "Well I see them all waiting for their lift every morning [Polish neighbours] cos they all work at Bartlett's [a local factory] and they are away well before I even leave the house for work…not back till after 8 at night. I mean every one of them is hard-working and just like the rest of us…want to provide for your family and pay your own way. But then you've got the other kind…them round the road…never worked a day in their life. I mean they're the folk who stick out and I don't think they're like most other folk round here." (**'Traci', owner-occupier, Petersburn**)

It appeared that residents in Petersburn made comparisons around other aspects of individuals' lifestyles and not just on tenure. However, although respondents in Petersburn did acknowledge (after some prompting) that they sometimes compared themselves to people in a different tenure group there was very little evidence that this then produced feelings of relative deprivation. In fact (and counter-intuitively) the only hint of RD came from an owner-occupier who felt aggrieved about the amount of money she had to pay for the maintenance and upkeep of her home compared with her social renter neighbours who had these costs met by the housing association. (See Ch7

section 7.2.1). This woman indicated that her anxiety over housing costs was exacerbated by living in a mixed community.

"Och...it's just at times you're worried anyway and then you look out at the houses across the street and think god...it's exactly the same house but we're paying so much more we must be crazy...and that's when I think is it worth it." **('Kate', owner occupier Petersburn)**

In Darnley one owner occupier also spoke about making similar comparisons and having similar feelings in relation to housing costs. (See Ch7 section 7.2.1). However, this was the only incidence of cross-tenure comparison which we found in Darnley. The lack of cross-tenure comparison in Darnley was once again probably due to the layout and segregated tenure distribution in Darnley.

On the other hand some respondents in Darnley still made comparisons with their neighbours, although these were obviously intra-tenure comparisons.

"Does everybody not do that? Go...oh so-and-so's got a new front door or new curtains up...and some people do the whole 'keeping up with the Joneses thing'. So if one gets something then the other one has to get it too. I definitely notice but it doesn't make any difference to me...my life really." **('Marie' owner occupier, Darnley)**

"It's definitely been happening since we all moved in. One person will get something and then everybody in the street has got one! I noticed it last summer with garden furniture-nobody wants to be different or look like they can't afford it...you know" **('Karen' social renter, Darnley)**

The majority of respondents in Darnley believed that most people in the area were the 'same'; but this was probably because they talked about this in the context of their own mono-tenure area and therefore did not have the same scope for making comparisons as the residents in 'pepper-potted' Petersburn. Two of the social renters in Darnley referred to a minority of problematic neighbours on their estate who they considered to be different from the rest of the residents.

"Some folk are definitely in a league of their own-and I don't mean in a good way! And it's the same ones as before-the ones that bring all the trouble into the street. Most of us just want to live our lives and do it in peace but they're different…they could cause an argument in an empty house." (**'Anne' social renter, Darnley**)

"They are pure scum and I wouldn't want my weans anywhere near them…nobody likes them or wants anything to do with them." (**'Karen' social renter, Darnley**)

This singling-out of a core group of problem neighbours is in line with our findings in Petersburn.

Overall there was very little evidence to support the existence of a relative deprivation process operating in either Petersburn or Darnley. Although respondents in both areas asserted that at times they compared themselves to other residents this was considered to be 'human nature' and not something that then led onto negative feelings about their own lives. Nonetheless, it was apparent that respondents struggled to talk about certain issues and this in itself was an interesting finding and one which we will pick up in our discussion chapter.

8.5 Health and Well-being Impacts

Respondents were not as explicit about these as they had been about the connections between physical changes to the neighbourhood and health and well-being or reduction of stigma and health and well-being. Many of the concepts we discussed with respondents in relation to tenure and social mix were nebulous in nature; and this difficulty in defining concepts such as social capital and the 'role model effect' probably made it more difficult for respondents to engage with them and to then articulate their perceived impacts.

Health behaviours and physical health impacts

No evidence emerged in any of our case study areas to suggest that tenure mixing had impacted on respondents' health behaviours either through a 'role model effect' or as an indirect result of tenure mix. No respondents reported any changes (either positive or negative) in their physical health connected to tenure diversification.

Psychosocial health impacts

Although most respondents did not associate tenure mix with their health and well-being one Petersburn resident was the exception. She pointed out that her mental health had definitely improved as a result.

> "I'm not taking panic attacks anymore or dreading going out the door. I've got decent neighbours who keep themselves to themselves and I do the same…and I think that's a lot to do with them not being from here and having their own house. So they're not interested in the pettiness and back-stabbing that went on…like I had with the old neighbours [pre-regeneration]". **('Ena', original resident, Petersburn)**

For this woman tenure mixing had been a positive experience and the relationship that she had with her new owner-occupier neighbours had replaced the stressful one which she had lived through with her previous social rented neighbours. This in turn had resulted in an improvement in her mental health.

Many respondents spoke about feeling happier with themselves and their neighbourhoods and although tenure mix was seen as being part of wider, regeneration changes which seemed to have led to neighbourhood stability and the creation of 'normal' communities for the majority of respondents. All of these changes had a clear impact on respondents' general state of mind and on perceptions of their own health and well-being.

"It's everything but...that makes it better...not just the houses and the new scheme but it all ...and that people have bought their houses here. It's like if you've bought your house there then it must be ok...and it's definitely made me happier." (**'Traci, owner-occupier, Petersburn)**

"It's a normal place to live. Nice houses, good schools and decent neighbours. Just what we all... everybody wants." (**'Marie' owner-occupier, Darnley)**

It was difficult to separate individuals' attitudes to tenure mix and the impacts of tenure mix on health and well-being from their perceptions of overall regeneration. Other ingredients of the regeneration process which had taken place in Petersburn and Darnley were perceived to hold more significance; for instance physical changes and reduction in stigma. However, although respondents didn't, for the most part, make explicit associations between tenure mix and health and well-being all of the residents we spoke to thought that their neighbourhoods had improved for the better and that this had subsequently made them feel better too.

Chapter summary

Regeneration in both Petersburn and Darnley had resulted in reduced resident turnover and for the key actors in both areas tenure mix was a key ingredient in leading to this outcome. In both communities the demand for social rented housing remained high and resident turnover for both social renters and owner-occupiers low. Interestingly although all of the owner-occupiers in Petersburn indicated that they wanted to move away from the area at some point most stayed in the neighbourhood for practical reasons (such as extended family networks). Long-term residents' overall perceptions of their communities following regeneration was that they had overcome their previous bad reputations and many respondents referred to feeling more 'settled' in them as a result and this was clearly reflected in reduced turnover.

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The findings presented in this chapter indicate that the majority of our respondents in Darnley and Petersburn knew which properties were social rented and which were owner-occupied within each community. Intuitively, given the segmented tenure layout and distribution in Darnley this is something which we might have expected. In Petersburn designed as a 'tenure-blind' mixed community we might have anticipated that tenure would have been less discernable and for the incomer owner-occupiers this was indeed the case; for the three individuals in this group tenure-awareness only extended as far as their near neighbours and this is obviously related to our earlier findings around this group's lack of use of the wider neighbourhood environment. In contrast tenure-awareness was taken for granted amongst the long-term residents in Petersburn (for both owner-occupiers and social renters). Although some respondents attributed this to 'customization' of homes by some owner-occupiers it is more likely to be connected to long-term residents' familiarity with the changes which have occurred in their neighbourhood.

Tenure distribution and layout in Petersburn and Darnley also played a crucial role in the amount and type of cross-tenure interaction which occurred in the two communities. Not surprisingly Petersburn's 'pepper-potted' nature afforded more opportunities for cross-tenure neighbourly interaction on a day-to-day basis. In both places however respondents indicated three factors which often acted as channels for interaction between individuals from different tenures. These were: dog walking; children and existing ties. The first of these usually resulted in superficial, casual interaction, however although some individuals spoke about picking up children from school as also leading to this type of casual interaction others suggested that their children's friendships had led to them becoming friendly with the parents of their children's friends. In addition existing ties such as extended family or long-term friendships appeared to transcend considerations around tenure in both Darnley and Petersburn.

An exploration of residents' social networks and their sharing of social and practical resources allowed us to build up an understanding of social capital transfers in Darnley, Petersburn and Arden. In all three communities respondents identified a variety of social networks and connections which they shared with fellow residents and these were more robust for long-term residents in both tenures; these relationships often led to the sharing of resources such as running errands for a neighbour. However, there was no evidence in either of the two mixed communities that policy aspirations around 'bridging' social capital had been realized. Indeed, the only example of what could be termed 'bridging' social capital occurred in Petersburn and here the process had worked in reverse with beneficial information flowing from a social renter to an owner-occupier rather than in the opposite direction.

Our findings in the previous chapter provided some evidence that a small number of participants perceived a 'role model effect by example' was operating in Petersburn with regard to upkeep and maintenance of properties and gardens. In spite of this the majority of respondents in both Petersburn and Darnley rejected the notion that a 'role model effect' existed as the result of mixed tenure and in fact some individuals were sceptical and offended by the notion. On the other hand one Petersburn resident suggested that the small group of residents whom she had previously labelled as 'anti-social' needed a 'role-model' example but were unlikely to respond to this. Significantly, the role played by children was highlighted by parents in both Darnley and Petersburn and the intimation here was that social interaction between children from different tenures could lead to a 'role model effect' by helping to minimize perceptions of tenure differences at an early age.

Although another two key aspirations for tenure mix are more community cohesion and improved community involvement; nevertheless there did not appear to be an increase in either of these community attributes in either Petersburn or Darnley. In Petersburn whilst there was no evidence that social cohesion had been 'diluted' by the presence of owner-occupiers it also seemed

that for incomer owner-occupiers in particular there was no perceived need or desire to be a part of the wider community. In Darnley the majority of residents believed that social cohesion was strong at the neighbour-to-neighbour level (therefore intra-tenure) and the majority of respondents (both owners and renters) expressed the view that although Darnley was not close-knit or socially cohesive at a wider level this did not prevent it from being a functioning and 'normal' community.

A relative deprivation process did not seem to be in existence in either Petersburn or Darnley however the psychosocial health pathways through which relative deprivation operates are by nature implicit and difficult to untangle.

Whilst overall it appeared that tenure mix had not resulted in radical changes to the social environment in either Petersburn or Darnley and respondents did not believe that tenure mix had impacted to any great extent on their health and well-being; in our discussion chapter we will consider the impacts of changes to the physical and social environments in our case study areas and map the intricate health pathways through which these influenced health and well-being.

Chapter 9: Discussion of Findings

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Introduction

9.1 A précis of the research objectives and design
9.2 Reflections on key findings
9.3 A review of the research design and methodology
9.4 Theoretical considerations and recommendations for policy

Chapter summary

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Introduction

In this final chapter we seek to do several things. The first section revisits our original research objectives and design and provides a brief synopsis of each. We then explore the explicit connections between our findings and the existing theoretical and policy literature and also identify the areas within each of these literatures where our findings have contributed to the knowledge base.

Next we consider the merits and limitations of our analytical framework reflecting on our overall research approach. This section also provides us with an opportunity to reflect upon our research design and methods as we endeavour to evaluate both; in doing so we focus on potential limitations of and tensions within the design.

Ultimately, we offer some recommendations both for future research and for policy prompted by the emergent findings of our study.

9.1 A précis of the research objectives and design

The aim of the thesis

The over-arching aim of the thesis was to explore the ways in which features of neighbourhood may impact upon health and well-being in the context of mixed communities.

This overall aim comprised four key objectives, which were:

- To devise an analytical framework for exploring the potential links between neighbourhood and health which would firstly be suitable for studying mixed communities and secondly improve our understanding of them.
- To compare three different types of mixed community; two systematically mixed (one a 'segmented' mixed community, one an 'integrated' mixed community) and the other a sparsely mixed community (mostly social rented and where owner-occupation has occurred as the result of Right-To-Buy) and to consider how and why tenure layout impacts on health and well-being.
- To identify any positive or negative effects for both owner-occupiers and social renters associated with living in a mixed community.
- To evaluate residents' perceptions of the relative significance of different features and functions of their neighbourhoods and of neighbourhood change in relation to health and well-being.

Research Design

In order to achieve these objectives we drew upon the academic and policy literatures around health and place, health inequalities, and area effects and considered these in relation to the mixed community agenda. The literature review provided us with the foundations for our analytical framework for studying health and well-being in mixed communities and allowed us to map potential pathways between health and place at the neighbourhood level; specifically in the context of mixed tenure communities.

We utilized a comparative, multiple case-study design involving three communities and incorporating qualitative interviews and focus groups and data was analyzed using an interpretative, social constructionist approach since this type of inductive research strategy allowed the data to suggest 'avenues of enquiry or ways of thinking about the phenomenon being investigated'

(Bryman, 2004) whilst enabling us to build up a picture of the 'texture and weave of everyday life, and the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants' (Mason, 2002).

9.2 Reflections on key findings

Area changes

Respondents in the three mixed communities had positive views on improvements to the physical environment which had occurred over time as part of neighbourhood regeneration programmes; and new housing and changes to the wider physical environment were cited as being particularly important here.

As we established in Chapter 3 these findings add to the consensus in the mixed community literature that the introduction of tenure diversification is generally allied to improvements in the physical environment (Page and Broughton, 1997; Cole et al, 1997; Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Jupp, 1999; Allan et al, 2005; Bailey et al, 2006). Also, in keeping with the literature our findings indicate that these improvements in the physical environment were perceived by respondents to have redressed stigma, to some degree in the three areas, an issue which we will shortly explore.

In both Petersburn and Darnley for the original residents who had lived on the estates from their modernist inceptions and then through their subsequent declines and rebirths the aesthetics of their new neighbourhoods were perceived as being of particular importance. In fact for the majority of this group the improved appearance of the new estates and the fact that they now looked 'normal' or 'ordinary' were crucial factors which influenced how individuals felt about their neighbourhoods. The inference here was that being 'ordinary' was a good thing and this finding echoes Allan *et al's* (2005) study where respondents viewed their mixed tenure communities as being 'ordinary' and were generally satisfied with them.

Significantly aesthetic changes or more precisely, appreciation of the improved aesthetics of their regenerated neighbourhood emerged as a key pathway to improved psychosocial health outcomes for the group of original, social renter residents in Petersburn. In fact satisfaction with these aesthetic changes was the single-most important element of regeneration which the majority of residents in this cohort credited with having a positive impact on their psychosocial health. This finding emphasizes the need for policy makers and planners to continue to place good design standards at the heart of all new housing developments. It is also a denunciation of modernist design as it was applied to some housing estates in the 1970s.

Although the improved aesthetic backdrop of their neighbourhoods was perceived by the majority of long-term residents in Petersburn and Darnley as being the most significant benefit associated with regeneration of the physical environment others were also cited. These were an increased sense of safety and security and sense of community. Another pathway linking the physical environment and health which was identified by long-term residents in Arden and Petersburn was the regeneration of wider environment spaces. Respondents referred to the community garden and the skateboard park in Arden and the park-area in Petersburn. The mechanisms at work here connecting the transformation of these physical spaces with health outcomes were improved health behaviours for some respondents and psychosocial benefits for others. A number of the original social renters in Petersburn indicated that they used the park-area more frequently for walking or playing with children and that these improved health behaviours made them feel 'better in themselves'. In Arden a few residents spoke about the pleasure they got from the transformation of the wider physical environment on an individual level and also suggested that it was good for the whole community. Local actors in Arden and Petersburn reiterated this theme crediting the regeneration of community spaces with a renewed sense of community ownership and pride.

Crucially, the three incomer owner-occupiers (and to a lesser extent the two original owner-occupiers) in Petersburn indicated that they did not use their local neighbourhood environment; a recurring theme which was also evident with regard to the owner-occupiers in Darnley. This finding supports previous research evidence (discussed in Chapter 2) which concluded that 'neighbourhood' can potentially mean different things to different people and that sharing space does not mean that individuals will draw the same influences from it (Mitchell et al, 2000). Parkes and Kearns' (2004) assertion that some sub-groups within a neighbourhood may be more susceptible to neighbourhood influences is backed up by our findings in Petersburn and Darnley where it is evident that long-term residents, and particularly social renters, are more likely to utilize and to be affected by the neighbourhood environment than new resident owner-occupiers.

Previous research has yielded similar findings. Allen et al (2005) found that owner-occupiers and social renters operated in different worlds and Atkinson and Kintrea (1999; 2000) demonstrated that since owners' patterns of daily movement were generally wider than that of renters (mainly because more of them worked) contact between the two groups was 'relatively sparse'. Furthermore the researchers found that owners did not really engage with renters unless they had originally come from the neighbourhoods in question and this was also the case in Petersburn.

However there were some signs that the provision of wider environment spaces incorporating footpaths and cycle-ways provided some opportunities for casual social interaction between tenures centred largely on dog-walking activities. Allan *et al* (2005) found that these features of the planned environment (especially when they were connected to local services) facilitated social interaction and also underpinned resident satisfaction (Allan *et al,* 2005). In Petersburn the pathways through the local park-area leading to both schools certainly fell into this category with residents being more ready to walk children to school (or let older children walk themselves). Although some

respondents spoke about seeing more people as a result there was no mention of cross-tenure interaction on the journey to school but parents in all three communities reported a significant amount of this occurring within the school grounds whilst dropping off or picking up children.

Tenure layout and distribution

As we discussed in Chapter 3 the policy and academic literature suggests that the layout of tenures is vital in leading to the type of cross-tenure interaction which is an important mechanism in achieving key policy objectives such as the transfer of social capital or the 'role model effect' and by implication successful mixed communities (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Kleinhans, 2000). Furthermore, evidence from several research studies (see Page and Broughton, 1997; Jupp, 1999; Beekman et al 2001, Allen et al 2005; Bailey et al, 2006) indicates that the best way to encourage this cross-tenure social interaction is through the provision of 'integrated' (Bailey et al, 2006) mixed communities rather than through 'segmented' or 'segregated' types while others propose that there is a case to be made for either an 'integrated pepper-potted' approach or a 'segmented' approach as long as the quality of the housing is the same for both owner-occupiers and social renters in order to create 'tenure blindness'. (Allan et al, 2005; Rowlands, 2006)

Given the significance assigned to tenure layout and distribution in both the policy and academic literature this was a feature of mixed communities which we wanted to investigate in Petersburn and Darnley. In short then we were seeking to establish if Petersburn (our 'integrated pepper-potted' mixed community was, a more successful (and ultimately healthier) mixed community than Darnley (our 'segmented' mixed community) as a result of greater levels of cross-tenure social interaction.

It was true that due to Petersburn's 'pepper-potted' tenure distribution more day-to-day cross tenure interaction occurred between neighbours and there was obviously no opportunity for this type of interaction to take place in

Darnley where the tenures are segmented. However, there was little evidence that the more frequent cross-tenure interaction in Petersburn led to the exchange of 'bridging' social capital. In fact in both neighbourhoods the provision of communal spaces (i.e. local parks) for activities such as dog-walking, the role of children, and existing social ties were more important catalysts for cross-tenure interaction than tenure layout and distribution. This corroborates previous studies which caution that policy claims around cross-tenure social interaction in mixed communities are often over-stated (Page and Broughton, 1997; Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Kleinhans, 2004).

Similarly, there was little evidence to suggest that the integrated tenure distribution in Petersburn had resulted in more community cohesion or engagement; indeed length of residence was a more significant factor here with long-term original residents of both tenures being more likely to feel involved in and have a sense of community, as well as an attachment to their neighbourhood. In Darnley due to the segregated tenure layout most respondents (owner-occupiers and renters) felt that it would be more accurate to describe Darnley as being made up of several smaller communities. However, although tenures aren't integrated in Darnley this didn't mean that there was any less of a sense of community; indeed the perception was of functioning smaller communities making-up the wider Darnley community rather than of isolated and fragmented mono-tenure dysfunctional communities. This finding demonstrates that integrated and segmented mixed communities can both foster positive perceptions of community for their residents and function equally well and as Groves *et al* point out 'there is no magic recipe of particular designs or layouts' which guarantees the success or failure of a mixed community (Groves *et al,* 2003: 50). Although our research in Petersburn does suggest that 'pepper-potting' was the most effective way to achieve cross-tenure interaction *between neighbours* and therefore supporting for Page and Broughton (1997) Atkinson and Kintrea (2000). Individuals in both tenure groups in Darnley demonstrated a strong neighbourhood attachment and

were committed to remaining in the community. We might assume that since Darnley was a more mature mixed community than Petersburn, having been established almost a decade before, then the 'time-factor' was a key influence here. As other researchers have suggested perhaps as a mixed community ages the way in which tenure is distributed within it becomes less important. (Allen *et al,* 2005).

Stigma

Our research findings correlate with previous research which supports the case for tenure diversification as a means of improving a neighbourhood's reputation (Martin and Wilkinson, 2003; Beekman *et al,* 2001; Forrest and Kearns, 1999; Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998). Dean and Hastings (2000) intimate that living in a stigmatized neighbourhood can lead to a range of negative outcomes for residents and that this includes health outcomes. In two of our case study areas where neighbourhood regeneration had been coupled with tenure diversification the majority of long-term resident respondents indicated that not only did they feel that their neighbourhoods were less stigmatized but that as a result they felt better about themselves and the places in which they lived. Although one issue which must be flagged up here is the fact that this study focused on residents' perceptions of stigma; and more accurately how *they felt* their neighbourhoods were viewed by outsiders. However, there was no scope within the study to verify the reputations of the three areas by research with non-residents. It would be interesting and valuable to pursue this avenue in future research. Nevertheless it would appear that *perceived stigma* does impact on how people see their communities and subsequently on their sense of well-being.

Costa Pinto's (2000) findings linking residents' awareness of neighbourhood stigma and low levels of neighbourhood attachment were not confirmed in our study. On the contrary, in Arden where residents perceived their community to be particularly stigmatized there was a high level of neighbourhood attachment

coupled with a protective attitude towards the 'real Arden'. However, echoing Costa Pinto's other finding that residents in stigmatized areas often felt they had no 'agency or control' some respondents in our study felt that their area had suffered as a result of decisions made by wider local agencies (at local authority level). Interestingly though agencies working 'on the ground' in the local communities (particularly local housing associations) were for the most part perceived by respondents as doing their best to reduce stigma in the areas.

Two other significant points arose from our study in relation to the literature. Firstly, that not all residents in a neighbourhood perceive the *image* of that neighbourhood in the same way. In Petersburn we found that while long-term social renters thought that with regeneration and tenure diversification their neighbourhood had become less stigmatized owner-occupiers did not agree. This resonates with Dean and Hastings (2003) theory that rather than talking about one *image* of an estate and we should refer to *fractured images* since individuals emphasize different aspects of the estate and perceive it differently depending on their own characteristics and experiences.

Secondly, comprehensive regeneration programmes had occurred in Petersburn and Darnley in comparison with the small-scale changes which had taken place in Arden and this was reflected in residents' perceptions of stigma in the respective communities. In Arden the consensus amongst residents was that Arden's stigmatized reputation endured whereas most respondents in Petersburn (owner-occupiers notwithstanding) and Darnley felt that their areas had become less stigmatized. Our finding here emphatically supports Kearns and Mason's (2007) admonition that wholesale changes need to occur in an area and that these have to be real, tangible and visible before 'residents acquire a sense of change and a degree of optimism about their own and their neighbourhood's future, and outsiders treat certain areas differently'. Our evidence suggests that piece-meal regeneration initiatives in disadvantaged neighbourhoods do not have any impact on poor neighbourhood reputation and

that policy-makers should concentrate their efforts (where possible) on comprehensive regeneration programmes which incorporate the reduction of stigma into their integral aims (Gourlay, 2007).

Inequality/relative deprivation

There was little evidence in our study to support that a strong relative deprivation process was at work in any of the case-study communities and this backs up Knies *et al's* (2007) research that people generally didn't feel unhappier living in a mixed community.

Our findings on RD also reflected those of Pahl *et al* (2007). Like Pahl *et al* we found that people didn't have an awareness of issues around equality/inequality and subsequently we had to re-design our interview guide and be far more direct about whether they 'felt the same' as other individuals in their neighbourhoods. Furthermore, people did not feel comfortable talking about notions of inequality/equality or making direct comparisons with neighbours and as in Pahl *et al's* this was seen as a taboo subject. This finding was interesting because respondents *had already* commented on other individuals' behaviour in relation to upkeep and maintenance of homes and lifestyles (see section on stigma) but remained reluctant to be drawn on specific comparisons particularly in relation to socio-economic status.

The majority of residents in both groups didn't feel different from one another and perhaps this is not surprising since as noted by Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) the 'social distance between renters and owners is not so great [and] many owners have their social origins in council estates and, given the place of their homes near the bottom end of the housing market their incomes are not likely to be very high.'(p.105)

In contrast to Arthurson's (2002) hypothesis that 'public tenants' (social renters) in tenure diversified communities might feel worse about themselves this was not the case in our study. Although there were some references by social renters to owner-occupiers having the financial means to 'customize'

their homes this did not make the social renters feel worse about themselves. Indeed, counter-intuitively, some owner-occupiers in both Petersburn and Darnley felt a sense of RD in relation to the cheaper housing costs which they perceived social renters in their neighbourhoods accrued. This is another avenue for potential future research.

Health and wellbeing

Jenkinson (1999) advises that individuals have important knowledge of their own health and Byrne *et al* (1986) attest that people have to be asked what they feel since health is intrinsically holistic and subjective. Furthermore, Ellaway *et al* (2001) underline the importance of perceptions of place and recognize that these can potentially influence health outcomes. One of the key aims of this study was to place the lay perspective resolutely at its core; to build up a picture of residents' day-to-day lives in their local neighbourhoods and to explore the connections residents *them-selves* made between place and health and well-being. Here we will briefly reflect on key findings in relation to psychosocial health impacts, health behaviours and physical health impacts.

There is ongoing academic debate and discourse over psychosocial health pathways much of it concerned with two questions; do they exist? And if so, how do they operate? (As discussed in Chapter 2) Nonetheless in our study residents *themselves* made connections between their neighbourhood environments and their sense of well-being. Positive psychosocial benefits were related most strongly with new housing and wider neighbourhood environment improvements (aesthetic changes being of key significance as discussed earlier in this chapter). However a *perceived* reduction in stigma (as a result of regeneration) was also a crucial element for residents. Here the psychosocial pathways in operation appeared to be an increased sense of self-esteem as a result of pride in the new neighbourhood and a reduced sense of shame since their area was no longer stigmatized. Participants spoke about an enhanced

sense of well-being often described as 'feeling better in them-selves' as well as feeling less stressed, anxious and depressed.

Psychosocial impacts in relation to tenure mix *per se* were not identified by participants. However tenure mix was very much in the 'melting-pot' with other ingredients of neighbourhood change such as reduced stigma and physical improvements.

Although only a small minority of participants intimated that their health behaviours had undergone positive changes due to area changes these were nonetheless very significant to them. Residents spoke about the physical improvements to their neighbourhoods and new houses with gardens as being crucial factors here and intimated that they were 'out and about' more doing physical activities. The psychosocial pathway also operated here with individuals suggesting that the changes in their health behaviours made them 'feel better in themselves'. This highlights the complex and inter-connected nature of health pathways which exist at the neighbourhood level.

Similarly in relation to physical health only a very small number of respondents indicated any positive improvements and these related to new housing and gardens which had helped to alleviate the symptoms of existing conditions and thus improve their overall quality of life. Again these held great significance for the respondents in question and again they were also connected to an enhanced sense of well-being.

Overall, physical regeneration of the areas *coupled* with tenure mix was recognized as a positive outcome in Petersburn and Darnley (especially with regard to stigma).

Our research findings show evidence for both a material and psychosocial health pathway operating between individuals and their communities. It is clear (backing up neo-materialist arguments) that improving structural factors in a neighbourhood has an impact on health and well-being (See discussion in

Chapter 2). However, the benefits of these material changes appear to operate along a psychosocial route revolving around individuals feeling better *psychologically* as a result of material changes. In line with Singh-Manoux's (2003) maxim that researchers should not try to separate out the material and psychosocial perhaps it is better to think about a new pathway which is a hybrid of both; the 'material/psychosocial pathway'.

9.3 A review of the research design and methodology

An evaluation of the analytical framework

Our research set out to develop a framework for studying the pathways between neighbourhood and health in mixed communities building upon existing work on health and place (Taylor, 1997; Macintyre et al, 2002; Macintyre and Ellaway, 2003), health inequalities (Acheson, 1998; Marmot and Wilkinson, 2003; Marmot, 2010) area effects (Ellen and Turner, 1997; Buck, 2001; Lupton, 2003) and mixed communities (Jupp, 1999; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Allen et al, 2005; Bailey et al, 2006). The key discourses around each of these are documented in Chapters 2 and 3. On reflection our analytical framework has proven to be, for the most part, an effective tool for investigating health pathways at the micro-level neighbourhood scale and for exploring key aspects of tenure mixed communities.

The framework has three significant assets. Its first strength lies in its catholic design drawing as it does upon a wide-range of relevant literatures and theories. This textured, nuanced construction lends robustness and gravitas to our framework and grounds it in theory which in turn allowed us to make the connections between theory, policy and practice confirming O'Brien's (1993) dictum that theory can help make things that were hidden visible, as well as defining patterns and giving meaning to a researcher's observations about the social world. By combining several significant bodies of literature and amalgamating their key findings we were able to create a transparent model for mapping health pathways in mixed communities.

Secondly, in the tradition of social models of health (Evans and Stoddart 1990; Dalghren and Whitehead, 1991) our framework adopts a holistic approach to exploring pathways to health and well-being in mixed communities and thus focuses on the material pathway, the social pathway and the psychosocial pathway suggested by Marmot (2006) as being those which mediate health outcomes. This approach allowed us to investigate four key place characteristics and respondents' perceptions of these and also to consider how connections between the two influenced health and well-being. By considering certain characteristics of our three neighbourhoods as well as the opinions of the people who live in them we were able to avoid making a false distinction between people and place and to keep in mind Macintyre and Ellaway's (2000, 2003) judicious observation that "people create places, and places create people."

The final advantage of our analytical framework is that it places the lay perspective on health and well-being firmly at its centre. Acknowledging that 'individuals have important knowledge of their own health' (Jenkinson, 1994) and valuing the fact that the significance of the 'lay' perspective or non-professional 'gaze' on issues has received growing recognition in public health research (Davidson et al, 2008) our study sought to explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourses or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate (Mason, 2002).

As we documented in Chapter 2 researchers continue to devise strategies and conceptual models which map health pathways and our research has added to this research knowledge. Our study has drawn links between perceptions of the physical layout of a neighbourhood, perception of stigma, and social and tenure mix and then demonstrated how each of these might offer a pathway to health and well-being.

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A comparative case-study approach

Using three case-study settings meant that our research offered scope for triangulation and corroboration (See Chapter 5) of data (Denscombe, 1998). Several triangulation techniques were utilized. The first of these was a triangulation of sources achieved through the use of in-depth one-to-one interviews with both residents and key actors in order to build up a more nuanced picture of the three areas. This allowed scope to explore 'both sides of the story' from the perspectives of both groups. The data generated as a result was both rich and textured and at times highlighted interesting inconsistencies. For instance in Petersburn some residents were critical of the local park suggesting that it had become a focal point for anti-social behaviour whereas the key actor was very positive about the contribution it had made to overall quality of life for residents (See Chapter 7 section 7.3).

Similarly, a triangulation of methods through the use of both one-to-one interviews and focus groups with the same set of residents in two of the case study areas was beneficial and added to methodological robustness. Data from both was compared to examine if participants expressed different views in the focus groups than they had in their one-one-interviews. Again this triangulation of methods paid-off and resulted in a rich seam of data (See Chapter 5 section 5. for discussion of interviews and focus groups).

The environmental assessments carried out in each neighbourhood were undoubtedly valuable components of the overall effort to build triangulation and corroboration into this study. These assessments facilitated familiarity with the three neighbourhoods which in turn allowed a greater understanding of participants' accounts of their day-to-day lived experienced within their communities. This encompassed not only geographical layout but also key issues; for instance when residents spoke about the quality and range of the local shops.

This overall triangulation approach also provided a structure which facilitated the identification and classification of principle themes emerging from the data (Fielding, 2001).

On the other hand there were also challenges related to the management of a multiple-case study approach. These were: keeping track of data from the three areas and creating a 'bigger-picture' from it; making sure that the case-study areas were being utilized in a comparative manner rather than as three separate study areas whilst still retaining contextual insight (Bryman, 2001); and on a practical level a degree of frustration with regard to the fact that fieldwork in the three areas did not move at a similar pace. In Darnley (as we discussed in Chapter 5) we encountered some difficulties in recruiting participants and this ultimately meant that we were unable to carry out a focus group there and on a logistical level it would have felt more balanced if we had been able to go ahead with this. In addition there was a time-lag in conducting field-work and analyzing data from this case-study area which increased overall time constraints in relation to the writing-up of findings.

On reflection the profiles of our case-study areas (See Chapter 6) are somewhat limited. We originally intended to supply more detailed information (maps, planning documents) on each neighbourhood which would help illustrate the changes which have occurred over time. However, due to a combination of difficulties in sourcing the information for all three areas and to time constraints we were forced to abandon this idea. In spite of this omission the background narratives which we have supplied, along with the 'picture-galleries' do compensate and (we would argue) furnish the reader with an insight into the regeneration processes which have taken place in Arden, Petersburn and Darnley.

In-depth interviews

Some key considerations in relation to both key actor and resident interviews have to be discussed at this point (See Chapter 5 Section 5.4 for full

discussion). Four local actors were interviewed in total: two housing professionals and two estate agents. This incorporated one housing professional and one estate agent in the Petersburn area and one housing professional and one estate agent who covered both the Darnley and Arden neighbourhoods. I did encounter one key challenge in relation to interviews. The approach taken when conducting the key actor interviews was very much an unstructured one. The interviewees were asked to talk generally about the differences they had witnessed in the neighbourhood in their professional capacity in relation to the key topics engendered by our analytical framework; namely physical change, area reputation (stigma), inequality, social and tenure mix. In contrast to the resident interviews where a semi-structured guide was used the key-actor interviews were 'looser' in nature and the participants were given free rein to talk at length about the topics; this technique was paradoxically both beneficial and disadvantageous.

On the 'plus-side' it allowed the professional actors the time and freedom to concentrate on the most significant issues (for them) without their flow of thought being interrupted and in addition it allowed key points to emerge naturally; and crucially the process engendered a rich seam of data. On the other hand the method presented some problems when it came to analysing the data and writing up the research findings, particularly with regard to the interviews with the housing association professionals in the case study areas. For these participants all of the issues were so closely connected that it was difficult to compartmentalize them; as a result in the interviews the respondents were keen to point out that it was 'difficult' or 'almost impossible' to talk about the relevant aspects of the neighbourhoods in isolation from one another. Although this resulted in an 'embarrassment of riches' data-wise it also proved to be a challenge with regards to analyzing this data.

Twenty-eight residents were interviewed across the three communities (See Table D Chapter 5 for characteristics of the resident sample) and although this

number was made up of a mixture of social renters and owner-occupiers and old and new residents there were some shortcomings with the sample. The first of these was the small number of Darnley participants (only six in total). As discussed in Chapter 5 this was due to recruitment difficulties and time limitations; nonetheless such a small sample size is far from ideal and it is important to recognize this. With regard to Arden all of the residents interviewed were social renters and it would have been valuable to also speak to owner-occupiers (through Right-to-Buy) who also live in the area. A group of residents residing in all three areas who were not interviewed were private renters (since as mentioned earlier-see footnote 17 this lies out-with the remit of the study. In Petersburn shared-equity residents were also omitted.

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) intimate that in-depth interviews are an appropriate research tool for considering complex processes and delicate issues. This proved to be the case with regard to discussing the delicate issues of individuals' health and their relationships with neighbours in Arden, Petersburn and Darnley. Residents in all three communities responded well to the in-depth interview format and in most cases welcomed the opportunity to share their experiences. As with most social research some respondents were voluble whilst others needed more prompting overall though the interviews provided a rich seam of data.

Overall research limitations

There are two key limitations of our research which must be addressed. The first can be summed up in Atkinson and Kintrea's observation about their own comparative study in four Scottish estates carried out in 2000. The researchers noted that:

> "Area-effects are recognized to be dynamic, but the study is static, presenting a snapshot of experiences in early 2000" (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2001; p2296).

For Atkinson and Kintrea this meant that although their study said something about 'the characteristics of people within the places' it did not say much about 'whether and how the places [had] changed these people from what they would be if they lived somewhere else' (p.2296). In our own study we could not conjecture how respondents would be if they lived somewhere else. However we would argue that since we asked respondents about changes which had happened over time and their experiences and perceptions of these changes this lent the study a wider scope and fluidity which moved it beyond a 'snapshot'.

The second potential shortcoming of our study is related to its scale. The small sample size means that the findings cannot be generalized to the wider population. On the other hand, as others have argued (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) qualitative studies of this nature are not designed to be generalizable in the quantitative sense. Instead they provide rich, nuanced and detailed data (Mason, 2002) which can yield useful insights about the context in which people live their day-to-day lives. Hopefully our study has provided a valuable insight into how people perceive their neighbourhoods and how they feel specific aspects of their communities have impacted on their health and well-being.

9.4 Theoretical considerations and recommendations for policy

Theoretical considerations

- Fundamentally we must ask whether the health and well-being changes which respondents observed were due to: a) the extent of physical changes to the areas b) the introduction of mixed tenure, or c) the configuration of mixed tenure. It would be convenient if we could answer this question straightforwardly and neatly work out the significance of each of these three key elements of mixed communities. In reality it is more complicated than that since they work together to

influence health. We can however conclude that a fusion of the three represents the over-arching pathway to health and well-being in mixed communities. Tenure mix can impact simultaneously on both the physical and social environments within a neighbourhood engendering physical and psychosocial health impacts. Any future research which aims to investigate any of these themes will further the academic and policy knowledge base around mixed communities and health and well-being.

- In all three communities children emerged as a significant catalyst in leading to social interaction between their parents and for increasing engagement in community activities. In Petersburn and Darnley having school-age children resulted in more cross-tenure interaction. This finding backs up previous research evidence which suggests that children encourage social interaction between households of different tenure (Allan *et al*, 2005; Beekman, 2001). Although there is some previous research exploring children's perspectives on tenure mix (Allan *et al*, 2005) a study which explicitly compares the experiences of households with children and those without would be a welcome addition to the mixed community literature (particularly with regard to levels of cross-tenure interaction)

- In our study the impacts of regeneration were felt most keenly by long-term residents who for the most-part were social renters. For incomer owner-occupiers, and to a lesser extent for long-term owner-occupiers, area changes were not as significant. This illustrates the fact that neighbourhood features and processes are experienced differently by individuals and groups of individual and echoes theoretical discourses around the concept of 'neighbourhood': firstly that the term can potentially mean different things to different people; secondly, that sharing space does not mean that individuals will draw the same

influences from it (Mitchell *et al,* 2000); and thirdly that some sub-groups within a neighbourhood may be more susceptible to neighbourhood influences (Parkes and Kearns, 2004). These reflections should guide any researcher who embarks upon a qualitative research study which involves asking individuals about their local neighbourhood environment.

- Policy makers must not assume that people will interact or bond just because they live next to one another. Bearing in mind Nash and Christie's (2003) observation that it may be too much to expect of people that mixing should lead to the creation and maintenance of social ties across class and other divisions we might ask how far tenure diversification can go in getting social renters and owner-occupiers to mix. Moreover, our findings have added to the evidence base which suggests that even when mixed communities do provide opportunities and arenas where social interaction is likely to occur it is not the type of contact which engenders beneficial 'bridging social capital' (Putnam, 2000) exchanges. Maybe this is an unattainable goal and one which should not be pursued. In their study Allen at al (2005) indicated that the majority of residents in the three mixed communities which they researched described their neighbourhoods as being 'normal' and this notion also resonated with our respondents. In Arden, Darnley and Petersburn social interaction which occurs does so naturally and organically with no deliberation over whether or not it crosses tenures. Perhaps all of this is enough and 'normal' for any community and that no grand claims for social interaction or social capital are required.

- Residents in the three communities failed to make explicit connections between the assumed intangible policy benefits (RME, social capital and social cohesion) of mixed communities and their health and well-being.

Perhaps, this is because since they are such ubiquitous elements of daily life they operate 'under the radar' they prove harder to capture; or indeed it could be the case that health and well-being impacts do not exist via these pathways. Whatever the case more exploration of these issues in relation to health and well-being in mixed communities is needed.

Recommendations for policy

- Although policy has a part to play in both the creation of neighbourhoods which provide physical environments and local services and amenities which enhance the quality of life for the residents who live in them and in continued support for communities in the shape of material resources and local practitioners; it cannot and should not attempt to control the social environments which develop. Communities cannot be socially engineered but grow organically each in its own unique way.

- Mixed communities should continue to be advocated by policy makers since not only do they represent neighbourhoods which offer affordable housing (for social renting/low cost home-ownership/shared ownership) but also help to redress the residualization of the social rented sector through the provision of better physical environments (Page and Broughton, 1997; Cole et al, 1997; Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998; Jupp, 1999) and reduction of stigma Beekman, 2001; Allan, 2006).

- The policy mechanisms for providing mixed communities are Section 106 agreements and the potential conflicts between private housing developers, housing associations and local authorities (policy makers) which arise at the planning stage need to be ironed out. Clearer guidance on the *proportion and type* of mix required (see discussions Chapter 1 and Chapter 3) and perhaps sanctions should be built into the

policy process which can be applied if requirements are not met by developers. Although this might be prove to be difficult to implement since a 'trade-off' with developers over these issues is often the only way to get any 'mix' into the equation at all and at the same time provide affordable houses.

- The mixed community agenda is seen as a mechanism for solving a myriad of problems. The promotion of health and well-being is not configured as one of these but it *should* be more of a policy focus and higher up the mixed community policy agenda. If it were an explicit objective of the mixed/sustainable community agenda it could be 'built into' the policy design; and this would ensure that potential routes to improving health and well-being were embedded in mixed communities. The Scottish Government's 'Mixed and Sustainable Communities Learning Network' website (discussed in Chapter 2) which supports people involved in regeneration to improve the ways in which mixed communities are created and managed throughout Scotland is a progressive strategy which encourages policy makers and practitioners to think holistically about all dimensions of mixed communities (health and well-being included) and it is this type of 'joined-up' thinking around the issue which will get the best results.

- The evidence from our study shows that positive perceptions of key aspects of mixed communities (physical environment and stigma in particular) play a significant part in leading to an improved sense of well-being. It would seem logical then that policy should set-out explicit health and well-being objectives for Area Based Initiatives incorporating tenure diversification and that these should be evaluated following the regeneration process

- Large scale research studies, like the Go-well[22] project in Glasgow which incorporate both longitudinal and comparative dimensions alongside qualitative and quantitative elements are invaluable in broadening the breadth and depth of knowledge about communities and their impacts on health and these types of studies must continue to be supported and financed by policy makers. Alongside these research leviathans there is also a place for smaller scale investigations which can also augment the knowledge base and these too must be encouraged and sustained

- With regards to the bigger policy picture the mixed community policy agenda has helped to put communities and especially disadvantaged communities at the heart of regeneration, social inclusion, and housing policy. However, although this is to be welcomed on one hand, on the other there is a danger that policy makers begin to regard tenure diversification as a failsafe means of strengthening communities, through increased levels of social capital, social engagement and social cohesion subsequently leaving communities to solve their own problems (Middleton *et al*, 2005). In order to reduce the likelihood of this scenario developing policy makers and practitioners must continue to work alongside residents following regeneration of their neighbourhoods and also recognize that tenure diversification cannot help overcome all of

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[22] GoWell which commenced in 2006 is a planned ten-year research and learning programme that aims to investigate the impact of investment in housing, regeneration and neighbourhood renewal on the health and wellbeing of individuals, families and communities. The programme aims to establish the nature and extent of these impacts, to learn about the relative effectiveness of different approaches, and to inform policy and practice in Scotland and beyond.

http://www.gla.ac.uk/departments/urbanstudies/research/researchprojects/gowellproject/

the challenges which often face individuals living in multiply-deprived neighbourhoods. Tenure diversification must be delivered as part of a policy package alongside other micro-level and macro-level strategies

Conclusion

By exploring the key concepts from the literatures which informed New Labour's mixed community policy agenda our study has helped to join-the-dots around the myriad (and often nebulous) policy aims and to highlight how so many, if not all of these, influence individuals' health and well-being.

In essence then the research has contributed to the knowledge about and understanding of how individuals' perceive key aspects of their communities; whilst at the same time conceptualizing key health pathways which operate within neighbourhoods. The research findings should be of interest to policy-makers and practitioners in health, housing, regeneration and urban policy.

Mixed communities often offer better physical and service environments which in turn can help to create stronger social environments. Even so none of this guarantees health and well-being. Living in a certain neighbourhood, whether it is mixed or not is only one factor which influences health and well-being and other macro-level dynamics (see Dalghren and Whitehead, 1991; Evans and Stoddart, 1990) are just as important. Inequalities in health (along with socio-economic and other inequalities) continue to be targeted by policy but nonetheless remain interwoven into the fabric of our society.

Through measures like tenure mixing, high quality housing, well-designed built environments and good service provision policy makers can (literally and metaphorically) lay down the building blocks for successful neighbourhoods. However, alongside interventions at the area level, policy must continue to promote the notion that each individual regardless of housing tenure has the right to all of these. When used appropriately mixed community strategies can

be an important policy mechanism in helping to tackle social exclusion and reduce health inequalities and ultimately to create a more egalitarian society where all communities are sustainable and all citizens have the opportunity to live in neighbourhood environments which advance health and well-being.

However, there are two important caveats here which need to be addressed. Firstly, area-based neighbourhood regeneration strategies must be viewed as only one piece of the bigger policy jigsaw and need to operate in conjunction with macro-level, structural policies if they are to be effective in addressing issues of social exclusion and inequality. Secondly, all Area Based Initiatives must be holistic in their approach and design and embrace tenure diversification alongside physical regeneration and local service provision (Allan et al, 2005). In her historical review of social mix policies Sarkissian (1976) cautioned that planners and policy makers must be cautious about adopting simplistic solutions to complicated problems. The same sentiment might be applied to contemporary tenure mix policies; tenure diversification is not the 'silver bullet' which can be used to combat all area-based problems. When implemented alongside other strategies mixed communities can help to tackle some of the area-effects present in deprived neighbourhoods, in the final analysis however, they represent only one link in the policy chain.

Afterword

In May 2010 the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government was elected. In its Programme for Government (available on the government website (http://www.direct.gov.uk.) the new government has pledged to build a 'free, fair and responsible society'. However if you are a social renter, the emphasis appears to be firmly on responsibility. Policies which have been put forward such as the cap on housing benefit and the plans to end lifetime tenures in social housing seem to endorse the view that social housing tenants rely on a culture of dependency. This policy emphasis seems to further pathologize the social rented sector. With regard to mixed tenure communities

the government is committed to widening shared ownership schemes to enable social renters to own or part own their homes.

In relation to equalities the Programme for Government is vague; stating that 'there are too many barriers to social mobility and equal opportunities in Britain today'. Significantly, there is no specific objective (or indeed reference) to health inequalities. Furthermore, when it comes to the issue of public health the focus is firmly on 'promoting public health by encouraging behaviour change to help people live healthier lives.' The government's aim in this regard to 'investigate ways of improving access to preventative healthcare for those in disadvantaged areas to help tackle health inequalities' does not exactly inspire confidence that it will adopt a robust strategy for tackling health and other inequalities.

It will be interesting to watch the development of the coalition government's policies with regard to housing, communities and health inequalities.

Colleen F. Rowan

Appendix I: Interview/Focus Group Information Sheet

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

I am working on a PhD research project entitled **"Health and Well-Being in Mixed Communities"** in the Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow. My aim is to talk to individuals and to groups of 6-10 local residents (both owner-occupiers and social renters). If you choose to take part in an interview/focus group, you will be asked about your views on living in your area, and how different aspects of the local community might affect health and well-being. The information that I get from the interview/focus group will be used to help me to form conclusions on the health and well-being of local residents.

It is your choice whether or not to take part in an interview/ focus group. If you do decide to participate, you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you can withdraw at any time and you do not need to give a reason.

The interview/focus group will take a maximum of one hour and a half, I will make audio recordings of the focus groups, but the names and details of people taking part will be kept confidential. I may publish some of my research findings, and if I publish any comments no-one will be referred to by name. The project has been approved by the Department of Urban Studies Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions about the interviews/focus groups, please contact the principal researcher or the Department of Urban Studies dissertation co-ordinator:

- **Colleen Kerr, c.kerr.1@research.gla.ac.uk tel: 0141 330 4377**
- Dr Chris Leishman, Dissertation Co-Ordinator (c.leishman@lbss.gla.ac.uk), tel: 0141 330 5307

If you would like to raise any concerns about how any aspect of this research has been conducted, please contact the Department of Urban Studies Director of Teaching and Learning: Dr Steve Tiesdell (s.tiesdell@lbss.gla.ac.uk), tel: 0141 330 4516.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Appendix II: Consent Form

Health and Well-Being in Mixed Communities

Principal researcher:

- **Colleen Kerr c.kerr.1@research.gla.ac.uk**

Thesis supervisor

- Professor Ade Kearns, Dissertation Supervisor
  a.kearns@socsci.gla.ac.uk

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the study and have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.

I understand that my participation in the interview/focus group is entirely voluntary, and that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason. I understand that my participation or non-participation in the study will not lead to any penalty.

I agree to the interview/focus group being audio recorded and to the use of anonymised quotes in publications.

I agree to participate in this interview/focus group.

Name   Date

_____   _____

Appendix III: Interview Guide (Residents)-2nd Draft

Introduce myself, and give a brief outline of what the research
is about. Ask if the interviewee has any questions before we
start.

<u>General Background</u>

How long have you lived here?

What do you call this area?

Do you own or rent your house?

What is it like living here?

What good points can you think of?

What bad points can you think of?

What are the amenities like? (shops etc)

What are the services like? (health services, social services,
schools, transport services, leisure services)

What kinds of things are there to do around here? (social
activities)

Area changes

Has the area changed much since you have been here?

What kinds of changes have taken place?

Do you think these changes have been for the better/worse?

How have these changes affected you personally?

Have the changes in the area had an impact on what you do? (e.g. more likely to use the local area-shopping, walking etc) On a daily basis/or from time-to time?

Have the changes in the area had any effects on the community?

Area Reputation

Do you think some places in the neighbourhood are worse/better than others?

How are they worse/better?

Do you avoid these areas/go to these areas (If not-why not?)

How do you think living here compares with living in other places?

Would you move from here, if you could?

What do you think other people (people who don't live here) think about the area?

How does this make you feel? Does it affect you? How?

Do you think you are treated differently when people know where you come from? How?

How does this make you feel? Does it affect your behaviour?

Inequality

Do you think that everybody living here is the same?

If not-in what ways are they 'different'?

Do you think it matters that everybody isn't the same?

How does this make you feel?

Do these differences affect the community?

Do you compare yourself/your life to anyone else's?

Who do you compare yourself to? (family members, friends, neighbours?)

What aspects of your life do you compare?

How does this make you feel?

In relation to others how well do you think you are doing? (Specifically in relation to family, friends, neighbours)

On an 'equality scale' where would you place yourself in relation to others in your community (top/middle/bottom)

Where do you think other people (in your neighbourhood/community would lie)?

Social/Tenure mix

Do you think it makes a difference to the area having a mixture of owner occupiers and social renters? (For Arden-How do you feel about potential introduction of owner-occupation?)

How does it make a difference? (Is it better or worse?)

Do you think there are any drawbacks (negative impacts) for owners who live in the neighbourhood?

Do you think there are any drawbacks (negative impacts) for renters who live in the neighbourhood?

Do you know who owns their home and who rents their home in the neighbourhood?

Do you mix with other residents in the area?

If so – do you mix with both owners and renters?

In general, do owners and renters mix on the estate? If not, why not?

Appendix IV: Focus Group Guide

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Focus Group Guide

Introduction/thanks for taking part

ICEBREAKER

SCENARIO 1-AREA CHANGES 'The biggest and the best?'

SCENARIO 2-STIGMA 'Who do they think we are?'

SCENARIO 3-IN/EQUALITY 'Everybody 'round here's the same…?'

SCENARIO 4-SOCIAL/TENURE MIX 'Bought or not?' 'Friends and/or neighbours?'

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