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PERIPHERAL ESTATES RENEWAL  
"A Study into Planning for and  
with a peripheral estate community"

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Submitted as part of the  
requirements for the  
degree of Master of  
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SYNOPSIS

This thesis looks at some of the issues connected with Peripheral Estate Renewal, with the aim of suggesting ways in which an estate could be renewed, and how the community could be involved in the renewal process.

The first two chapters look at the history of the Easterhouse Estate, with the first chapter tracing the reasons for it being constructed through a period of decline until 1978. The second chapter discussing <sup>the</sup> the period from 1978 - 84 ~~and~~ analysing the affect on Central Government and both Regional and District Council activities, ~~being~~ going on to discuss the rise and role of the community organisations that now exist.

Chapter III examines difficult to let housing generally, with a view to drawing out some principles that should be applied in Easterhouse to solve this aspect of the estate's problem i.e. that it is a difficult to let estate.

A number of Community Groups have become involved in the regeneration and planning, in the widest sense of their estates. Chapter IV looks at two such groups who have one thing in common, that they have produced a document which they view as being similar to a 'planning document' in that it states the way they would wish their area to be developed. The chapter examines the groups, the document that each prepared, and makes an analysis as to the effectiveness of both plans.

Part I of the final chapter makes an analysis of the earlier chapters, drawing out the salient points with a view to them being regarded and hopefully adopted in any renewal of Easterhouse. Part II considers and comments on current plans by the Local Authority, before making further specific recommendations as to how the renewal in the peripheral estate should be effected. Finally Part III discusses ways in which the community could ensure that the renewal is both for them and with them.

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INTRODUCTION



## INTRODUCTION

The idea for this thesis stems from one community group determined to take positive action to improve the quality of life of "their estate". As part of their package of action a "People's Plan" was proposed. The plan was to state what the people who lived on the estate wanted for the area in the widest sense. As a few "People's Plans" have been prepared in other areas, it was considered that a useful and interesting study would be to find out how effective in achieving changes in the planning process have been the activities of community groups, and in particular how effective have been the publication by community groups of "People's Plans" for their respective areas. The thesis will also set out to examine the role that one group, which in the past has been predominantly engaged in promoting "art" events as a means of improving life on an estate has in the planning process, and in particular to examine whether the group can effectively become involved in other areas of estate life.

The original question has led to others begging an answer and some investigation. The attempt to answer the questions will be of assistance in the overall study.

The "other questions" which it has been deemed necessary to consider are :-

- (a) How did the problem estate get there? Who was the estate built for in the first instance? And, leading on from that, why was it built in the way it was, and where it was? Finally, what went wrong? These basic questions will be dealt with in the first chapter. Conclusions are drawn in the hope that history may be a guide and a tutor for the future, and that the same pitfalls will be avoided. Any remedial action suggested in the final chapter will incorporate lessons learned from the early history.

INTRODUCTION cont.

- (b) The second set of questions to arise is focused on what has happened in recent years on the estate, and particularly on what central and local government have contributed to improving life on the estate. Why the community group has been formed and what involvement the group has had in the community life will also be considered.
- (c) The estate is the size of a medium sized town, having a population of approximately 47,000 but it varies from a medium sized town in one major respect, in that it is almost fully "a housing estate". The usual facilities, amenities, and places of employment found in a medium sized town are not present in the area. It comprises of 15,000 houses, many of which are "difficult to let". This being the case, consideration is given to alternatives being used elsewhere to deal with this one specific issue of difficult to let housing. The hope is that the experience of other areas could usefully be applied in the area of study.
- (d) Other community groups have prepared "People's Plans". Their experience must be of use to any group considering a similar exercise. The basic question to be asked is whether there is anything to be gained in preparing such a plan, or whether it would be a waste of effort. Assuming that some merit is found in producing such a document, then the analysis will try to identify the objectives that have been achieved and the areas which have proved less fruitful. For a number of reasons the chapter will focus on two plans rather than generalise around a greater number, The two plans considered are The Gentle Giant who Shares and Cares - Craigmillar's comprehensive plan for action prepared by the Craigmillar Festival Society, Edinburgh, 1978.

INTRODUCTION cont.

(d) cont.

The other plan considered is The People's Plan for the Royal Docks prepared by the Newham Docklands Forum with the assistance of the Greater London Council popular planning unit. Hopefully, a detailed analysis of the two plans will draw out useful pointers to the special features of such plans.

(e) The final chapter will return to the original objectives and to the estate under consideration to examine how effective a People's Plan by a community group would be. The chapter will go on to consider the ways in which community groups can be effective in influencing the statutory planning process: in effect whether planning can take place from the bottom up, and how local groups can be involved effectively in the public participation exercise. Finally, drawing from the earlier analysis, recommendations are made about what should be included in the People's Plan and the ways in which it could be used and implemented. The findings of earlier chapters regarding the area's development history, the activities in the area over the past five years, what is happening regarding difficult to let estates generally and the experience of other groups which have attempted similar exercises, will be incorporated. The chapter will further discuss current proposals by the local authorities which have been brought forward with a view to reducing deprivation in the estate. It will go on to suggest an alternative agency for dealing with the estates, and also make specific recommendations as to how the private sector could be involved, particularly in the supply of finance.

INTRODUCTION cont.

The community group which was referred to in the first paragraph of this introduction is the Easterhouse Festival Society.

Individuals connected with this Society have promoted the "People's Plan" under the umbrella organisation of the Greater Easterhouse Executive.

Easterhouse is a large peripheral housing estate on the north eastern outskirts of Glasgow, approximately five miles from the city centre. The population in the local plan area is 47,000, the majority of whom reside in 3/4 storey tenement flats. The amenities and facilities of the area are poor, with limited shopping and other social facilities. Unemployment is above the national average, 33.9% compared with 19.2% for the Glasgow district, and 15.5% for Strathclyde region. (Strathclyde Areas for Priority Treatment, Page 42). Other indicators of deprivation are also higher than similar figures for the district and region.

While it is one particular estate, unique in many respects, that has been considered, it is hoped that the study will be of interest to a wider audience and particularly to those concerned with other estates where renewal is required.

CHAPTER I

History

The Early Years - 1978

CHAPTER I

Easterhouse is an area on the eastern outskirts of the city of Glasgow. It has a population of approximately 47,000 housed in 3 and 4 storey tenement blocks. Easterhouse is most famous for what it does not have. Until comparatively recently it was a "dry area" with no licensed premises, there were few shops in relation to the size of catchment area, and there were very few employment opportunities available locally. The estate was constructed to meet a housing need. The chapter will discuss the background leading up to the decision to build Easterhouse from 1919, and thereafter consider why it was constructed the way it was, and what has happened since its construction until 1978.

1919 - 1945

The Report of the Royal Commission on housing in Scotland in 1917 marked a milestone in housing in Scotland.

"These are the broad results of our surveys; unsatisfactory sites of housing and villages, insufficient supplies of water, unsatisfactory provision of drainage, grossly inadequate provision for the removal of refuse, wide spread absence of decent sanitary conveniences, the persistence of the unspeakably filthy privy-midden in many of the mining areas, badly constructed, incurably damp labourers' cottages on farms, whole townships unfit for human occupation in the crofting counties and islands, primitive and casual provision for many of the seasonal workers, gross overcrowding and huddling of the sexes together in the congested villages and towns, occupation of one roomed houses by large family groups of lightless and unventilated houses in the older boroughs, clotted masses of slums in the great cities".

(Report of the Royal Commission on Housing of the Industrial Population Scotland. Cmd HMSO 1917).

Following the publication of the report, interest in the provision of suitable housing was increased. Concern about the very poor conditions that the significant number of people were having to endure was expressed, and action started to remedy the situation. The 1919 Housing Town Planning Etc. (Scotland) Act (Addison Act) was passed, which provided subsidies for Local Authorities to construct houses, and placed an obligation on Local Authorities to consider the housing needs in their areas. Prior to 1919 Local Authorities only had regulatory powers to control undesirable unfit housing, but did not have any ability to involve itself positively in the provision of housing. The change brought about was a major one.

For the first time an Act of Parliament provided subsidies for housing and, in doing so, recognised that many families could not secure decent housing without assistance.

"Ever since then the provision of a decent minimum standard of accommodation at subsidised cost has been accepted as a responsibility of central and local government".

(Fisher 1968.)

Again, for the first time, politicians were able to do something positive about their biggest problem. The problem had many facets in Glasgow. It was not solely one of the stock being in poor condition; the rents being charged by the landlords seeking a better return of their investments were onerous on their tenants, the majority of whom were low wage earners. Employers, particularly the ship yard owners, were unable to attract a labour force as there was no suitable housing in Clydebank, and so the lack of suitable housing was having a detrimental affect on employment. There was a further problem in that "War Heroes" returning required housing, which simply exacerbated the problem. The poor health and other issues all directly related to housing, which gave politicians the motive and will to act.

Under the 1919 Act Glasgow Corporation decided to construct 57,000 new houses, 21,000 of which were to relieve overcrowding, 15,000 to meet normal population growth and 5,500 to aid demobbed service men (Fisher 1968). Further acts followed in 1923 and 1924. Both were refinements of the 1919 Act. They gave subsidies to private developers to construct houses as long as they satisfied the building regulations. Under the 1923 Act 8,156 housing units were built in Glasgow and 21,586 housing units were constructed under the 1924 Act (Glasgow Corporation Review of Operations 1947). The majority of houses being constructed were tenemental in style.

The Greenwood Act of 1930 was the next major act. This was enacted primarily to clear the slum areas and not solely to provide additional housing stock. Subsidies of £2 10/- for 40 years each person rehoused from a clearance or slum area were made. As it gave a grant for each person being rehoused it was particularly successful in rehousing large families. 21,606 houses were constructed as a result of the 1930 Act (Glasgow Corporation Review of Operations 1947).

In the period 1930 until the outbreak of the Second World War a proliferation of acts appeared, modifying the amounts of subsidies given to Local Authorities. They also changed slightly in direction from simply providing better new accommodation to establishing a combined slum clearance and new built programme.

#### The Post War Era

It is in the post war period that the peripheral estates were constructed, and it is therefore a period of relevance and interest to the study. Plans for a house building programme to be started, as and when the war finished, were being considered in 1943/44. During the 1919 - 1940 period the role of the Local Authority as a house provider, and the role of central government in providing finance for house building was firmly established. The plans being made during the war years were at national and regional levels.



National plans set the global sum of dwellings to be constructed. These included temporary prefabricated dwellings to be supplied by central government and also dwellings to be constructed by the Local Authority to meet general needs. In 1944 the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee produced two reports. The first with recommendations about better layout, size and standard of construction of new houses was Planning our New Homes (SHAC. HMSO 1944). The second report contained advice on the planning of new estates, Distribution of New Homes in Scotland (Cmd 6552). The latter report was most interesting as an attempt at integrated community planning. It suggested housing and industrial development should be linked, and also suggested that subsidies should be available for housing persons moving into an area where they worked, or where work was available for them. Until this point subsidies were only available for intra regional moves, i.e. the rehousing of persons displaced through slum clearance programmes.

At the regional level two documents were produced, which were contradictory rather than complementary. They were the Corporation of Glasgow First Planning Report 1945 (Bruce Plan) and the Clyde Valley Plan 1946 (Abercrombie Plan). The Secretary of State set up the Clyde Valley planning advisory committee in 1943 to establish a plan for the region. Patrick Abercrombie and Robert Matthew were commissioned to prepare the plan. Abercrombie's plan recommended the creation of green belt around the city, the aim of which was to restrict ribbon development, and secondly to preserve agricultural land. He proposed that the housing problem that existed, which was one of poor stock and overcrowding, should be dealt with by the designation of five new towns. The city being restricted to a population of 750,000 with densities of 120 persons per acre in the central zone, 90 persons per acre in the intermediate and 60 per acre in the outer zone.

The Bruce Plan was prepared for Glasgow Corporation by the City Engineer and Master of Works. The plan proposed building on the area Abercrombie had suggested as being designated a green belt and developing the city to its outer boundary, the boundary having been extended during the previous 20 years by the inclusion of areas to the north and east of the former city boundaries.

By not adopting a green belt policy it was possible in Bruce's plan to disperse people to the outer zone at a similar density as proposed by Abercrombie, i.e. 60 persons per acre.

It was Bruce's plan that found favour with local M.Ps and Councillors. The major sources of complaints at the time were people dissatisfied with their housing. Bruce's plan would enable a large number of houses to be constructed comparatively cheaply, and thus effectively alleviate this major problem.

The plan was also favourable to the politicians in that it would ensure that votes which had traditionally been Labour Party supporters would not be lost from the city to the new towns. (L. Milne 1979 page 24). It would also help to keep Glasgow's size and position in population terms as second city of the Empire.

And so for a combination of factors the decision to build Easterhouse and the other peripheral estates was taken. Some decision had to be taken which would start to alleviate the overcrowding that was prevalent in the city. The very poor condition of the housing stock made matters worse, and associated with these difficulties was a high incidence of disease. But the decision that was taken at that time has not led to all the problems associated with housing being eradicated, but rather to them being transferred, if not in whole, at least in part to reappear at a later date in the peripheral estates.

So what went wrong? Or is it simply an incurable problem? The decision to build was taken in the light of the background outlined earlier. Before going on to discuss present conditions as they developed in Easterhouse, the chapter will look at why it was built the way it was. At the time a number of planning advice documents were available (some referred to earlier) but went largely unheeded. Three issues will be discussed :-

1. Why the estate is of single tenure.
2. Why it is predominantly 3 apartment flats contained in 3/4 storey tenement blocks.
3. Why the estate is lacking other amenities.

Tenure

There are 15,000 dwellings in the Easterhouse local plan area (Glasgow District Council Local Plan Survey Report) of which 97% are owned by the District Council and are let or vacant (CES paper 23). This is compared with Scottish housing tenure where 36.8% of dwellings are owner occupied (BSA Housing Tenure 1983 Table 2.2) and with the Strathclyde Housing Tenure where 31% are owner occupied, 61% being in the public rented sector and 8% being in the private rented sector (BSA 1983 Table 2.3). At the time of planning the area, no provision was made for the inclusion of any other tenure except Local Authority renting. L. Milne (1979) suggests two ideological reasons why such vast numbers of council houses were constructed :-

1. "Political empire building i.e. vote catching in the same way that Harold McMillan encouraged a "numbers" game to assure a national Conservative majority in the 1950's. A similar model may be applied to local labour councillors in Glasgow. By building new estates on the periphery, especially for the traditional labour vote, the party could ensure concentrations of "safe seats" and so help the corporation labour party to maintain overall control of the city".
2. Socialist Ideology

This explanation entails the idea that renting from the Local Authority was a truly "socialist alternative" to uncertainties and inequalities associated with private renting and owner occupation, both being synonymous with "private property". The explanation implies a sense of social justice as the dominant rationale". (L. Milne 1979). He goes on to say that "there is no real evidence available to support either of these two theories with both major political parties anxious to discredit the other in manifestos and publications and to offer platitudes for past misdeeds" but it seems likely there is truth in both explanations.

Tenure - continued

While the above are no doubt part of the reason for the single tenure existing in Easterhouse, other likely reasons exist.

An alternative theory would be that the houses were constructed because of an acute need which had to be solved in as short a time as possible which gave the Local Authority the will. The subsidies available from central government were at the time predominantly only available to Local Authorities (R.D. Crammond 1976). This gave them the finance to construct the houses. The incentives available to private developers were to come later, after the estate was planned, and construction had commenced. And so it was a party political decision that led to the estate being single tenure as opposed to what was suggested in particular in the Clyde Valley Plan, that the estate should be integrated with existing communities and be of mixed tenure, a technical/ planning suggestion.

The fact that it is a single tenure is also partly due to the fact that decisions relating to the planning and construction of Easterhouse were taken by local councillors who were influential, and had in mind as a back cloth to the decision making, the very real problems of the constituents needs and their own political future.

Tenement Construction and Number of Apartments

Of the 15,000 residential flats in Easterhouse 84% are contained in tenement flats (Housing Management Records - Glasgow District Council Local Plan Survey 1980) 68% of these are 3 apartment flats, 22% being 4 apartment flats (Opit). The limited range of housing types available is a contributory factor to the high number of requests for transfers out of Easterhouse. It is an issue raised in the Local Plan Survey Report. It was against good planning practice to create such a vast area with a mono type of property. But against good practice, it was done and exists today. Again there are a number of reasons.

Tenement Construction and Number of Apartments continuedHousing Subsidies.

The subsidies available to Local Authority under various housing acts from 1944 - 1964 were given with the object of inducing local authorities and individuals to build houses. During the period, thirteen Acts of Parliament received Royal Assent. Each varied slightly the provision of subsidies. At the time Easterhouse was being developed a major commitment had been given to eradicate slums and to rapidly increase the number of new houses constructed in a year. The subsidies available made it most advantageous financially to construct 3 apartment flats and so 3 apartment flats were constructed. As the families being re-housed were generally moving out of traditional single end, 2 apartment tenement flats, their new homes were an improvement, and so there was no reason to protest against them.

There was Central Government advice produced in the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee report of 1944 which recommended that in slum clearance programmes the tenement form of house type should be adopted. The 'modern tenement' as it was described (presumably to remove any connotations linking it with existing stone built tenements) was specified in detail. The need for communal facilities and landscaped open areas around the block was emphasised.

The use of tenements as opposed to semi-detached/terraced houses or bungalows containing the same number of apartments was adopted again, partly for financial subsidy reasons. More housing units could be constructed at less cost to the Local Authority utilising tenements than any other form of construction. But whilst it may have been against good planning practice, the fact the subsidies were available for this type of construction overruled.

Land and Density

The only land available for the construction of the number of houses required by the city was in the outer zone, the area Abercrombie designated as green belt. This area was now coming under increasing attack. With construction taking place in the area, the only form of building that could satisfy the density requirements of 60 persons per acre, as determined by Bruce and Abercrombie, was the 3/4 storey tenement.

Desired form of Dwelling

Finally there was a further reason for the use of tenemental properties. It was considered the desired form of dwelling. In Bruce's report of 1945 it states "any proposal plan on the basis of "no more tenements" would utterly fail to cater for the class of people who would always choose a good tenement dwelling to a house with a garden. Such a basis of planning would have further weaknesses. It would assuredly hinder the rate at which dwellings could be provided at a time when a house famine exists".

(Glasgow Corporation 1945). The case for the tenement dwelling was further emphasised in the same report on layout grounds "Density and Houses Versus Flats both meet on the common ground of allocation of open space about buildings. The smaller area for dwelling required for flats and likewise the smaller road requirements results in there being for a given number of persons a higher proportion per acre of open space available, when flats are built instead of houses. Thus building up secures a more open layout and more compact servicing". (Glasgow Corporation 1945).

There is no single reason for the use of tenements. The major one was undoubtedly the subsidies that were available at the time, and the fact that it is possible to construct more house units in a shorter period of time in utilising this form of construction.

### Lack of Amenities

The Clyde Valley plan put forward, among other recommendations for community planning, that in the new communities a township centre should be phased in with the housing development. Further, that where possible the new scheme should be attached to/integrated with existing developments. However, in spite of the recommendations for a township centre in Easterhouse, one was not constructed until approximately 15 years after the estate was built. Other community facilities were slow to appear, many not arriving until the 1970's. Reasons for the lack of amenities are similar to the other issues discussed earlier. The estates were constructed to solve "a housing problem", the solution adopted being to construct homes. Community/Shopping facilities were not considered so important. Certainly subsidies and incentives were not available for the construction of shopping facilities. Presumably the developers of the centre wanted as large a catchment population as possible prior to constructing the centre, and so the phasing of the township centre was left until the estate was nearing completion.

It was a further instance of available advice not being taken, and the estate was constructed primarily consisting of 3/4 apartment flats all owned and let by the Local Authority with limited facilities available.

The chapter will now outline what happened after the estate was built, until 1978 "A period of decline" as described by L. Milne in his dissertation.

Easterhouse was constructed over the period from October 1956 until September 1974. The major part of the estate was constructed in the late 1950's, early 1960's, with the latter part being constructed in the early 1970's. The estate layout was designed primarily by architects from the Housing Division of the City's Architectural & Planning Department. Construction of the early stages was undertaken at a fast pace, with quality of construction being secondary. The first tenants moved in in 1956/57.

L. Milne identified four periods in his model of decline in peripheral estates in Glasgow. The first period is prior to the estate being constructed. His classifications and time period will be utilised in discussing the other three periods identified; viz 1956/65, period of optimism; 1965/70 poor reputation; 1971/78 spiralling decline.

#### 1956/65

The first tenants moving in were generally coming from the city centre where their living conditions had been intolerable. To be able to enjoy a new flat with 3 or 4 apartments which was dry and bright, with an inside WC, was a privilege which many did not expect to enjoy. The estate was on the outskirts of the city, open farmland lay beyond the houses, and this provided an area for children to play in and explore, a new delight. The houses were new and many of the defects in construction were latent. The decoration was fresh. The area was underpopulated at this stage. The high densities were not reached until later. It was a period of euphoria for the new residents. Combined with the new living environment was a period of low unemployment locally and nationally, the employment partly being available at the nearby Queenslie Industrial Estate, or in the Glasgow area generally. Employment in Glasgow involved some travelling, but it was a small inconvenience to suffer in order to enjoy the benefits of an improved living environment. During the early days the facilities and amenities were poor, but as building work was still taking place it was quite reasonable to assume that the amenities and facilities would soon appear.

The second half of the period 1960-64 was a slightly different story, when the euphoria and optimism started to wane. The promised shopping facilities did not materialise. The inconvenience caused by the lack of these and other amenities can only be accepted for a limited period of time before frustration sets in. Other negative signs started to show, and early expressions of decline were evidenced. The child population was growing. Inadequate play facilities meant new "play" areas were discovered by the children themselves.



(10)  
EASTERHOUSE TOWNSHIP CENTRE TAXI RANK. An indication of the lack of shopping facilities in the area that taxi's have to be used.



EASTERHOUSE TOWNSHIP CENTRE. The Microbus. A new alternative to the taxi.



Slogans and graffiti started to appear, woods nearby were denuded of their trees. Timber fences disappeared to provide fuel for house fires. Care for the common parts of the tenement blocks decreased. The pride the tenants had earlier taken was not so evident. Examples of this were with common stairs which went unwashed, people "forgot to take their turn". Less care was taken with the disposal of refuse. The arrangements for refuse disposal were less than ideal, which exacerbated the problem. It was in this period that the first tenants started to move out, particularly to the new towns, where shopping and other facilities were available, along with employment and housing.

Unemployment started to rise in this period, both locally and nationally. Meanwhile, as from the start of the letting process, an over-emphasis was made in allocation to the manual working classes income groups, which gave a socio-economic imbalance in the population structure. The effects of this were starting to be seen, but would be more evident later, particularly in the unemployment rates on the estate, compared with the other areas of Glasgow.

#### 1965/70 Period of Poor Reputation

By thistime all euphoria had evaporated and the estate was attracting attention for what it lacked, for the violence that was becoming more prevalent, for its high child population and for the fact that it was now difficult to get out of. The transfer list was growing, with people trying to move out for good. It was however difficult even to get out of the estate to other parts of the city for a short time, as bus services had to be used. They were often not reliable. Although assurances that a shopping centre would be constructed were still being made, no centre arrived. These factors combined to ensure that the decline was well established. The estate's reputation was now spreading so that it had become an undesirable place to live, and requests for transfers into the estate were consequently lower. It is only those with little option who were more or less forced to accept a house in the area. This contributed to the widespread feeling of hopelessness. This was manifest as even less care was taken of the fabric of flats, and the surrounding areas.

1965/70 Period of Poor Reputation continued

The child population increased significantly, which put a greater pressure on the local environment as the search for new and varied play facilities increased. The play facilities were only one of many facilities lacking, according to Graham Noble, a youth leader on the scheme. "By 1970 there were no public toilets, no public washhouse, no banks, no cinema, no theatre, no public dance hall, no government offices, no internal transport system, no community centre, no cafes or restaurants, and no shopping centre." The effect of the lack of facilities in part was responsible for the gang violence that started. A BBC TV 24 hours report in July 1968 showed "live" gang fights on the estate. The area was being commented on by national newspapers, which did not help stem the decline.

There were very few effective measures being taken to halt the decline at this stage. The housing stock which formed the major land use was getting minimal maintenance. This was partly because the cost of repaying the loan debt on the houses sapped the housing department's resources, but also the problem was on such a scale that even if resources had been available, a very major effort would have had to be made to make a noticeable impact. It was becoming such a fast growing problem that it was not possible to contain it.

1970/78 The Period of Spiralling Decline

The community facilities arrived during this period, but were concentrated in certain areas of the estate, and do not effectively serve the whole of the estate. However, they do help to alleviate some of the inconvenience that has been endured. The major problem by this time is that there are a significant number of vacant houses, which themselves are unsightly, and give a ghost town effect to certain areas. But the major problem with them is they become targets for vandalism and become vacant/derelict houses. Houses that are still occupied are becoming increasingly difficult to maintain as the Local Authority's hard pressed finances are now to be further pressed as a result of the effects of inflation. Unemployment at this time increases.

1970/78 The Period of Spiralling Decline continued

The 1971 Census showed a rate of 13.7% in the area, which compares with a rate of 4.2% nationally (1971 Census). Another indication of deprivation, over-crowding, was also high, caused partly as unemployed people moved back in with their parents. 44.6% of people in Easterhouse were living at a density of 1 - 1.5 people per room, nationally it is 7.4%. 21.6% were living at a density of 1.5+ people per room in Easterhouse, nationally it is 1.9% people per room (CES Paper 23 1984). The child population also remained at a comparatively high percentage of total population, 24.3% in Easterhouse, 16.1% nationally. This led to the continuation of problems outlined for the earlier periods, with excessive wear and tear on the local environment. The transfer list for housing changed slightly, with persons now requesting transfers within Easterhouse to the more desirable attractive areas within the estate.

While this decline situation was continuing, attention was being given to the estate's difficulties, particularly by Glasgow District Council, but also by Strathclyde Regional Council. A number of reports were commissioned and produced, these included Housing Plan 1, 1977 and Housing Plan 2, 1978, and a peripheral estate report contained in a report "Glasgow implications of population changes to 1983". The reports did produce a number of recommendations, some of which were implemented, particularly some decentralisation of local authority services. However, they did not make a significant impact on the estate at the time. It was generally the case that the decline continued with little abatement. The major change was that by 1978 the tension was being focused on this, and the other peripheral estates, particularly by Local Authorities, but also by other interested groups. At this time a number of residents' associations and community action groups were being formed and becoming more vocal in expressing their concern for the area.

### Summary

Chapter 1 has been an attempt to set the scene, firstly why the estate of Easterhouse was constructed, where it was constructed, and the way in which it was constructed. Secondly it has tried to outline what happened after the construction took place and the residents moved in. The period up to 1950 was one in which advice has been given out, but for the reasons outlined, a lot of advice was not heeded. With some hindsight it should have been.

If particular recommendations made in the Clyde Valley plan had been heeded, some of the difficulties now existing are unlikely to be present. An example would be that if the advice that any expansion of the city should be linked to existing communities had been heeded, then problems associated by the late arrival of the shopping facilities would not have been so acute. The adoption of the recommendation is likely to have restricted some of the transfers out, particularly the numbers of persons transferring to the new towns is likely to have been less, and it is reasonable to assume that the decline process would have been slowed down, if not stopped entirely. Certain factors which did not help the situation were clearly outwith the local authority's control. Structural unemployment was rising nationally, this combined with inflation as another major factor which had a strong negative effect on the area.

The sheer size of the estate has made it "a big problem" which has made any solutions more difficult to implement. Although there have been pockets of deprivation in smaller estates built at the same time, they have been easier to deal with simply because they were smaller, and required less resources to eradicate the problem. With hindsight it would appear to have been a mistake to construct such a large estate.

Finally it would appear that in the planning of the area, little or no client participation was practised. The incoming residents were not consulted on matters of design, layout and amenities. At the time they were glad to have a new flat, but it would have been interesting to observe what differences would have been incorporated, had they been consulted during the planning period.

Summary continued

The lessons learned, particularly about the mistakes made in the planning of Easterhouse, must be considered prior to any attempt at replanning the area, if a similar disaster is to be avoided.

The experience of the early years of the estate will be further analysed and incorporated into the recommendations in Chapter V.

Chapter II will inquire into what affect central and local government activities in the period 1978 - 1983 have had on the estate, prior to considering the rise and role of the community groups in the period. A variety of community groups now exist, their contribution to estate life will be considered.

Again, the aim of the analysis will be with a view to avoiding past failures but capitalising on past successes in any replanning of the area.

CHAPTER II

1978/1984 - The Turning Point

Introduction

The chapter will look at and discuss some of the events that have taken place in Easterhouse in the years from 1978 to 1984. The area has received over this period of time increasing attention from district and regional councils, from the media and from individuals and organisations based in Easterhouse. There has been considerably more activity in this period, with both local government and community groups making some positive attempt to improve the living environment of the area. The activities will be looked at under the headings of the initiators.

Three main groups have been identified, central government activities; the activities of local government, including both Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council, and finally the role and the activities of community groups will be discussed.



Central Government Activity 1978 - 1984

During the greater part of the period a conservative administration under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher has been in office. Two major factors have emerged during the life of the Government, which have had a significant affect on the Easterhouse area. The two factors are :-

- 1) Reduction in public expenditure.
- 2) Increase in unemployment levels.

1) Reduction in Public Expenditure

This has been done in a number of ways, but the reduction in rate support grant and other financial grants from Central Government to local authorities is what has most affected Easterhouse residents. The residents are almost entirely tenants of Glasgow District Council, and a loss of Central Government Grant income to the Council has had effects on the housing stock, and in turn to the people who live in the houses.

Glasgow District Council state that their subsidies received from Central Government have been reduced from £52.2m. in 1981/2 to £32.0m. in 1983/4 (Glasgow District Council - Annual Housing Review 1983 introduction). The residents of Easterhouse have been affected in a number of ways, but particularly by a reduction in the maintenance of their housing, although as the area has been identified as a 'priority area' they have not been as adversely affected as some other areas within the city. 'Priority areas' have a higher priority in the maintenance programme.

In addition to a slower house maintenance and modernisation programme, with a corresponding worsening of housing conditions, the area has felt the effect of the reduction in public expenditure in other directions, for example, there are a considerable number of voluntary organisations in the area, who have relied in the past on local authorities for funding.

1) Reduction in Public Expenditure cont.

The reduction in public expenditure has resulted in many instances of the grants not being available, or being reduced.

There is a high reliance in the peripheral estates on the local authorities to provide amenities and services. Any extension of these services which requires additional finance has generally not been forthcoming in the period. It has been a period where public sector finance has been scarce.

2) Increase in Unemployment Levels

The Government's aim to reduce both public expenditure and the rate of inflation has, in part, led to an increase in unemployment. The increase in unemployment has particularly affected skilled, semi skilled and unskilled manual workers. Due to the socio/economic imbalances in the population structure, created during the initial letting of the estate, a disproportionately high percentage of Easterhouse residents were engaged in these 'vulnerable' jobs. Nationally 36.5% are classified as skilled manual workers, the corresponding percentage for Easterhouse is 45.1% (1971 Census, quoted in C.E.S. Paper 23, Table 5).

So the national increase in unemployment has been very acutely felt in places such as Easterhouse, where there is a high proportion of the population reliant on labour intensive industries. The effect on the area has been an increase in unemployment from 13.7% in 1971 to 27.3% in 1981. This compares with national figures of 4.2% and 8.8% respectively (1971 & 1981 Census figures, quoted in C.E.S. Paper 23, Tables 5 & 3).

The fact that over a quarter of the population who would normally be in employment are now unemployed brings changes to an area. Strains develop where increased pressure is brought on limited facilities.

Certain measures have been taken by Central Government to alleviate the adverse affects e.g. the Youth Training Schemes - but they have not been a real substitute for the lost employment.

Local Government Activity

A number of major reports with specific implications for Easterhouse have been produced over the period both by Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council. The reports produced have generally had implications for both councils, as both are responsible for providing Easterhouse with its services.

Strathclyde Regional Council Activities and Initiatives affecting the Easterhouse Area

During the period 1978 to 1984 Regional council have produced a number of major reports which have implications for the Easterhouse area. These would include the 1981 Structure Plan, Consultative Draft, 1983; The "Social Strategy for the 80's", produced in 1983, some revision and amendments to the Area For Priority Treatment (APT documents). A further more specific report affecting Easterhouse was the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative produced by the Department of Education to take effect from August 1984.

Of interest to this study are the Social Strategy for the 80's and the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative.

Social Strategy for the 80's

The strategy was partly a review of its policies for dealing with multiple deprivation which was established in Autumn 1976, and partly a redefining and commitment to dealing with the problems associated with multiple deprivation.

In the review of the first six years they make a big proviso in their summary. They state "we did not expect to solve the problems of the west of Scotland in six years - not least because their sources lie in the employment and housing fields". (Page 5). The document appears to lay the blame for poor allocation policies leading to an imbalance in the population structure at the door of the district council housing departments and Scottish Special Housing Association, who have concentrated disadvantaged families in selected areas.

Social Strategy for the 80's continued

Regarding employment they see their role as somewhat restricted in view of the problem being structural. The report is effective in highlighting the problems of multiple deprivation and how it presents itself in the area in its various facets, from birth weight to life expectancy. (In Easterhouse 46.1 infants per thousand die in the first year of life, compared to 10.9 per thousand in Bishopbriggs - Page 18; the age specific death rates for Bearsden are 30% below the national average, in the peripheral estates it is 31% above). The view of the past six years states "there seems little doubt that we have too easily assumed that .....

The act of delineating certain APT's .....

saying we would do better .....

asking local officials and activists .....

to use urban programme money to produce more relevant programmes would produce the desired changes. We have probably expected too much of local initiatives and certainly have not provided enough support for them. On the other hand, our approach has produced encouraging programmes which give us the good practice examples we can now replicate". (Page 34).

Regarding the future, five areas of strategic concern outlined in 1976 are to be continued. These are poverty, health, housing, employment and community development. They further outline key policy areas which they consider will assist the strategy, these being adult education; pre fives; elderly/youth services; services to the unemployed and single parents. They plan to carry forward these concerns by providing three elements viz clear objectives, a property level of resources and the commitment of time and energy. The report goes on to discuss the role of the area based approach as to where the resources will come from to make a commitment, with three conditions - that time is made available, appropriate skills are available and that training opportunities are created. The report is refreshingly blunt, and very readable. Its effects are probably restricted, due to cutbacks in finance. It would appear that the report is partly responsible for the social and economic initiative, which will be discussed more fully in Chapter 5.

### Technical and Vocational Education Initiative

The initiative to be launched in Easterhouse is an attempt to tailor the education available to the needs of the student clients. The education offered is an attempt to give pupils job specific education and skill. While continuing with core subjects such as English and Maths, an opportunity for 250 pupils to study subjects including product enterprise, commerce business and administration, catering marketing and resource management, manufacturing construction and maintenance skills and organisation, leisure and outdoor pursuits and organisation and skills in the home and personal social services are being offered. The initiative is an interesting one as it is an attempt to address the specific problems of Easterhouse. It is too early to monitor the affects of the scheme.

The introduction of a scheme such as the technical and vocational education initiative could lead to the stigmatisation of the estate increasing. The fact that it has a "special" education system differing from the normal could highlight the disadvantages of the area, and go against the grain of making the estate more akin to a medium sized town.

### Glasgow District Council Activities and Initiatives affecting the Easterhouse Area

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Glasgow District Council have a peculiar responsibility and involvement in Easterhouse, as they are the landlord to 97% of the residents in the area, an unusually high percentage for such a large area. These are outlined and discussed below.

In September 1978 the District Council (Housing Policy Review Group) produced a report entitled "Implications of population changes to 1983". The report discussed what the effect would be if the trend of outmigration until 1978 were to continue until 1983. Two population projections were made, and these were combined with the transfer requests for district council housing to predict what surplus housing would result in both city wide and particularly in the peripheral estates if these trends continued.

Glasgow District Council Activities and Initiatives affecting the  
Easterhouse Area cont.

The figures for Easterhouse produced were a "low vacancy" rate of 27.2%, a "high vacancy" rate of 40.2%. Assuming a total housing stock of 15,047 units in the Easterhouse area, adopting the high vacancy rate projected that in 1983 8,998 units would be occupied with 6,049 being vacant.

The "1983" report was based on the assumption that no additional activity to make the peripheral estates more attractive was taken. The trend, if allowed to continue uncontrolled, would have very serious financial, physical and social consequences for the areas. Following the production of the "1983" report the District Council housing policy review group made a renewed and firm commitment to the peripheral estates. The recommendation was passed by the group that "The Council would try to reproduce in each of the peripheral estates the character and esprit of a medium sized town by endeavouring to make the estate desirable enough to attract and hold people of all classes in socio-economic terms. The more ambitious and trusting members of the existing communities to be given the chance to satisfy their ambitions within the townships to be created". (Glasgow District Council Minutes, Print 7) Appendix II 1978/9. They went on to make a number of recommendations as to how the goal might be achieved as far as housing was concerned (see Appendix II).

The recommendation that the character and esprit of a medium sized town be created was one which was to run through the majority of the reports, produced not only by the district, but also by the regional council thereafter. The goal is referred to frequently in the local plan documents. The local plan for the area has been in the process of being prepared since 1979.

Local Plan - (To date)

The following parts of the local plan process have been undertaken :-

- 1) Preparation of the survey report in August 1980. This highlighted the main issues and was used as a document to promote further discussion.
- 2) Publication of an issues document highlighting the issues raised in the survey report and containing a questionnaire for return to the planning department.
- 3) Publication of a report on "public participation" in February 1981. This summarised the responses to the questionnaire and reported in detail the proceedings of the Easterhouse strategy group meetings. The Easterhouse strategy group was composed of Regional/District Councillors (4), Region/District Council Officials (26), Community Representatives (39).
- 4) Preparation but not publication of a draft local plan discussion document in January 1984. The preparation of this document was delayed initially as the Strathclyde Region Structure Plan was being revised. A decision on the policy to be adopted regarding the release of undeveloped land for industry and private housing was being considered. The outcome of that policy decision would have had a major impact on proposals for the local plan area, and therefore the discussion document has not yet been released publically, although a draft copy has been made available for restricted reference purposes.

The aim of the housing policy review group to create the character and esprit of a medium sized town within the peripheral estate is central to most discussions within the local plan documents produced to date. Most of the issues raised in this survey report are linked to this over-riding aim.

Appendix I comprises a full summary of issues as detailed in the local plan survey report. These are contained under nine topic issues.

- 1) Population/

Local Plan - (To date) cont.

- 1) Population Issues
- 2) Housing Issues
- 3) Economic Activity and Employment Issues
- 4) Shopping Issues
- 5) Education Issues
- 6) Community Health and Social Facilities  
Issues
- 7) Leisure and Recreation Issues
- 8) Traffic and Transport Issues
- 9) Urban Design Issues
- 10) Countryside Issues
- 11) Vacant Land Issues

The survey report discusses measures which could be taken to eradicate some of the problems associated with issues, the aim being to create the character of the medium sized town, while at the same time addressing itself to the problems of unemployment, poverty, inadequate housing and poor amenities, and facilities generally.

It would appear that the local plan exercise has made a realistic attempt at public participation in the local plan process. A considerable number of individuals and community groups from the Local Plan area have been actively involved in the process, and their responses to the issues raised have been noted. However, the failure to produce a local plan document has led to some frustration, and an attitude that the exercise was a charade, and a placebo to the participation lobby when no planning document incorporating the views and desires of the community has been produced some four years after the responses were taken. The Public Participation exercise then had the opposite effect to that which was intended, in that after having given of their time to become involved in the process, they realised they have been part of a meaningless exercise which has not produced any tangible or very direct results.



Local Plan - (To date) cont.

On balance however there are a few issues raised which have been tackled and undertaken already, prior to the final local plan document being produced.

An example of the above is an issue raised under consideration of urban design in the local plan survey report. Item 10.5 referring to the landscape as it relates to the built up areas, comments on the fact "there are a few mature trees scattered throughout the area". Where groups of mature trees exist they do contribute significantly to the quality of the adjacent areas ..... even in these locations. However, it will be necessary to reinforce with new planting, as many of the larger trees are old and decaying". The issue was raised and is contained in the report on public participation, where the group looks specifically at the issue "what provision should be made for the reinforcing of mature tree grouping in the housing area?" (Page 10). The report summarises the view as being "it was generally agreed that the retention and reinforcing of existing tree groups in the housing area was desirable and that proposals should be brought forward to deal with this". The discussions have come to fruition, a report in the Glasgow Herald of 15th January 1985 under the heading "tree programme at two housing estates" gives details of the public unveiling of the plan. The press report runs:-

"plans to plant trees in two of Glasgow's most deprived areas have been approved by the city councillors".

At a cost of £25,000 two pilot schemes at Easterhouse and Nitshill are expected to make a significant improvement to those areas and relieve the monotony of tenement architecture.

City planners say areas of rough grassland around high flats in peripheral estates are generally perceived as inhospitable and devoid of visual interest.

Local Plan - (To date) cont.

As well as being a cost effective method of landscaping, Glasgow District Council says trees can bring a number of benefits to an area, including the softening of harsh architectural forms and the screening of unsightly land. More significantly, woodland planting can assist the development of community spirit, says the planners."

The appearance of trees may go some way to satisfying the participants in the local plan exercise that their efforts have borne some fruit. It is also noticeable that a number of other issues and items raised and discussed have appeared, perhaps coincidentally or significantly, in other documents. An example of which would be an issue discussing the widening of tenure choice, where the opinion was that some attempt should be made to offer a wider choice of tenure within the estate. A fairly radical decision was made by the district council to initiate a homesteading scheme, which was referred to earlier, where vacant tenement blocks were sold into the private sector.

The local plan has been a document which has been awaited with some interest, and if and when produced, would have been a significant planning event in the history of the estate. The non-production of the final local plan appears to continue the trend where the local authority's management of the estate has left some room for improvement.

Glasgow District Council Housing Initiatives

As stated earlier, Glasgow district council have an unusual and fairly unique role to play, as they are landlord to approximately 97% of the population, which is approximately 47,000 people. It is unusual for a housing department to have such a concentrated involvement on such a large scale. Following the "1983" report, which gave implications on population changes to 1983, the district council have looked carefully at their policy towards their housing stock.

Glasgow District Council Housing Initiatives cont.

Two major changes have taken place : one has been an abandonment to a large extent of redevelopment. At one time the "solution" to the peripheral estates had been large scale demolition. Some demolition did take place in Easterhouse and Priesthill, but the redevelopment option was not pursued. There has been a greater emphasis on management since Housing Plan Three introduced by the council in 1980, when an "alternative strategy" was adopted. The principal elements of the strategy were :-

- (a) Increased emphasis on efficient, effective and enlightened housing management.
- (b) The distribution of available resources in such a way as to maintain and improve as many areas and dwellings as possible.
- (c) Making optimum use of existing stock by :
  1. Reducing the number of vacant dwellings.
  2. Where possible, matching the patterns of household size and dwelling size throughout the city by opportunity conversion of vacant dwellings, and
  3. Protecting the investment the existing stock represents by adequately repairing and maintaining it.
- (d) Greater choice for council tenants in deciding how money which is available for the improvement of their home is spent.
- (e) Harnessing the resources of the private sector to meet the council's housing policy objectives.

Within Easterhouse the objectives have been pursued with a greater emphasis on management. Revised management arrangements have been adopted devolving more control to local offices (Annual Housing Review, Page 373). However the cut backs in local authority expenditure have frustrated and restricted many of the plans. One however of note that has taken place has been the "homesteading scheme" which was adopted in the Lochend district.

### Homesteading

In January 1981, 215 properties in the Lochend and Glenelg Quadrant, which were in a poor state of repair and were largely vacant, were made wind and water tight, and then sold on the open market. There is a condition attached to the sale that the purchasers will carry out specified repairs within a certain time limit. Improvement grants were made available for the work. Within a comparatively short period of time, all the properties were sold.

An analysis of the experiment was published by Glasgow District Council in research memorandum number 2, "Homesteading at Glenelg Quadrant Easterhouse" January 1983. The report shows that approximately 50% of the purchasers came from Easterhouse itself. 40% are in the skilled manual socio-economic group, with approximately 60% being aged between 20 and 30 years. The average income of the purchaser being £5,500, although a number had an income of only £2,700. While the scheme was a success, in that it was quickly taken up, it affected such a small proportion of the total stock there has not been a significant affect on the whole estate.

In a further attempt to provide an alternative tenure a cleared site extending to 12.2 hectares was marketed for an architect/developer competition in late 1981. Two entries were received, both of which were a high standard. One of the competitors was invited to enter into a development agreement for the implementation of the proposals. A planning application has now been submitted for 559 houses on the estate, although to date no construction has taken place.

There have been very few sales under the right to buy legislation within the area, which again would have had the effect of widening the tenure choice. It is not surprising however that in view of the low standard of general amenity prevailing in the area, sales have been so few to date.

Homesteading cont.

Regarding the housing stock, comparatively little actual physical activity has taken place on the ground to make a significant impact on the condition of the existing stock, the tenure choice available and any alteration to give a wider choice of accommodation size available. The cut back in the available resources has no doubt been an important factor which has restricted the improvement to the stock.

Summary of Local Authority Initiatives

It is difficult to make an accurate analysis of all local authority initiatives. However, it would appear that there has been an increased interest and concern for the peripheral estates, including Easterhouse, over the period. However, it would appear that it has been a period where analysis has been undertaken and reports produced, rather than action being taken. It can only be hoped that the process leads to tangible results in the ensuing years.

Community Activity

During the period 1978 - 84 a significant development in the estate has been the emergence of strong active and vocal community groups. Demonstration of this fact is illustrated in the local plan exercise when approximately 28 community groups were consulted as part of the local plan public participation exercise, and contributed to the final document. The groups are varied in size and in activity. Their combined effect has been to draw attention to the estate and to represent effectively the interests. The most prominent group has been the Easterhouse Festival Society with its associated organisations.

Easterhouse Festival Society

The society was formed in Autumn 1977, partly as a result of, and with some inspiration from the Craigmillar festival society in Edinburgh. A meeting was called by two community leaders, Jim McCrossand and the Rev. Ron Ferguson.

THE MOSAIC - With no sign of vandalism



THE EASTERHOUSE FESTIVAL SOCIETY OFFICES - A former tenement



Easterhouse Festival Society cont.

The aim of the Society was to "celebrate the life of the community, to raise questions about our community and take action, to give youngsters something to do, to bring all sections of the community together. It would also show the authorities that we as a community appear to organise things for ourselves". The expectation was the festival would allow the community to celebrate its own life; provide a platform for local talent; help the community focus on solutions to its own problems; and help further a change of its own image". (Easterhouse Festival Society 1st annual report 1978).

The first festival was a summer long arts festival in 1978. It included centrally organised events by the society, but also included independently organised events by various groups from the community. The table over gives details of the publicity gained nationally during the first festival.

After the first summer festival, the society diversified, and became involved in other spheres of community life. By 1980, 46 people were employed by the society, which was now involved in various employment creation schemes, in addition to retaining its role as an arts group producing some successful plays, notably a winning Fringe 1st award in the 1979 Edinburgh Festival. The society has continued its aim of "celebrating life in the community". A major employment development step was taken with the establishment of Provanhall Holdings, a community company offering employment opportunities and limited workshop facilities for local individuals. The festival society has received financial support from both the district and regional councils through Urban Aid Funding; from the Scottish Arts Council; from community education and from other groups such as the Gulbenkian Trust.

The society has had a major impact in attracting positive publicity for the area. A major project for which it is closely linked and associated with has been the 'mosaic'. The mosaic is approximately 240 feet long, and it is one of the largest of its type in Britain. It was officially opened in June 1984 with a considerable amount of publicity.

Easterhouse Festival Society cont.

The mosaic had been planned for approximately two years prior to this, and while partly constructed, was exhibited to Princess Diana on a visit to the area. It has been an item which has given the area considerable public publicity, and has shown the estate in a new light.

This has in turn brought the estate to the attention of the local authorities, and has in the opinion of "the voice", a local newspaper, got some "get up and go" which has given the Local Authority some confidence in the community groups and made them prepared in turn to enter into partnership with these community groups and a number of ventures, and in consultation regarding the future of the estate.



List of Publicity Gained Nationally by Easterhouse Festival Society

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<u>DATE</u>	<u>PAPER</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
13/3/78	Evening Times	Photograph of Festival staff & articles giving first news of Festival.
14/3/78	Glasgow Herald	Article headed "Stair Wars" in Easterhouse giving details of parts. Pageant.
15/3/78	Glasgow Herald	"Sword Duel Upsets McCann" article describing Peter McCann's annoyance at being included in Pageant.
14/3/78	Scotsman	Short article describing Festival programme for summer.
March	Seven Days	Short article describing Festival programme for summer.

OPENING EVENT:

1st May	Evening Times	Photographs of Festival Staff in Pageant costumes.
2nd May	Record	Photograph of cast of Pageant and article.
2nd May	Herald	Photograph of Hugh Brown "Wellie Chucking" and article.

FOLK & POETRY:

17/8/78	Evening Times	Article & photographs about Folk Weekend.
23/8/78	Glasgow Herald	Article about Folk Weekend

TELEVISION:

13/3/78	Scotland Today	Filmed "mock-up" rehearsal of Pageant.
1st May	Scotland Today	Film "Welly Chucking"
June	Scotland Today	Repeat of 13th March film to advertise "Helping Hands Competition".
30/8/78	Scotland Today	Entire programme devoted to Festival.

RADIO:

13/3/78	Radio Clyde	Interview with Grace Grant about summer programme.
13/3/78	BBC Radio	Interview with Freddy Anderson about Pageant.

OTHERS: see over

List of Publicity Gained Nationally by Easterhouse Festival Society cont.

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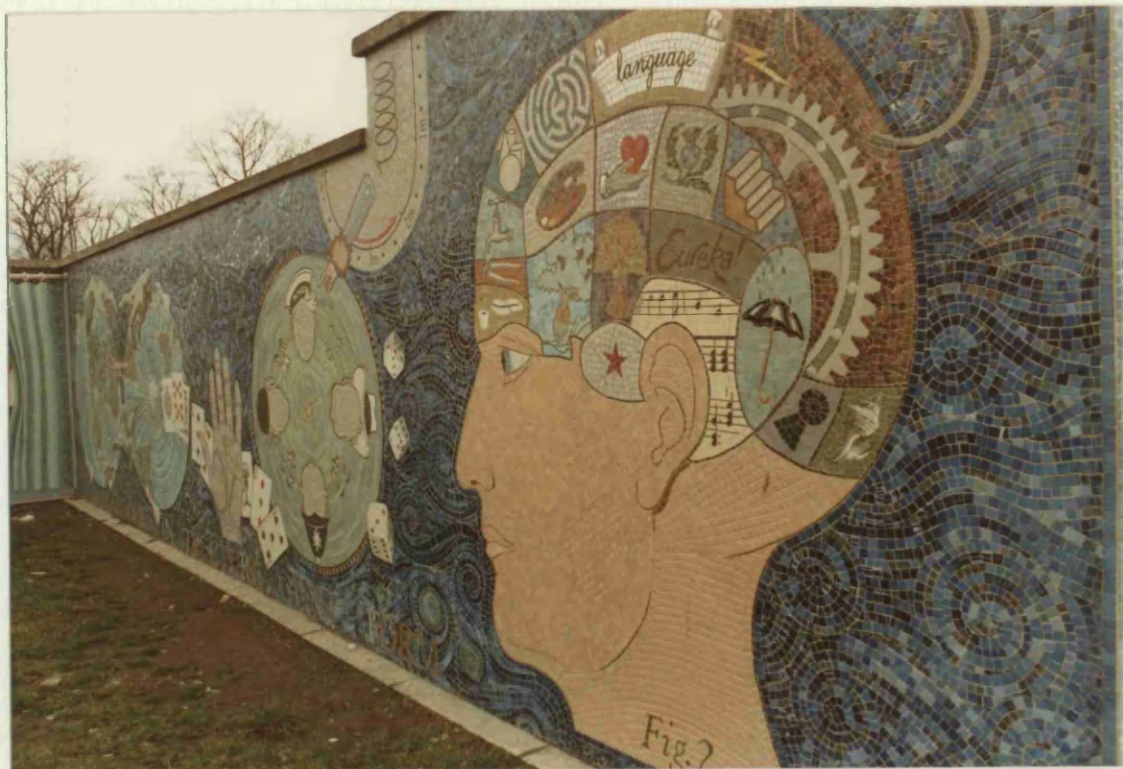
<u>DATE</u>		<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<u>OTHERS:</u>		
October	National Trust for Scotland Newsletter	Photograph & article about Pageant.
<u>ROSTRUM:</u>		
June/July	S.A.C. Calendar	Article
June/July	3rd Eye Centre	Dates of Events.

Source : Easterhouse Festival Society 1st Annual Report.

THE MOSAIC



THE MOSAIC



THE MOSAIC



THE MOSAIC



While the other groups have not had such a high profile as the Festival Society, the community groups have been successful in representing their concerns about various aspects of the deprivation affecting the estate, particularly to the Local Authority, but also to central government. They have had a very positive and major role in giving the community confidence in itself, by identifying and developing skills which have been latent over the past 30 years of the estate's existence. By attracting a better press and encouraging the development of community facilities, they have reduced part of the stigma of residing in the estate, and gone some way to making it a more pleasant place to stay. Community groups obviously have their limitations, particularly with regards to finance, where they are generally relying on grants from local authorities to survive financially.

#### Summary and Conclusion of Chapter II

The chapter has looked at some of the initiatives and proposals that have been instituted in the period 1978 - 1984. In comparison to the previous periods, looked at in Chapter I, there have been an increasing amount of attention focused on the estate, and some incremental changes have taken place. However, to date there has not been a comprehensive re-examination of the living conditions and lifestyle of those residents on the estate, either by national local government or by local groups. Further there has not been a noticeable impact on improving the environment.

The major change that has taken place has been the emergence of strong and effective community groups, which include residents associations, representing the majority of local areas and on a wider front group, such as the Festival Society. They have both increased the community's confidence in itself, but also increased the Local Authority's confidence in the area and by highlighting matters of concern have given them a mandate to act within the area.

Summary and Conclusion of Chapter II cont.

Although it must be stated that to date the visitor to the estate would not notice a tangible difference in the physical environment of the area.

On a smaller scale there are estates with similar problems both in Glasgow, Scotland and the United Kingdom. This study will go on to look at current thinking on policies to deal with "difficult to let estates", and then in Chapter IV to look specifically at how non-statutory bodies such as community groups are being effective in the planning, and in the wider sense, of the estates in which they have an interest.

CHAPTER III

Difficult to let Local Authority Housing

CHAPTER IIIDifficult to let Local Authority Housing

The problem of difficult to let estates has been widely recognised in local and national government since the early 1970's. A number of research projects have been undertaken into the subject, particularly by the Department of the Environment. These projects have concluded with the view that "difficult to let estate have now established themselves as a topic of considerable priority in housing management - one which is likely to engage the attention of the local authorities concerned and the department for some time to come". (Wilson & Burbridge 1978 page 9).

In order to establish the nature and scale of the problem the Department of the Environment undertook a national postal survey of Local Authorities in 1974. The results showed that just below one third of housing authorities reported having at least one difficult to let estate built since the war. Further, approximately 50% of problem estates were found to have been built since 1965, and 75% were in the form of flats and maisonettes (Wilson & Burbridge 1978).

Whilst the problem is wide spread geographically, and presents itself in various ways, there is the common end result that the properties are difficult for the Local Authority to let. This chapter will discuss some of the factors which have led to estates becoming difficult to let, and then go on to outline some of the methods that are being used to overcome the problem, and which could be at least considered in the case of Easterhouse.

Factors leading to Estates becoming Difficult to let

There is no complete list of factors identified that guarantee an estate will be difficult to let. It is a variety of factors in different combinations which will lead to an estate becoming unpopular. Different factors affect different estates in different areas.



Factors leading to Estates becoming Difficult to let cont.

There are however a number of factors which can be identified as occurring on most difficult to let estates, and any combination of factors may affect an individual estate. Although various studies into difficult to let estates have identified slightly varying factors, most would agree on the seven factors that will be discussed in this study. These are :-

- 1) Location
- 2) Type of Dwelling
- 3) Local Services and Amenities
- 4) Management Arrangements
- 5) Size of Estates
- 6) Employment and Poverty
- 7) Reputation

### 1. Location

A factor leading to an estate becoming difficult to let is its location. Many estates which have become difficult to let are found on the periphery of the major towns and cities in Britain. The location of the estate on the periphery of the town generally makes it less accessible to the main facilities of that town which are normally concentrated in the centre. As a result of the slum clearances of the 1930's many local authority estates were established on the periphery of the cities where land was available which was already owned by the Local Authority. While the difficulties particularly of access to the main facilities and also to employment exist, the estate will become less desirable than other estates where such difficulties do not present themselves. In a situation where a prospective tenant has the choice between two properties the location of both will be a major factor to be taken into consideration, in coming to a decision.

In discussing the difficult to let issue it is hard to isolate cause from effect. An example of this regarding location is when one considers Burgess's (1926) "Zone of transition" within his model of urban growth based upon Chicago.

The zone consisted of an area of social disorganisation, with the poorest housing for the poorest people (in the American case the latest immigrants) forced to live alongside various categories of social deviants, hobos, prostitutes and others. The geographical location of the zone was also basic to the model. It was to be found adjacent to and surrounding the central business district and therefore consisted of the oldest housing under the threat of commercial development. The same threat of an ethnic invasion did not affect British cities in the 19th and early 20th century. However, development and growth did spread outwards from the city centre, giving a similar pattern to that observed in the Burgess model. Poor terraced housing could be identified as a zone of transition.

By 1914 the large British cities each had a zone of transition adjacent to the city centre. As discussed in Chapter I, after the first World War a reaction to the poor housing in Britain was the development of working class housing, firstly to overcome general needs and secondly as part of the slum clearing programmes. In Scotland the effect is that approximately 50% of housing in the major cities is council owned. Taylor (1978) argues that the zone of transition is more than merely a housing problem. "Burgess's model is a spatial manifestation of competition for space within the capitalist economic system and inequalities resulting from this system are portrayed spatially and the poverty end of the spectrum is the zone of transition. From this interpretation it is clear that public intervention in housing will not radically alter the structural inequalities, although it might change the spatial manifestation of the inequalities by dispersing the zone of transition. Hence from the 1920's onwards some movement of social problems has occurred outwards as council housing has been built on the edge of British cities". (Kirby 1971 - quoted in Taylor 1978). Damar (1974) also argues the point "in one sense, the slum clearance estates have replaced the very slums whose problems they were meant to eradicate; they contain the detritous of capitalism, the manual working class family with low occupational skills whose problems tend to get swept under the carpet or hidden in a corner".

As stated earlier it is then difficult to distinguish between cause and effect, between the argument that it is the location solely that has caused the estate to become difficult to let, or as to whether it has been a relocation of a concentration of poverty from the city centre to the periphery in the slum clearance programmes. There are obviously merits in both arguments. The locational problem has not proven to be impossible to overcome and all estates in poor locations whether on the periphery, or disadvantaged locally through some other factor, are not necessarily difficult to let. However, for whatever reason, poor location has been identified by a number of studies, particularly the priority estates projects, as being one factor which is likely to cause an estate to become difficult to let.

## 2. Type of Dwelling

Local Authority estates have generally been classified under three categories :

- 1) Cottage estates being comprised of detached, semi-detached and terrace houses with individual gardens, generally 40 plus years old, located on the periphery of the towns.
- 2) Low rise flats (not exceeding 5 storeys), generally 30-50 years old, fairly bland in style.
- 3) Modern concrete complex, generally high density and often constructed using industrialised building methods.

The construction of an estate utilising a particular type of property has not been a safeguard against the estate becoming difficult to let, as there are examples within Britain of all types of property becoming difficult to let. There is however evidence to suggest that the modern concrete complex is the least popular, with the walk up low rise block being next in order of popularity, and the cottage estate being the most popular. The postal survey of local authorities conducted by the Department of the Environment in 1974 showed that approximately two thirds of difficult to let estates were in the form of flats and maisonettes (Wilson & Burbridge - 1978 quoted in Taylor 1978 Page 6). Taylor goes on to argue the point that the cause of the properties becoming difficult to let is that they are difficult to live in, arguing that "a large number of council tenants have suffered from unsuitable accommodation as a side effect of the following processes :

- 1) Competition in the building and construction industries where concentration into fewer large firms was actively encouraged by council housing contracts for large, often industrialised, unit construction (Coonedy 1974 Dunleavy 1977).
- 2) The increased employment of architects by local authorities to design housing, resulting in the incorporation of utilitarian ideas of the modern movement as the professional fashion of the 1950's (Malpass 1975). This mixture of profit and fashion has produced a housing stock which constitutes the majority of the difficult to let estates identified by the Department of the Environment (Taylor 1978 Page 7/8).

The residential flat as a dwelling form has a number of drawbacks for the local authority tenant. A major one is where the tenant has young children, or where the tenant is elderly or physically impaired in any way, and access to the flat becomes difficult. An interesting study was undertaken by Bone (1977) into the areas where children play as determined by the type of dwelling they occupy. The results are shown on the table over. They show that young children in houses play outside with and without an adult far more than children living in flats, particularly those who live on the second floor and above. The time spent indoors obviously creates additional pressures on the parents. A further study by Gittus in 1976 showed that medium and high rise dwellings are not suitable for family living, with an increased number of GP consultations being required for those living within upper storey flats. Particular medical conditions diagnosed were respiratory and physcho neurotic (Fanning 1967 quoted in Taylor 1978).

As Taylor goes on to comment "it is perhaps ironic that the housing reform movement arose out of concern over medical problems in the 19th century, and now, a century later, the public sector has produced a large number of dwellings that generate medical problems".

Elderly people, and those with any form of physical disability also find the flatted dwelling less attractive. More physical effort is required to reach the upper floors, and particularly with high rise blocks, a tenant has to rely on the mechanical lifts being in operation.

TABLE BY BONE 3.1

Housing Type and Outdoor Play Activity (%)

Outdoor play in the preceeding week :	House	Ground floor	Flat/Maisonette/Rooms First floor	Second floor and above
Has not played outside at all	2	5	15	15
Has played but not without adult companion	17	24	37	42
Has played without adult companion	79	71	44	44

Source : Bone (1977)

The lifts themselves are often targets of vandalism and can lead to a person whose mobility is restricted being imprisoned in their flat. Even where the lifts are in operation the risk of malfunctioning causes increased stress which in turn affects the tenants' health.

Other problems associated with residential flats and maisonettes are sound insulation between floor and refuse disposal. As a considerable number were built utilising industrial building methods which had not been adequately tested, problems such as excessive condensation and water ingress via the roof and windows have presented themselves.

### 3) Amenities

Of the 20 estates discussed in the priority estates project survey (Power 1984) 11 had few shopping/social facilities. This appears to be a problem often found on difficult to let estates where the housing was constructed solely to meet a housing need, and was not seen in a wider context, with facilities and an infrastructure, including the adequate provision of full shopping/service centres and other community centres. In Easterhouse the shopping centre did not appear until approximately 20 years after the estate was constructed, and even then transport is required by a considerable number of residents to gain access to the centre. The lack of community and play facilities has led to an erosion in many estates of the physical environment, with children creating their own play areas by utilising whatever is suitable. In these situations trees and other shrubs become particularly vulnerable, leading to a general rundown in appearance of the whole environment. Once established trees become damaged it is very difficult to replace them adequately, as newly planted trees are a lot less robust, and are easier targets for vandals. Again, it is the elderly and the parents with children that are most affected by the lack of facilities where they have long distances to walk when they either have mobility difficulties or small children to cope with.

#### 4) Management

Mis-management of an estate has been identified in most studies as being a factor which has led to the estate becoming difficult to let. Particular areas where mismanagement has occurred would include poor attention to repairs and maintenance, letting policies and practices, and lack of tenant participation in management.

##### Poor Repair and Maintenance

Of the 20 estates referred to in the priority estates project 19 were identified as having a poor repair and maintenance programme. (Power 1984). It would appear that inattention to minor maintenance items has been the major problem. The inattention to the minor items has led to larger defects occurring. Power, in her study, maintains that it is the small labour intensive items which are not attended to, and which lead to larger more capital intensive repairs being necessary. The inattention to the small detail leads to the large being necessary, and gives the estate the neglected appearance which makes letting difficult.

##### Letting Policy and Practice

The letting policies of local authorities, when initially letting estates after construction, and subsequently when properties become vacant, have been criticised widely. They have been seen as a major factor resulting in the decline of the estate. L. Milne (1979) identified the fact regarding Easterhouse that following its construction a socio-economic imbalance resulted from the allocation of tenants to Easterhouse. The tenants were largely of the manual working classes, which was to lead to difficulties later, when employment opportunities for this class were particularly restricted. Further, the allocation process led to an imbalance in the age structure, which led to a high child density within a short period of time. On re-letting the properties, once the estate had become more difficult to let, tenants were "dumped" on the difficult to let estates when no other alternative was available for them. This led to an exacerbation of the problem with a high proportion of single parent families and anti social tenants being concentrated on difficult to let estates.

### Letting Policy & Practice continued

A further difficulty often listed as being the cause of an estate becoming difficult to let is the actual letting practice of the local authority. Due to the size of the bureaucracy, an empty property can wait for a considerable period of time before reletting takes place. The empty property leads to a number of difficulties, including contributing to an unpleasant visual amenity, is a target for vandals, and can represent a security risk to adjoining properties.

### Tenant Involvement in Management

Of the studies undertaken of difficult to let estates very few have identified estates where there has been active tenant participation in management. Where tenants feel helpless and in no way responsible for the property they occupy on the estate in which they live, difficulties arise. Most of the studies of attempts to turn round difficult to let estates advocate strongly the introduction of some form of tenant involvement in the management arrangements.

### 5) Size of the Estate

A positive correlation between the size of the estate and the likelihood of it becoming difficult to let has been established in the majority of cases. Size is however relative. An example of this is that the priority estates project considered a very large estate to be one having on average over 1,000 homes. The Easterhouse area has 15,095 dwellings in the local plan area. While the size of the estate has a significant bearing on the likelihood of it becoming difficult to let, the larger the estate the more likely it is that a differentiation will arise, and that particular sections of the estate will become comparatively less attractive, leading to intra estate transfers. Schumacher's 'Small is Beautiful' theory would appear to be applicable to housing estate design.



## 6) Employment & Poverty

The lack of employment and the partly resulting poverty are identified as factors predisposing an estate to becoming difficult to let. The factor is linked in part to the syndrome outlined in the section above, dealing with amenities and services. When many of the peripheral estates, and other estates, which are now difficult to let were planned, it was seen as solving solely a housing issue, and was not dealt with in a wider context ; consequently no provision of employment locally was made. During the early period of any of the problem estates there was a situation where unemployment nationally was comparatively low, and so the problem of unemployment and poverty did not present itself.

Of the 4 estates studied by CES Limited (1984) in their interim report on outer estates in Britain, between 11% and 75% of households on the estate were receiving housing benefit and between 23% and 70% of households were receiving supplementary benefit. The percentage of households with rent arrears ranged between 7% and 80%, with average levels of rent arrears ranging from £90 to £142. Unemployment on the estates calculated from information from the 1971 Census gave levels of unemployment ranging from 18.2% to 27.3% which compares with a Great Britain percentage of 8.8% (1981 Census quoted CES paper 23 Page 9). Of the 20 estates looked at in the priority estates programme 16 had a higher percentage of tenants on welfare benefits and unemployed, than was the case for the local authority areas, in which the estates were situated.

As with the other items highlighted it is difficult to isolate cause from factor. Little information was available and there was no conclusive evidence to determine the extent to which the unemployment and poverty was caused by isolated locational factors as opposed to national structural elements. Some of the arguments raised in the section dealing with location of estates would be applicable to this discussion. The overall effect noted in difficult to let estates is the concentration of unemployment and poverty which leads to the further degeneration of the morale of tenants, and reduces the overall attractiveness of the estate as a place to live.

## 7) Reputation

Difficult to let estates become famous, or rather notorious. They appear to attract publicity, and before too long the use of the name of the estate has adverse connotations for whatever it is used in connection with. This leads to people not wanting to reside on an estate simply for the reason that it is not a good address. Unfortunately it takes a considerable period of time for an estate name to lose its stigma, even after very positive and strenuous efforts have been made to eradicate the ills that the estate suffers from.

These then are a number of major factors which will lead to an estate becoming difficult to let. The list is not comprehensive, and as stated earlier, all factors are not present in each case. For example, some difficult to let estates are comprised of cottage type developments. Others have been developed with full amenities and services. The chapter will now go on briefly to discuss the characteristics which identify the difficult to let estate, before going on to consider four types of initiatives which are now being adopted to improve the situation.

### Identifying Characteristics of the Difficult to let Estate

The difficult to let estate can be identified in a number of ways, two of which will be considered. One is by visual inspection, and another is by an examination of the statistics relating to the estate. Power (1984) has identified 18 major characteristics which were used to categorise the 20 estates in the priority estates projects. A table illustrating these is reproduced at 3.2 over. The table lists the factors which are seen both visually and statistically.

### Visual Characteristics

A neglected rubbish-strewn environment was identified as affecting each of the 20 estates discussed. It has also been noted in the Gibbshill Study by MacKay and Hermand (1978), and in Taylor (1978).

TABLE 3.2 POWER

CHARACTERISTICS WHICH LED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ESTATE-BASED MANAGEMENT	Number of estates out of 20
Neglected, rubbish-strewn environment	20
Poor repairs and maintenance	19
High levels of crime and vandalism	19
Higher than local authority average of unemployed and tenants on welfare benefits	16
Higher than local authority average of one-parent families	16
Higher than local authority average tenancy turnover	16
Higher than local authority average rent arrears	16
Higher than local authority average child density	15
Hard to let	15
Little previous community involvement	14
Higher than local authority average of lettings to homeless	14
Higher than local authority average level of empty property	14
Unmodernised dwellings	11
Isolated position with few shopping/social facilities	11
Structural repair problems	10
Ethnic minorities disproportionately allocated to unpopular estates	9
Particularly unsuitable design <sup>1</sup>	7
Continuing stigma of first allocations from slum clearance area	5

### Visual Characteristics cont.

The problem is partly a reflection of the attitude developed by tenants of disinterest in an estate which has already been neglected, partly because the facilities for refuse disposal are inadequate, and partly because of estate management generally. A further fact which can presumably be observed is the monotony of the landscape with uninteresting design of both the buildings, and the open area. Evidence of a considerable amount of vandalism with damaged public facilities and graffiti often gave the houses the appearance of being drab. External surfaces frequently lack paint, and often problems such as harling spalling on the walls and exposing the brick below, which again detracts from the visual amenity of the area. When properties are vacated, in an attempt to prevent vandalism, the windows are normally boarded with plywood sheeting, or with some form of mesh. This can give a ghost town effect to the area.

### Statistical Characteristics

These would include overcrowding levels, unemployment levels, percentage of cars per household, the demographic structure, the child density levels, the levels of rent arrears, the percentage of tenants on unemployment and welfare benefits, and the levels of crime and vandalism. A combination of these factors is used in identifying the estates in the CES report (1984) and in the Priority Estates Report in 1984. The same factors are used in defining the areas of priority treatment adopted by Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council (1978).

The statistical characteristics are useful in providing a means for comparison between various estates. They permit some 'quantification' of the extent of the problem. Further, in a situation of resource constraint where options have to be considered, they provide the basis for making the decision.

Having summarised a number of identifying factors of a difficult to let estate, the Chapter will now go on to discuss methods which are currently being adopted to deal with the problem.

Dealing with Difficult to let Estates

Four solutions will be discussed, these being :

- 1) Demolish
- 2) Disposal of properties to private sector developer
- 3) Improve management arrangements
- 4) Joint community/local authority initiatives

Demolition

The demolition option has been adopted in a number of notable instances, including the Hutcheson town E development in Glasgow, sections of Darnley Estate in Glasgow, and the Noble Street flats in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne. Recently the decision has also been taken to demolish 450 flats at Bingham, Edinburgh. (see table 3.3 over). A number of the schemes which have already been demolished were demolished within 20 years of construction. Selective demolition has also taken place in sections of larger estates : in Easterhouse approximately 500 houses were demolished at South Rogerfield. A differentiation can be made between the properties that are being demolished. All have become difficult to let, but within the category there are those that have also become structurally unsound, and where remedial works would exceed the cost of demolition and rebuilding. Bingham in Edinburgh, which is developed with flats utilising the Orlit construction method was such an example, where the demolish and rebuild option was cheaper than the repair option.

Where structural problems do not present themselves Taylor argues that demolition is unwarranted "it is not the buildings that are at fault, but rather it is the allocation and transfer policies " (Taylor, 1978). He goes on "only an explanation involving a crude architectural determinism can justify such wasteful policies as demolition. This is not to deny the real medical effects of living off the ground as we have illustrated".

# BINGHAM FACES THE BULLDOZER



Councillor Eleanor McLaughlin at Bingham today.

**An entire Edinburgh council housing scheme is almost certain to be demolished and rebuilt. The estate is Bingham, where 430 homes were built 30 years ago.**

Independent building consultants, Ove Arup, were employed by Edinburgh District Council to advise on modernising the Orlit houses at Bingham at a cost of nearly £8

**By KEN SMART**

£18,000 a house. Each new house built would cost around £30,000.

Government Ministers have already promised that any previous tenants who bought Orlit-designed houses from councils will receive a £14,000 grant towards the cost of repairing defects and modernisation work.

**Safety pledge**

Demolition cont.

Where demolition is being considered when the structural problem can be cured at a cost which would make the scheme viable, there can then only be an ideological justification for demolition arising where a local authority with no financial resources to develop the properties themselves would rather see the subjects demolished, than transferred into the private sector. An example of such would appear to be the decision of Glasgow District Council to demolish the properties at Hutcheson town after it had received an offer to purchase the properties from a private developer who was prepared to refurbish the properties.

Due to the costs involved in demolition, and the fact that even after demolition loan charges are often outstanding against the properties, it is an option which is not frequently adopted.

Sale to Private Developers

This option has been increasingly adopted during the late 1970's and early 1980's as local authorities have found themselves increasingly short of capital to refurbish properties, due to the cut backs in public expenditure. At the same time there has been a renewed interest by private developers, particularly the major house builders, in becoming involved in refurbishing existing properties in addition to building new properties on green field sites. The option achieves two ends for a local community : firstly, properties are refurbished and brought back into the housing stock, and often, as a result, an eyesore is removed, and secondly, a tenure imbalance which often presents itself on difficult to let estates is partly redressed.

The majority of private developer refurbishment schemes have been successful in terms of sales. There are very few exceptions where properties on refurbishment have failed to attract a purchaser. This may be due to a number of factors. The primary one is that on completion, the sale price is low compared to the nearest equivalent, as the developer's costs are low, and often grant assistance has been available to the developer.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Pilton and Glenelg Quadrant



HOMESTEADING AT GLENELG QUADRANT, EASTERHOUSE. Houses now being resold.



WEST PILTON, EDINBURGH. With washing being hung out for the first time in a long time.



WEST PILTON, EDINBURGH. Unmodernised block.



WEST PILTON, EDINBURGH. Modernised and sold.



Sale to Private Developers cont.

However, no studies are available that analyse the effects on the local community of the introduction of a new tenure and a refurbishment.

Over the past five years developers have moved in to some particularly large estates. One notable example is in Knowsley, Liverpool, where the Cantril Farm Estate was purchased from the District Council by a Development Trust comprising a developer/contractor - Barratt Urban Renewal Northern Limited, a bank and building society - Barclays Bank and Abbey National Building Society and local inhabitants. Over a period of five years from 1983, 3,500 dwellings will be refurbished and built, utilising local labour where possible. The unemployment rate on the estate was 44%, the population being 9,000, which has fallen from 14,000 over a period of ten years.

The stimulus for the initiative was the bus tour of Liverpool, organised by Michael Hesaltine for a group of financiers, developers and industrialists, following the Toxteth riots in 1981. In an attempt to alleviate some of the poor housing and create employment, the development was started.

Another example is at West Pilton in Edinburgh, where 1,200 flats were purchased by three developers, Messrs. Barratt, Miller & Wimpey, who are refurbishing the properties for sale on the open market. The purchase price was based on agreement that the developers will refurbish an equal number of properties for the local authority. These will be retained in the public sector. In terms of sales the Edinburgh scheme has been successful to date. Again no study has been undertaken to examine the effects of such a dramatic tenure change and disruption to the local community, although perhaps notably already a number of active and vocal residents associations have been formed within the West Pilton area, comprised of the now owner occupied properties.

Sale to Private Developers cont.

Interestingly, even in the new towns, difficult to let areas have arisen. In a number of instances these have also been offered to private developers. One example is Victoria Green in Livingston, and another is Alexander Rise in Glenrothes. Again, where the properties have been released for sale on the open market, there has been a strong demand, although obviously only from those with sufficient status to convince a building society of their ability to repay a mortgage.

On the majority of private developer refurbishments no increased provision of amenities and services is being included as part of the redevelopment. The sole problem being attended to is a physical refurbishment of the properties. To date no difficulties appear to have arisen as a result of the services not being upgraded, even where this was a contributory factor to the estate originally becoming difficult to let.

Improvement of Management Arrangements

The priority estates programme has paid particular attention to turning around the difficult to let estates by improving the management arrangements. 'Local Housing Management' published in 1984, contains the analysis of 20 projects undertaken by 19 local authorities examined by the Priority Estates Projects survey. In their conclusion they make seven recommendations :

1) Need for training for estate management

It is argued "the problems confronting today's council housing managers are as complex and disturbing as at any time since the industrial revolution. There is a pressing need for more training in housing management" (Page 5). In addition to the training of the management the need to train tenants' representatives is also highlighted.

Improvement of Management Arrangements cont.2) Need for permanent local offices

Estate based offices have been found to be, without exception, a contributory factor in the improvement of difficult to let estates. The need for these to be permanent and open for a full working day is emphasised.

3) Not a blanket solution

It is recommended that local authorities tackle their worst estates first, and do not apply an estate based management system carte blanche over a short period of time. They argue that there is insufficient expertise effectively to develop the system overnight, and that it should be done on an incremental basis, as and when expertise is trained, and is sufficiently available.

4) Key ingredients

The following items are noted as being the most helpful elements in restoring a run down estate. "A full time estate office open to residents five days a week; local letting of empty dwellings through the estate office, and flexible transfers for residents wishing to move within the estate; a local repairs team with a competent supervisor or foreman to carry out all running repairs that do not require specialist services; modernisation of outmoded kitchen, bathrooms and heating systems, and continual repair and upgrading of external structures, communal areas and the environment generally; support for tenants' initiatives and formal liaison with tenants' representatives over decisions affecting the estate. A local budget is also recommended.

5) Resident caretakers

"Resident caretakers and wardens place a critical role in restoring communal areas, and keeping them clean. Without them it is impossible to maintain reasonable standards".

6) Beat policing

"Car patrols are no use in a crime prone area, often exacerbating the problem. Beat policing is the only effective method of enhancing the sense of security and co-operation in attacking crime".

Improvement of Management Arrangements cont.7) Flexible small scale management

It is argued that maximum autonomy and flexibility on the ground are allowed by delegation of as many management functions from the centre to an estate based office are made.

The analysis of the effects of the 20 projects surveyed by the priority estates project gives evidence that where the improvement to the management has been carried out, there has been a significant drop in both rent arrears and the percentage of vacant properties on an estate. However, of the estates examined, the largest had 1,975 housing units. This would not readily compare with some of the larger Glasgow estates at Easterhouse and Drumchapel, where there are approximately 15,000 housing units. As to whether the adoption of the improved management techniques would be sufficient to alleviate the situation in a larger estate is questionable.

More radical management changes have been adopted, particularly by Glasgow District Council, where the homesteading scheme referred to in Chapter II has been implemented. Further, initiatives such as the introduction of par - value co-operatives are currently being considered, whereby properties will be transferred to a housing co-operative which will comprise of people who are currently local authority tenants in the properties to be transferred.

Joint Community/Local Authority Initiatives

The communities on local authority estates are the tenants of the local authority. As such, both have a vested interest in the estate - the local authority as owner of the housing stock, and having responsibility for the management and upkeep of the houses and the surrounding environment, and more acutely the tenants, who spend a significant proportion of their life living in the houses owned by the local authority. Given the interest that both groups have in the estate, it is surprising that there are few examples where joint attempts have been made initially to examine what is required on an estate, and secondly to correct any items identified as requiring attention.

Joint Community/Local Authority Initiatives cont.

It would appear that rather than being viewed as complementary, the different interests of both parties in the estate have been in conflict with each other, with the residents being seen as demanding from the landlord, while the landlord blames the tenant for the current situation on the estate, and is unlikely to be able to meet the demands of the tenant due to financial constraints.

An example of where both community and local authority were involved was at Gibshill Estate, Greenock. The estate of approximately 1,000 houses was built in 1934. The estate is situated on the side of a steep hill, which developed into a difficult to let estate, and was identified as an area of multiple deprivation by 1968. The estate had no social facilities, had an extremely poor layout, and had a highly stigmatised image throughout Greenock. (University of Strathclyde, Report for Greenock Corporation 1968 quoted in Mackay and Hermand 1978). After a number of proposals had been considered, in September 1971 it was agreed that the people of Gibshill would be consulted about their views regarding any redevelopment proposals. In March 1974 Greenock Corporation were given capital approval for the Gibshill redevelopment scheme. £2.3m. was allocated, which was to include the cost of modernisation of 622 houses, improvement of street and stair lighting, demolition of 228 houses, sewer diversion, new houses and shops, a sports barn, community centre, nursery facilities and some landscaping. During the whole redevelopment process, particularly at the design stage of the community centre and sports barn, the tenants' association were active in ensuring that their needs were incorporated. Further, in the modernisation of the houses, various tenants groups were involved in monitoring the work. The initial phases were heavily criticised by tenants, where the workmanship was regarded as poor, and there was little co-ordination between workmen. The observations of the tenants involved in the early phases were noted, and the later phase of redevelopment caused considerably less inconvenience to tenants.

The redevelopment scheme was generally considered as a success from the aspect that it looked at more than maintenance of the houses. Both improved shopping facilities and other social facilities were included.

Joint Community/Local Authority Initiatives cont.

Further, the design requirements of the community were incorporated into the community facilities, and their views on the modernisation programme of their homes were also listened to.

In the book "A View from the Hill" by MacKay & Hermand 1978 describe the six years during which positive discrimination was applied on the estate and highlight the ways in which the community were actively involved in the redevelopment of the area. To that extent the programme was a success, although no later studies are available to monitor the longer term effects of the redevelopment.

Sadly, a recent visit to the estate disclosed a considerable number of empty flats, graffiti on entrance closes, and a number of vacant shops.

Conclusion and Summary

The chapter has looked at the general topic of difficult to let estates in Britain, what factors led to them becoming difficult to let, the identifying characteristics of a difficult to let estate, and finally at some methods that are currently being used to turn around difficult to let estates.

Four options were explored, and with the exception of the option to demolish, there appears to be some merit in each of the other three options.

The disposal of difficult to let properties to private developers has led to a considerable number of housing units for which the only alternative solution was generally that they be demolished, but now provide satisfactory accommodation and form part of the total housing stock. The whole process is undertaken without any risk to, or generally without any financial contribution from the Local Authority. Studies of the longer term effects of these policies are not yet available.



Conclusion and Summary cont.

Studies are available where management changes have been adopted. The introduction of estate based management as opposed to town hall based offices appears to have been universally successful where full authority, and preferably a separate budget, has been allocated to the estate based office. Other incremental changes, including tenant involvement, improving policing and locally based repair teams have also contributed to a difficult to let estate becoming a more pleasant place to live.

There appears to be few examples of the Gibshill type of option having been adopted. Whilst the authors of the Gibshill study highlight what was achieved by the community, the estate today does not give the appearance of being a particularly attractive place to live. In view of the fact that difficult to let estates are still developing, it would appear that the solution has not yet been discovered. However, what has been discovered are a number of options which have been unsuccessful, the most notable of these are where no real tenant involvement has been incorporated into any proposals to improve the estate.

CHAPTER IV

People's Plans

CHAPTER IV

The chapter will examine plans prepared by community groups for the Royal Docks area, Newham, London; and Craigmillar, Edinburgh, with a view to answering the basic question as to whether there is anything to be gained by community groups from preparing a plan, or whether in the case of the two plans prepared it has been a waste of effort. The chapter will look at what merits, if any, there have been in producing the documents, and the analysis will turn to what has been achieved by the production of the plans.

The plans were produced by two groups which would not appear to have too much in common, and it would be difficult to make straight comparisons between them. The Craigmillar Festival Society was formed in 1963 by a number of local residents who decided to produce an annual festival to provide a shop window for the talents of the area. The area has a population of 25,000 being almost entirely developed with local authority housing.

The Society has produced such a festival since that time, and has gone on to involve itself in estate life generally. They received finance from the E.E.C. for a two year period, but apart from that have relied financially on grants from both the Region and District Councils, the Manpower Services Commission, a number of other trusts and finally funds raised themselves.

During the period the society has lobbied their elected representatives, and generally received a measure of support from both councils, although the level of support has varied depending on the political complexion of the administration in office, with labour controlled administrations generally being more favourably disposed to the society.

There have been a number of individuals who have been very prominent in the formation and running of the society, the most 'famous' of all being Mrs. Helen Crummy, who was awarded an M.B.E. in 1977 for her efforts for the community.

She retired from the position of organising secretary in March 1985. It will be of interest to note as to whether her strength of character and commitment has been a major fact in the society's survival.

#### The People's Plan for the Royal Docks

The people's plan for the Royal Docks was prepared by the Newham Docklands Forum. The Forum had been in existence for a number of years, but has sharpened its attitude and become more active in the past 2 - 3 years as more formal plans for the redevelopment of the Royal Docks area have been published, particularly as the plans included a short take off and landing airport. The area has a declining population, 14,000 in 1971 and 9,000 in 1981 (Census - 1971,1981). It is a mixed residential, commercial and industrial area. The docklands are now less active than they were, there are a lot of redundant warehouse buildings and docks. The main concern of the Docklands Forum was about jobs, but is now getting increasingly concerned about housing issues. The group receives a considerable amount of support from the Greater London Council, and to a lesser extent from the Newham Borough Council. Unlike the Craigmillar Festival Society, the People's Plan Centre and Docklands Forum engage in and organise overt political campaigns, including demonstrations and an armada up the river to Parliament.

The Forum have a number of prominent individuals, but they do not have such a high profile as the individuals in the Festival Society. The fact that the Greater London Council provide a considerable amount of support both in terms of finance and personnel, reduces the necessity for individuals to take on leading roles.

The main similarity of the groups, which is of interest to this study, is that both groups, which are non statutory bodies, have produced a plan which, in their view, compares with the formal statutory plans prepared by the local authorities for the areas.

The chapter will look at each plan in greater detail.

The People's Plan for the Royal Docks cont.

The plan was published in November 1983 by the Newham Docklands Forum and the G.L.C popular planning unit. The stimulus for preparation of the plan was "threat" of the airport development which was being considered at the Stolport enquiry. The preparation of the plans was with the specific aim of opposing any development of the airport. As part of this opposition, the Docklands Forum wished to put forward positive alternatives "which could show how to create jobs and improve facilities and services" (Page 1 People's Plan).

The plan has four chapters :

- 1) Introduction: the docks are up for grabs; the background to the production of the plan, describing the needs of the area, the resources that are present, and some of the ideas that were put to the researchers.
- 2) The Docks and the Community: the dockland communities are the needs of housing, childcare, the elderly, shops, transport and leisure, and finally the ways in which the ideas presented in the chapter conflict directly with the proposed airport, and other plans by the London Docklands Development Company.
- 3) A unique industrial opportunity: employment and job creation; the features that the area offers for a transport interchange; the role of the port of London Authority, the major land owner and operator of the docks, and various means by which jobs could be created.
- 4) How do we make it happen? The chapter makes five recommendations:
  - i) Stop/

The People's Plan for the Royal Docks cont.

- i) Stop the airport.
- ii) Make the People's Plan part of the local plan.
- iii) Buy the docks for the people.
- iv) Public control of public money.
- v) Organise to win.

In recent interviews with both community representatives from the People's Plan Centre and planning officials from the Greater London Council Dockland team it has been said that the preparation of the plan was worthwhile. Whilst it has not been totally successful in that only a small number of the specific proposals put forward in the plan have been implemented, the representatives and officials claimed that a lot had been achieved by the production of the plan. A number of the achievements are categorised and discussed below.

1) Community Focus

The plan has been viewed as a reference point stating the desires of the community in relation to the future planning of their area. It has been accepted by all the community groups in the area as a statement of objectives. As such the plan has provided a community focus which has often been referred to. It has enabled them to co-ordinate their proposals for the area by linking them to what the plan actually states.

The plan was distributed to all households in the area. The representatives interviewed from the G.L.C and the People's Plan Centre considered that it had been favourably received by the local residents and had been an effective means of involving many of the residents in the participation process.

2) Influence on Stolport Enquiry

The plan was prepared with the specific aim stated earlier, of opposing the threat of the short take off and landing airport which was proposed for the docklands area.

2) Influence on Stolport Enquiry cont.

The London Docklands Corporation is "the planning authority" for the area, and as such was supporting the proposal that the airport be developed. The Newham Docklands Forum, as an objector to the proposal, relied extensively on the plan in presenting their evidence to the enquiry. No final decision on the enquiry has been made, and therefore to what extent the outcome was influenced by the plan has yet to be determined. The Docklands Forum considered the plan to be a useful tool, and an acceptable document from which they could fight, but in addition could present an alternative.

3) Usefulness to the Local Authority

Statutory authorities with specific involvement in the area are the G.L.C, the London Borough of Newham and the London Docklands Development Corporation. The plan has had a different reception from each of the three authorities. The G.L.C. have endorsed the plan and accepted it as concurring with their views as to the future development of the area.

The London Borough of Newham have paid some credence to the plan, but have not openly endorsed it. The draft local plan published in December 1984 by the London Borough of Newham for the South Docklands Area has a section in its appendices thanking the people's plan centre for their ideas and assistance in the production of the draft local plan. The plan does include some of the proposals contained in the people's plan which was published in 1983. The Borough was also opposed to the Stolport Development and considers the development of it would markedly affect the future development of the area.

The London Docklands Development Corporation appeared to have paid least regard to the plan. They were in favour of the airport development.

3) Usefulness to the Local Authority cont.

On another issue, shopping, the LDDC proposals have been in direct conflict to that contained in the People's Plan. The LDDC have proposed a number of superstores to be sited within the area. The People's Plan is opposed to any large scale shopping development on the grounds of increased traffic generation, and also from the point of view that it would benefit car owners from outwith the area, rather than the residents of the area (People's Plan, Page 15). Car ownership in the People's Plan is comparatively low, with 36% of households having a car. (Local Plan Report of Survey 1984). The retailing issue has caused a considerable amount of controversy, with a number of developments having been considered by the LDDC (Planning 21st December 1984). The development corporation granted Tesco permission to develop a 200,000 sq. ft. retail scheme in March 1985 (Estates Times No. 789, 29th March 1985). The People's Plan is diametrically opposed to this development.

The plan has been useful to all authorities in that it states the community's wishes for the area and therefore gives the authorities an indication of the likely local response to any development being considered for the area.

Summary of Effects of Production of Royal Docks People's Plan

The plan has been effective in making a concise statement of the desires of the local community for the future development of the area. It has not been an end in itself, but rather a banner under which future discussion has been taken, and to which reference has been made. Of those interviewed, all expressed the danger of allowing the plan to speak for itself, and have taken the view that the proposals contained within the plan will remain as proposals unless strenuous efforts are made by community action to achieve what they desire.



Summary of Effects of Production of Royal Docks People's Plan cont.

Some drawbacks have been stated, the main one being that a false sense of hope can be built up and a real anti climax be felt by members of the community when specific proposals do not come to fruition. The difficulty is that unless specific proposals are made, and the plan itself is very general, the interest of the community is not gained in the first instance. Furthermore, it is difficult to pinpoint any achievements as a result of the production of the plan unless the proposals contained in it are specific.

The fact that a number of People's Plan proposals are now being incorporated into the local plan is of some significance, and should be of encouragement to other groups proposing a similar exercise.

The Gentle Giant who shares and cares: Craigmillar's comprehensive plan for action.

The plan was produced in November 1978 and was described as "Basically a working document, a kind of Green Paper, which requires shared government partnership between the people of Craigmillar and the local and wider authorities and agencies. It contains a vision of life in the years ahead. The vision is the achievement of a viable community with all the necessary ingredients of amenities, facilities and services.

But the action plan includes a "very large plus". It is the taking of responsibility by the people of the area themselves in a joint fulfilment of the vision with the outside authorities and wider community. In such a sharing of developing and governing there is revealed a new way which has great relevance for all other similar areas, as well as for those from which many of the people of the housing estates come, the inner urban areas.

The Gentle Giant who shares and cares: Craigmillar's comprehensive plan for action cont.

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Its basic importance lies in the fact that it advocates and signifies a change in policies and economics to yield a more fulfilling society. It is highly relevant. It proposes, by engaging and activating local people, such as the planning and carrying out in partnership with outside agents projects which improve the quality of life to do more with the limited public and other resources.

"Unlike the People's Plan for the Royal Docks, the Craigmillar plan was not prepared in opposition to any specific proposal, but was prepared as part of the ongoing work of the Craigmillar Festival Society. The society was formed in 1963 with the general aim of improving the quality of life on the estate.

The estate is situated on the eastern outskirts of Edinburgh, comprises some 8,000 houses, all owned by the local authority. The estate lacks a number of amenities, generally has a bad reputation and very few housing points are required to gain a tenancy in the area. There are a considerable number of vacant houses on the estate.

The plan was prepared by drawing together the proposals of eight workshops, each workshop considering a specific aspect. The eight workshops were concerned with the following :- the arts, housing, planning, environmental improvements, leisure and recreation, social welfare, education and employment.

The plan contains a history and record of what has been achieved under each of the headings in the past, and describes some of the activities currently being undertaken by each of the groups before going on to discuss their proposals for the future.

It would appear from discussions with representatives of the Festival Society regarding specific proposals made in the document, that very few have come to fruition.

The Gentle Giant who shares and cares: Craigmillar's comprehensive plan for action cont.

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Notable exceptions have been the creation of a number of neighbourhood and youth centres, which was a specific aim stated in the plan. It now seems likely that a further proposal that a health centre be developed in the area will become reality within the foreseeable future. Discussions have continued since the publication of the plan, and at the time of writing the decision has been narrowed to possible location, and finance has been allocated. A number of other achievements have been made. However for a number of reasons, notably the lack of finance, the amount achieved in comparison to the amount proposed is extremely small.

On initial publication the plan received considerable attention from both Lothian Regional Council and Edinburgh District Council. The Regional Council invited representatives from the Festival Society to a forum, at which the proposals were discussed with officials from all affected departments. Following on from the forum a number of proposals generally where no finance was involved e.g. liaison with local headmasters over relationships with local schools were implemented.

As with the London Docklands plan, the community workers involved in the production of the plan considered it as a reference point and a banner, but not as an end in itself. Each of the proposals made have had to be discussed and attempts have had to be made to have them implemented, although only limited success has been achieved. In retrospect it has been considered that expectations were built up and disappointment has been created by the non-fulfilment of the proposals, and that it would have been advisable to have limited the number of proposals.

Following the District Council elections when the ruling Conservative administration was displaced by a Labour administration, the festival society are hopeful that their proposals will meet with a more sympathetic approach from the District Council.

Summary - Chapter IV

The general impression gained from the festival society workers in comparison to those involved in the preparation of the Royal Docks plan is that the former has been less successful in what it has achieved than the latter.

There were three factors particularly, which led to the impression being gained :-

- 1) The Festival Society no longer have any copies left, while the People's Plan Centre is still reprinting, and actively marketing the plan.
- 2) The People's Plan Centre is still producing regular newsheets updating the community on current activities.
- 3) The People's Plan has more readable, has a larger number of photographs in proportion to size, was smaller in size, 40 pages as opposed to 150 pages, and was produced on a higher quality of paper. The factors have led to the People's Plan being accepted by the local community, rather than the Gentle Giant Story, which has not freely distributed to the residents in the area.

One common point of agreement has been the fact that the plans cannot be viewed as an end in themselves, but have to be extensively promoted and spoken to if they are to be effective. A further achievement of the plans has been that they have stated particularly to the local authorities the views of the local community regarding the future planning of the area: in that sense they have been very effective in public participation; whether the local authorities have acted on the information is another matter.

CHAPTER V

Peripheral Estate Renewal

Policy Options.

## CHAPTER V

The chapter addresses the question - if the peripheral estates are to be renewed, in what ways can this be done? And what measures should be taken to ensure that the renewal is undertaken both for and with the community that forms the estate?

The chapter starts with a review of the earlier chapters and considers what has to be learnt from the past, from other groups and from other areas.

Part II of the chapter discusses a major proposal currently being considered by the local authorities, and goes on to make specific suggestions about further action that could be taken to revitalise the area.

Finally Part III considers the ways in which community groups could help and be helped to achieve implementation of their ideas for the estate.

### Part I - Review of earlier chapters

Chapter I discussed why Easterhouse was originally constructed, and reviewed the estate's history until 1978. The major lesson to be learnt from the period was that the estate was built to solve a problem, that of overcrowded slum housing in the city centre. It was seen primarily as a housing problem, and in attempting a solution to the problem the politicians and officials looked almost exclusively at the housing issue, and did not view the problem in a wider context. Thus the lack of amenities, shopping and employment opportunities simply 'happened'. Any attempt at renewal now must look at the whole estate in all its facets. Many of the separate issues of deprivation identified to date are interdependent, and tackling single issues such as housing may be fruitless, if for example part of the problem is due to the tenants being unemployed, and as a result of them not having a job to occupy part of their day they, through boredom, consciously and inadvertently vandalise their properties and environment.

Part I - Review of earlier chapters cont.

Secondly the chapter showed that the estate was built, against much good advice, in its present location, to satisfy party political desires. One alternative to the development of the peripheral estates was the creation of new towns. In terms of unemployment levels, other indicators of deprivation, the desire of people to live in the towns, shopping provision etc. the new towns in Scotland have been more successful than the peripheral estates. But they are also thought to have contributed to the peripheral estate problem through creaming off some of the more energetic people. The blatant pursuit of ideology to satisfy the desires of the party politician, where it is contrary to sound and professional advice, is a pitfall that must be avoided. The loser is the pawn who has to reside in the end result.

The third issue, which is partly linked to the above, is the fact that the estate was developed with a single tenure, and with a poor socio-economic mix. To date no major moves have been made to alter the tenure. The lack in tenure variety does not help the visual amenity, and leaves the whole area very vulnerable if the landlord's position or attitude changes. An estate with mixed tenure, or with more than one landlord, is less vulnerable. Likewise, attempts have to be made to improve the socio-economic mix. Again, because of the dependance of employees resident in the estate on particular employment sections, the effects when the sector is adversely affected are felt very dramatically in the whole estate. Positive attempts to attract residents in different and higher income groups have to be taken.

Chapter II looked at the years 1978 - 84 and considered what Central and Local Government - both Regional and District actions have been taken over the period. It discussed the rise and role of the community groups.

The/

Part I - Review of earlier chapters cont.

The chapter highlighted the increasing attention of the local authorities to the estate. The renewed interest was seen to be in parts due to the efforts of the Community Groups in giving the estate a better image, and in turn giving the authorities some confidence in the estate's ability to "get up and go" (Voice, November 1984, Page 1). The momentum of interest that has started has to be continued. This is also likely to be the case if the Festival Society's future plans come to fruition. The Festival Society are planning to form themselves into an independent trust and to become self supporting financially, to enable them to act more freely in criticism, if necessary, of the local authorities. This has been difficult in the past, as they have been financially dependant on the authorities. They further plan to develop a large amenities/cultural/employment centre by converting a redundant industrial unit on the Queenslie industrial estate.

The local plan exercise, which has spread over five years, has led to some disillusionment. This emphasises the need for care in any public participation exercise. When effort does not produce results, frustration naturally sets in, and this will be targeted at the local authority which gave the initial encouragement. Clear understanding of the nature and purpose of the local plan system is essential.

On the positive side, the homesteading experiment has looked in terms of the take up of flats within a reasonable period of time. Further, for the first time in the estate's history, individuals have taken a stake and paid £4,000 per household to live in the area. Further, vacant homes are no longer vacant, but are now restored and form part of the overall stock.

The rise of the community groups and their contribution in giving the residents of the estate a measure of confidence in themselves must be of interest to other similarly affected areas.



Part I - Review of earlier chapters cont.

It should be considered as part of a local authority's strategy in tackling other peripheral estates, to give finance and assistance to establish and maintain community groups. The entrusting of finance to a group can in turn give it some confidence in itself, through the knowledge that it is trusted to handle the finance.

Given that Easterhouse is in many ways a 'difficult to let estate', although significantly larger than the average estate, Chapter 3 looked at what is being done to turn around other difficult to let estates. The chapter drew a number of conclusions, which if the experience of other areas is to be capitalised on, must be adopted in Easterhouse.

The conclusions were :

- 1) Break the problem down into smaller units. The estate is too large to be tackled as it is, and would be more effectively dealt with if split geographically.
- 2) Particularly from the Priority Estates Projects (Power 1984) findings, a concentrated effort to improve housing management with local estate based control over all aspects of management and repairs has always paid dividends.
- 3) The private sector can be used on both providing finance and housing.
- 4) The community must be involved if the housing renewal is to be effective. Viewing residents as clients rather than tenants would be a useful concept to pursue, with the clients, individually or corporately, expressing their requirements in a brief.

Part I - Review of earlier chapters cont.

4) cont.

Some moves to incorporate residents wishes are being made, but there is considerable scope for more adventurous involvement and incorporation of the community's ideas.

5) As with so many of the issues raised, it was noted that in turning around difficult to let estates housing could not be looked at in isolation, and had to be linked with a general improvement in other areas, particularly the supply of services, amenities and employment.

The consideration of what other community groups have done in an attempt to become involved in the planning of the renewal of their estates was explained in Chapter IV. The 'planning' documents prepared by two different groups had a number of common links.

- 1) They gave a fairly concise statement to the local authorities of what the communities thought should be their future development. There must be a danger in that the plans may only represent the views of a sector of the community, but at least they emanated from the community, and the local authority could, if it considered them to be unrepresentative, undertake steps to satisfy itself that that was not the case. In any event the documents would still be a statement of the sector's desires for the area.
- 2) They helped the communities concerned clarify and express their preferred desires, and gave the various groups within the areas a common banner and reference point. Both groups highlighted this aspect. Again there were a number of issues which were not tackled. One particular omission in both plans was as to how finance for the proposals such as Sports Barns, employment creation schemes, housing modernisation and provision of shopping would be raised. This will be discussed further on.

Part II - Current Proposals by Local Authority

Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council's Policy and Resources Committees took the decision at their respective meetings in late January 1985 to approve a report prepared by the Chief Executives of each Council.

The report (see Appendix 3) proposes that joint initiatives in Drumchapel and Greater Easterhouse be established, with the main aims of reducing unemployment and poverty, improving health and housing conditions, and improving the quality of services and facilities.

The report does not make any specific recommendations as to how in practice the aims are to be achieved, but gives twelve broad objectives that the initiative should realise.

The full list of the objectives are contained in Appendix III. They are generally that unemployment should be reduced; the local economy regenerated; incomes maximised and poverty reduced; that community involvement should be encouraged; that housing conditions, health care, social work, education and recreation services should be improved; that management be devolved to the areas; that private sector involvement be maximised, and that innovation and commitment be encouraged.

The report goes on to make brief specific recommendations about staffing, management, community involvement, resources, timing and finally costs. Regarding staffing, it is recommended that in each area a total twelve new posts be created which would comprise a project executive, plus support staff. The staff are to be appointed from summer 1985, when the initiative will commence.

The costs are estimated as being £158,000 for the part of financial year 1985/86 so that the initiative was in operation, rising to £277,000 for the full year.

The initiative is the first major attempt by the respective councils to tackle the peripheral estates' problems.

Part II - Current Proposals by Local Authority cont.

In the past a piecemeal approach has been taken. To the extent that the report looks at the estate as an entity, and addresses itself to both social and economic issues, it is to be commended.

However, at this stage there is a notable absence of any firm proposal that would make the impact that the initiative suggests is required. In that the report to the Policy and Resources Committee appears to be more specific in its recommendations about staffing levels and the responsibility and authority of the project executive, it would appear that the effort to date has been concentrated on setting up the machinery and in reaching harmony between the two administrations, rather than looking at specific means of attacking the problem. This may be of advantage to the local community in allowing their views to be implemented.

It would appear that the role of the project executive will be all important, and that the chosen individual's skills may largely determine the success or otherwise of the venture.

Alternative Suggestions for Estate Renewal

Involvement of New Town Corporations

The building of the peripheral estates was only part of the overall attempt to remove the inner city's housing problems that existed in the inter and early post second war era.

The creation of the new towns also formed part of the solution. Now, some 40 years on, the New Towns are generally regarded as having provided a better solution to the problem than the peripheral estates have done in terms of providing a pleasant living environment, creating employment opportunities, in attracting industries, in supplying good shopping centres, a well developed transport network and adequate leisure and recreational facilities.

Alternative Suggestions for Estate Renewal cont.

Involvement of New Town Corporations cont.

The resources which have gone into the New Towns have included more staff, in, for example, housing management.

At the present time the New Towns' futures are being reconsidered, and dates being thought about as to when the managing corporations are to be wound up as the revised population targets are met.

There would appear to be a lot of merit in keeping the well developed machinery of the new towns administration intact, while part of the original problem still exists, although redispersed geographically. The task of renewing the peripheral estates could be undertaken by New Town personnel. A slightly similar situation has set a precedent, as staff from Stonehouse New Town were transferred to SDA and carried out work on area development and land renewal.

There would obviously be a considerable amount of political bargaining and negotiation needed prior to such a move being made at both local and national levels, but with the situation at present with the threatened redundancy of the new towns administration, while on the other hand the peripheral estates cry out for many of the specialist skills that they have to offer, there would appear to be the opportunity to give the new towns a useful and satisfying function for a number of years to come. Some central government support, of this kind, would transform the position on the major estates.

The proposal has many advantages :

- A) It would help in achieving the stated aim of creating the "esprit of a medium sized town" giving the peripheral estates the level of administration normally associated with a medium sized town.

Alternative Suggestions for Estate Renewal cont.

Involvement of New Town Corporations cont.

- B) The new towns have been successful in selling themselves to employers and have attracted both national and international firms to expand into or relocate to the new towns. If this were similarly done for the peripheral estates it could assist in reducing unemployment and poverty, notwithstanding the reduction in the amount of footloose industry.
  
- C) It would bring a fresh impetus to the situation giving a major challenge for the New Town corporations and enhance opportunities for the Regional and District councils to focus on different aspects of the long term problem and focus their resources on different areas of responsibility.
  
- D) The estates would then not be reliant on taking all financial resources from the total Regional and District council budgets, but would be supported by some Central Government funding in recognition of the exceptional scale of their problems.

There is a big draw back to the proposal in that the discussion and negotiation stage would probably be lengthy, during which time the residents of the estate would remain in their present state, serving as pawns on a board. However, the proposal may be of merit for other peripheral estates in need of renewal, and as yet no proposals are being considered.

### Involvement of Private Sector

With the notable exception of the shopping centre, there is little private sector involvement in the estate. The reasons for this are probably historic, and realistic attempts should be made to involve the private sector in the estate to a greater extent - particularly as a provider of finance. It is the cut back in public sector finance that resulted in many projects not proceeding.

The private sector generally has finance available for investment, and will be prepared to lend where either the investment is regarded as being secure, or where the loan can be guaranteed by a third party that is considered a good risk.

In Easterhouse, at present, due to the low level of economic activity, it is most likely that a third party guarantee will be necessary. Present Legislation would prevent Local Authorities giving this, but the setting up of a trust could overcome the problem, and enable such guarantees to be given. The Local Authorities would then not be as directly committed to such a venture and would be enabled to act, but in a less direct manner.

More direct involvement could be made, particularly by Building Societies. The success of the homesteading scheme, referred to earlier, does not appear to be being followed with similar ventures. As such ventures could and likely would be totally funded by Building Societies, there would be no drain on the council's resources and, further, the refurbishment would provide employment.

Further direct involvement by the Building Societies could be made by their Housing Associations undertaking either new build projects or refurbishment schemes.

A/

Involvement of Private Sector cont.

A number of the larger Building Societies now have such Housing Association, and are prepared to act on a no profit basis - returning any excess of income over cost to the local authority. Alternatively, completed properties are passed to the authority as payment. An example of this would be at Woodside in Glasgow, where the Abbey Housing Association - who are linked directly to the Abbey National Building Society, constructed a flatted development on land previously owned by the District Council. The Housing Association handed over a number of sheltered houses to the District Council as part payment for the site.

If the Green Paper A new framework for Building Societies (H.M. Treasury 1984 CMD 9316) is enacted in 1986 as expected, even greater and more direct involvement would be possible. At present Building Societies are not permitted to own land or property directly, apart from that necessary for their main line operations. This creates difficulties in them getting directly involved in developments. The proposal in the Green Paper is that they should be allowed to own land and buildings, with certain safeguards. This will enable them to be more adventurous in undertaking direct developments, particularly in housing, but also possible in other commercial ventures with a housing element.

It is likely that the Societies will be keen to accept any feasible opportunities in the early days of the new legislation to prove they can do it, and to gain experience in the development field. It would therefore be prudent to have potential schemes laid before the Societies as soon as the legislation is enacted.

For the Societies to become involved, they must be invited. They do not usually take the initiative themselves. Furthermore the package offered to them must be of interest, for example, they would not be interested in refurbishing individual flats in a block, or even small blocks of flats, and all the flats would have to have vacant possession.



Involvement of Private Sector cont.

A useful piece of legislation exists at present in the Housing Act 1980 whereby a local authority is able to offer a guarantee backing any mortgage a building society offers on developments where it has had an interest. The facility is not often used, but when done so is commonly when the local authority have refurbished, directly or by sub contracting, difficult to let housing, and offer them for sale on the open market. In such cases the local authority can guarantee that in the event of default in payment of any mortgage made to a purchaser, they, the local authority will reimburse the building society. This is a useful tool enabling the building society to make a secure loan with little risk. The facility is not often used, there is scope for further use to be made.

Given the right offer they are generally prepared to act, and have the finance to do so.

Other private sector involvement should be encouraged. Particularly the development of general industrial/warehousing units, and specialised units such as cold stores. The estate is ideally placed for access to the motorway network, with easy access being available to full interchanges on the M.8 motorway, which links to motorways heading north, south, east and west within approximately two miles. The success of a warehouse development at Coatbridge, fronting the A.8 trunk road, by D.C.I. Ltd. demonstrates that there is a demand for good warehousing with easy access to the Central Scotland motorway network. The development was comparatively quickly let at good rental levels to multiple traders whose requirements were that access to Central Scotland and the South were essential. Any such scheme would be totally funded by the developer, with the community gaining, by having employment created.

PART III - Role of the Community Groups in the Renewal Process

The community groups have an important role to play in the planning of the renewal, and in the development that will follow. The community groups incorporate a wide variety of local groups, including residents/tenants associations, the Festival Society, churches Community Councils, political parties and other special interest groups. It has been observed however that a small number of prominent local activists are involved in a majority of the groups. The Greater Easterhouse Executive is a body which comprises of representatives of each of those groups, and probably gives the widest representation of the community.

The role of community groups is recognised and stated in the joint initiative proposals put forward by Strathclyde Region and Glasgow District Councils, but the extent to which they are to be involved is not clear. Under the management provisions the area management group will comprise locally elected members, but no other community representatives. Voting rights are to be split equally between both councils. It is considered by the Festival Society that if the community are to be more fully involved then there should be some representation by community groups on the management committees - with voting rights.

Regarding further activities by the community groups to ensure that the renewal is both for and with the community, the option of producing a People's Plan should be considered.

The plan should, as the Royal Docks People's Plan effectively did, state clearly the issues that the community perceive as being in need of receiving attention, and preferably make realistic suggestions as to how their proposals may be achieved; particularly regarding the financing of any proposals. Both plans considered in Chapter IV did not give detailed consideration to what the proposals would cost, or where new sources of finance could be found.

Part III - Role of the Community Groups in the Renewal Process cont.

It may also be worthwhile if the Festival Society moved into the field of employment attraction along the lines that the New Towns have done, either in directly marketing the advantages of the area to potential employers, or in employing consultants to market the area on their behalf.

There will be the necessity to overcome the bad publicity of the past, which has in part been done. It is interesting to note that some two years after completion, the mosaic has not been vandalised in any way, which must be significant to any potential employer.

Finally, the community groups have been effective in the past in improving the quality of life on the estate. The Festival Society particularly has moved from its original 'Arts' promoting function to involve itself in poverty relieving activities, and the creation of employment. They should continue these roles to alleviate some of the more depressing aspects of life on the peripheral estate for the individual.

CONCLUSIONS

### Conclusions

A narrow view of town planning was taken in establishing the peripheral estates. Sole policy objectives were looked at, and solutions applied without consulting the affected individuals. As to whether the individuals would have suggested other solutions is questionable, as their living conditions were so appalling. The danger, particularly at a time of resource constraint, is that the same will be done again. The result of the past is that people today are living in a very undesirable estate, with a poor environment, high unemployment, low incomes and comparatively poor health.

Considered action has to be taken to make the stay of these individuals on this earth more pleasant. Academic research will not achieve this goal : it may contribute slightly.

A dedicated commitment by a community in partnership with the officials who serve them is the most likely prescription to achieve the aim in part, in the short term.

The involvement of Central Government and structural changes in the economy may be necessary, and may have to be long term goals. In the short term it is important that as effective remedial action as possible is taken as quickly as possible.

The situation on the estate is not as gloomy as it has been at periods in the past. There are a considerable number of people living on the estate in local government and in the academic fields, who are deeply concerned about the problems that exist, and are committed to altering the situation. This is evidenced by the activities of the community groups, the initiatives by local government and by the amount of academic research that has gone in to the estate. It must be of importance that the momentum of interest is sustained.

Finally/

Conclusions cont.

Finally other areas and estates have shown that change is possible, and that it is not a hopeless cause. For the sake of the present and future residents in the area this change must be brought about as speedily as possible.

Approximately 31,400 words, including Appendices

APPENDIX I

Summary of Issues  
Easterhouse Local Plan.

Source : Easterhouse Local Plan  
Survey Report  
Glasgow District Council  
August. 1980

## SUMMARY OF ISSUES

### POPULATION ISSUES

1. In what ways can the Local Plan help to reduce the population outflow?
2. How can the Local Plan help to achieve a population structure in terms of the age/sex breakdown and household size which will relate more closely to that projected for the City as a whole in 1983 and how can the individual schemes contribute towards this?

### HOUSING ISSUES

1. It is District Council policy to widen tenure choice and to achieve a level of owner occupation within the City of at least the Scottish average, currently 34%. How can the Local Plan proposals help the District Council achieve this objective?
  - Should consideration be given to the release of green field sites outwith the existing built-up area for private residential development and to the introduction of other management and sales initiatives in existing housing areas? If so, which areas are considered most appropriate?
2. Given the relatively high cost of restructuring and conversion;
  - What action could be taken to overcome deficiencies in house size provision within the Local Plan Area, at reasonable cost?
3. There is an estimated shortfall in the provision of sheltered and other special needs housing. Bearing in mind the special site requirements of this type of accommodation;
  - Which areas of existing housing should be considered for conversion to meet the needs of the elderly, disabled or other special needs groups?
  - Which sites should be considered for the development of new sheltered or other special needs housing?
4. There are relatively few large family houses in the Local Plan Area;
  - Is there a need for more large family houses in Easterhouse? If so, where should they be located?



**ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND EMPLOYMENT ISSUES**

1. In view of the amount of vacant sites and premises at Queenslie and Easter Queenslie Industrial Estate which are suitable for industrial development;
  - What type of action is considered to be most appropriate for increasing job opportunities within the Local Plan Area?
2. When considering the development potential of land for industrial or commercial purposes - is a certain degree of separation from residential areas desirable?
3. To what extent should each part of Easterhouse contribute to the provision of local employment opportunities?
4. Given the strategic location of the Local Plan Area in relation to the Motorway network;
  - Should green field sites outwith the existing built-up area be released for industrial development? If so, where should these be located?

**SHOPPING ISSUES**

1. In view of the decline in population and the increase in vacancy rates being experienced, particularly in Lochend;
  - How should local shopping facilities be provided for the Lochend-Comonhead area?
2. Should the District Council continue to pursue its policy of establishing a secondary shopping centre within the Local Plan Area? If so - should it be located at Craighend as currently proposed?
3. It is District Council policy to try to make Easterhouse more like a medium sized town;
  - Should the Local Plan Area therefore attempt to be more self-sufficient in terms of shopping floorspace or should better access and transport be provided to other shopping centres outwith Easterhouse?
4. How can the quality and appearance of local shopping facilities be improved?
5. As the redevelopment of the areas of surplus tenements at Garthamlock, S. Rogerfield and East Lochend takes place the viability of local shops may be threatened;
  - What action can the District Council take to ensure that residents have adequate access to local shopping facilities?

EDUCATION ISSUES

1. What alternative uses should be considered for the emerging surplus of school accommodation?
2. Should consideration be given to locating a day nursery within or near to the Local Plan Area?
3. Bearing in mind the projected population decline;
  - Should any attempt be made to eliminate the deficiencies in the site requirements affecting some of the schools in Easterhouse?
4. Given the deficiency of nursery school places in relation to the current waiting lists;
  - Should sites be allocated for nursery schools or can extra accommodation be found in existing primary schools where rolls have been in decline?

COMMUNITY HEALTH AND SOCIAL FACILITIES ISSUES

1. Is there a need for the provision of one or more new tenants' halls and, if so, where should they be located?
2. The planning standards require that consideration be given to the creation of small community centres in outlying parts of the Local Plan Area;
  - Which areas are in most need of such a facility?
3. The new health centre will concentrate most of the health services in one location near the Township Centre;
  - What requirement will there be for the provision of child health and family planning facilities on a local basis?
4. The District Council's Planning Policy Report on Social and Community Facilities identified a need for a Public Hall in areas such as Easterhouse;
  - Should such a hall be incorporated with another facility which is required (such as a sports centre or community centre) and where should it be located?
5. Is another Children's Home for the Social Work Department's Eastern District required within the Local Plan Area?

LEISURE AND RECREATION ISSUES

1. Are there any recreational needs appropriate to a district park which will not be catered for by the existing and proposed district parks?
2. Should a new golf course for the north-east of the City be developed within the Local Plan Area?
3. Should allotment gardens be provided? If so, should they be concentrated in one area or dispersed?
4. At present the Local Plan Area requires 1 Sports Centre and 2 Sports Halls and even if the population continues to decline a demand will still remain for a Sports Centre (to cater for an area wider than Easterhouse alone) and a Sports Hall.
  - Is the current proposal for a Sports Centre at Auchinlea Park appropriate? And, where should a local Sports Hall be located?
5. In relation to the present population, there is a deficiency of one branch library and there are many areas which are not within one mile of a branch library.
  - How can this deficiency best be overcome?

TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORT ISSUES

1. Are the residents of areas such as Garthamlock and Craighend inconvenienced through not having ready access to the Passenger Transport Executive services and system?
2. Is there a need for improved local bus services within Easterhouse?
3. Should the rail and bus services within the Local Plan Area be better integrated?
4. How can the problems associated with on-street parking best be resolved?

URBAN DESIGN ISSUES

1. Should the Local Plan proposals encourage the grouping of facilities in neighbourhood centres and encourage the development of distinct functional areas with which people can identify themselves??
2. What action is necessary to make the form and appearance of the housing blocks and the open spaces between them more attractive?

3. Given the existence of surplus tenements and the possibility of further demolitions;
  - What provisions should be made to minimise the effect of demolition on the appearance of the built-up area?
4. What provision should be made for the reinforcing of mature tree groupings within the housing areas?
5. What can be done to improve the visual appearance of land between the countryside and the housing areas and to create a meaningful landscape buffer between those two land uses?

#### COUNTRYSIDE ISSUES

1. Should all or part of the countryside area around the existing built-up area be designated as green Belt. If so, where exactly should the inner edge boundary be located?
2. Should the proposal to develop a country park at Bishop Loch be retained? If so, how far should it extend and what activities should it cater for?
3. What active steps should the Local Plan take to enhance the quality of the landscape in the rural part of Easterhouse?

#### VACANT LAND ISSUES

1. Should the vacant or disused land outwith the built-up area be improved? If so, for what purpose?
2. What uses should be considered for the sites of vacant or disused land listed in the Survey Report? (See Tables 12A and 12B).
3. Which vacant sites within the built-up area should receive priority for environmental treatment?

APPENDIX 2

Recommendations of the Housing  
Policy Review Group  
26th October 1978

**RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE HOUSING POLICY REVIEW GROUP**  
**(Glasgow District Council Minutes Print 7, Appendix II 1978/79)**

The undernoted are the recommendations of the Housing Policy Review Group as amended by the Council at their meeting on 26 October 1978 (Pages 619 and 620 hereof).

1. The Council to try to reproduce in each of the peripheral estates the character and esprit of a medium sized town by endeavouring to make the estates desirable enough to attract and hold people of all classes in socio-economic terms. The more ambitious and thrusting members of the existing communities to be given the change to satisfy their ambitions within the townships to be created.
2. The Council to improve the mix of house types and tenures in the peripheral estates by a variety of policies including:-
  - (a) the provision of one-family houses with gardens on sites which have been cleared of surplus tenement buildings, some of these houses being made available for purchase, some for equity sharing and others for rent;
  - (b) some of the existing tenemental housing stock to be offered for outright sale and others for sale under equity sharing arrangements;
  - (c) a hierarchy of Council housing to be created by the improvement of parts of the existing stock to standards far higher than is customary or affordable for ordinary Council housing stock. The Council to provide superior amenities and in return demand higher rents. The Council to decide what basic standards it can afford to provide at the lowest rent levels; and
  - (d) the Council to press ahead vigourously with the introduction of tenant management co-operatives and co-ownership schemes. When these co-operatives, etc., are established they should have the power to decide what balance to strike between rent levels and the corresponding amenities.
3. The Council to allow a substantial measure of delegation of decision taking. Committees, especially the Housing Committee, to disengage themselves from the detailed day-to-day control presently exercised, particularly in the letting of houses for non-residential purposes and the allocation of shop lets. In the peripheral estates delegation to extend to allowing appropriate officers to decide, within limits predetermined by the Council and after consultation with local community groups and elected members, what mixture of modernisation, upgrading, environmental improvement, conversion, adaptation of selective demolition of houses should be adopted. Where community representatives

or elected members disagree with proposals by officers for the exercise of delegated powers, these powers to be not exercised and the matter to be referred to the Housing (or other appropriate) Committee for final decision. Official participating in the activities of Working Parties and the preparation of neighbourhood plans to be empowered and expected to deliver necessary services and to respond quickly, sensitively and positively to the reasonable demands of the community. In pursuance of the area-based strategy, efforts to be made to adjust present accounting and costing systems to facilitate progress towards a system of area budgeting.

4. The Council to give high priority to the rehousing of the tenants affected by schemes for conversion, modernisation, selective demolition, etc., and where necessary tenants to be given a better offer than they would be entitled to ordinarily.
5. The Council to devise new structures to manage changes on the scale envisaged and as a first step to appoint an Area Manager or Co-ordinator who would be permanently and exclusively concerned with the problems of each peripheral estate and who would be given a degree of line management control over the service departments to enable him/her for example to issue instructions for special collection of rubbish, for the clearance of a particular block of houses by a particular date, the carrying out of repairs to particular properties by the Building and Works Department or, where the Building and Works Department are unable to cope, by a contractor or for the carrying out by the Parks Department of particular landscape improvement or maintenance work.
6. The Council to work in close collaboration with the Regional Council whose input would be crucial in relation to policing, education, social work, transport and roads in particular to:
  - (a) press for the stepping-up of police patrols in the peripheral estates, especially where buildings were being modernised, converted or revitalised;
  - (b) seek the co-operation of the Education Department in making school playing fields and school premises more freely available to the community at large;
  - (c) seek the establishment of closer ties between the Education Department and the Training Services Agency and the alteration of schools' curricula to accommodate the needs of the community and vocational training for those without academic aspirations;
  - (d) seek a major input from the Social Work Department in relation to problem families, the resettlement of the elderly and the supervision of sheltered accommodation and to request the Regional Council to consider the introduction of more incentives for recruitment of Social Workers;

- (e) urge the Regional Council to give urgent and sympathetic consideration to the need for all-day nurseries and to examine the setting up of such facilities in and adjacent to places of employment;
  - (f) press the Greater Glasgow Passenger Transport Executive to continue their efforts to find ways of making the existing bus services to and from the City Centre and places of major employment more reliable and cheaper and to intensify their efforts to provide internal public transport within the peripheral estates to the shopping centres; and
  - (g) seek the co-operation of the Roads Department in providing good lighting, landscaping and regular maintenance of roads and footpaths, coupled with the provision of sensitive traffic management, selective road closures and the creation of landscaped pedestrian precincts.
7. The Council to press the Government to place greater emphasis on retraining, research and investment in advanced technologies and in high productivity (and high wage) profitable expanding industries in Glasgow and the West of Scotland.
8. The Council to play a more active part in community development and to use its powers and influences to bring and help others to bring more social life and local employment into housing areas and to these ends to try to use more fully the resources available through Urban Aid, the Scottish Development Agency and the Manpower Services Commission Youth Employment Opportunities and STEP schemes. Self-help projects of all kinds in housing areas to be encouraged and the Council's officers and committees to encourage and respond positively to any local initiatives for the use of land and premises for commercial, industrial, recreational or cultural purposes. The Council to approach local and national cultural bodies and entrepreneurs to ascertain what scope there was for promotion within housing areas of cultural activities, using the excellent facilities already existing in schools.
9. The Council to allocate a supplementary area budget of £250,000 per annum in each of the peripheral estates to be expended by the Area Manager on, for example, local schemes of environmental improvement, etc., and to meet pleas from service departments that they could not respond to special demands for improved services immediately because of budgetary restrictions, the Housing Policy Review Group to be asked to examine the principle of extending this type of supplementary expenditure on a city-wide basis.
10. All Council departments to be asked in preparing their budgets for 1979/81 to ensure that they reflect the urgent attention required to be given to the peripheral estates.



11. Whatever areas were selected for highest priority treatment, the Council to adopt as a major element of strategy a form of holding operation throughout the remainder of the estates which would prevent undue deterioration pending the build-up of resources necessary for overall treatment. In pursuance of this policy, the Council to raise the redecoration/repair allowances to increase acceptance rates of housing, minimise unplanned vacancies and the creation of dereliction, minimise concentration of multi-problem families anywhere, protect the stability of settled areas and increase action under the Urban Aid Programme. The holding operation to be left to Community representatives and officials to devise and implement.
12. The Council to ask the Director of Cleansing to make an immediate start on providing an improved cleansing effort in the peripheral estates at an estimated extra annual cost per annum of £242,000.
13. The City Estates Surveyor to be authorised to bring forward immediately proposals for the establishment of small industrial units in Easterhouse and Pollok and for the expansion of employment in the travel-to-work areas of the peripheral estates.
14. The Planning Department to be asked to illustrate the District Council's input to peripheral estates in map form with a view to public participation and in collaboration with the Director of Housing Management to establish "Neighbourhood Plan" Working Parties; the Housing Management Department to assume the role of lead department in formulating neighbourhood plans as soon as possible once the Working Parties have been set up.
15. The Council, in seeking extra resources from Central Government, to offer to use a proportion of these extra resources to employ the Scottish Special Housing Association on a contractual basis on modernisation, upgrading and conversion work in the peripheral estates.
16. The streamlining of existing procedures to be achieved by adapting the administrative structure suggested by the Management Team (giving concurrent executive powers in relation to these special efforts in the peripheral estates to the recently restructured Co-ordinating Committee; a monitoring and review role to a core group of Chief Officers; and executive responsibilities to the Area Manager and local officer groups, who would work in close collaboration with ward members, Neighbourhood Plan Working Parties, Community Councils and other local groups).
17. The local Area Housing Manager to be given the area management/co-ordinating responsibility for each estate.

18. The expenditure of the supplementary budget of £150,000 per annum for each peripheral estate by the Area Manager to be operated with the consent of the Chief Executive or in his absence, the Director of Administration on the same basis as the £200,000 fund already established for the Maryhill Corridor project, subject to report to the Co-ordinating Committee at regular intervals.
19. A simple pamphlet to be prepared outlining the problems identified in the joint report and indicating how the Council proposes to tackle them.

APPENDIX 3

Proposed Joint Initiative in  
Drumchapel and Easterhouse

- 1) Letter to Community Groups
- 2) Report by Chief Executives to  
Policy & Resources Committees  
January 1985



Robert Calderwood LLB CBIM Chief Executive



City of  
Glasgow

STEVEN F. HAMILTON, J.P. B.L. D.P.A., D.M.S.,  
Town Clerk and Chief Executive

25 January 1985

Dear

PROPOSED JOINT INITIATIVES IN DRUMCHAPEL AND EASTERHOUSE

At their meetings in the last week of January 1985 the Policy and Resources Committees of Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council will consider the enclosed report proposing that Joint Initiatives be set up in Drumchapel and Greater Easterhouse. If the initiatives are approved then it is anticipated that they will start sometime during the summer of 1985. The areas are defined on the plans attached to the committee report.

In the preliminary discussions which have taken place about the initiatives the urgent need for action to bring about improvements in both areas was fully recognised. The objectives of the initiatives must be to try to bring about fundamental and comprehensive improvements in living conditions in the areas. This will involve taking action to:

- reduce unemployment and poverty
- improve housing conditions
- improve the quality of services and facilities.

Given the severe financial and other constraints within which both authorities have to work at the present time these must be seen to be long-term objectives. They could also only be achieved through the involvement not only of the two authorities but also of local people, other public sector agencies such as the Greater Glasgow Health Board and Scottish Development Agency and the private sector.

-2-

The need for real and effective community involvement in the initiatives is fully recognised by the two authorities.

Our purpose in writing to you now is to give your organisation prior indication of the Councils' proposals so that you will know the background before any statements appear in the press. If the proposals are accepted and the two Councils give their approval for their development then it is intended that there will be a period of intensive consultations with the communities (starting in February or March of this year) to decide what should be done and how best to go about it. The objectives of these consultations will be:

- to advise the communities of the aims of the initiatives
- to seek their views about these aims and begin to develop them into specific proposals
- to ask the communities how they think they might most effectively be involved in the implementation of the initiatives.

After the Council meetings we will write to you again to let you know what decision is taken. If the initiatives are approved we will also let you know what arrangements are being made for the initial period of consultation and discussion with the community.

We believe that these initiatives will be of very great benefit to both the areas concerned and look forward to your interest and involvement in their development and implementation. In the meantime if you require any further information about the initiatives please contact one of the persons named on the enclosed list.

Yours sincerely

Councillor R Stewart  
Strathclyde Regional Council

Councillor J McFadden  
Glasgow District Council

Enc.

MAG/ECS

Policy and Resources Committee

CITY OF GLASGOW DISTRICT COUNCIL/STRATHCLYDE REGIONAL COUNCIL  
PROPOSED JOINT INITIATIVES IN DRUMCHAPEL AND GREATER EASTERHOUSE

Report by the Chief Executives

Purpose of Report: To advise members of proposals for joint initiatives in Drumchapel and Greater Easterhouse and to seek approval for their implementation.

1. Introduction

- 1.1 Discussions between elected members and officials of Glasgow District Council and Strathclyde Regional Council have resulted in it being proposed to establish joint initiatives in Drumchapel and Greater Easterhouse. The proposed boundaries are shown in the attached plans.
- 1.2 The proposal follows the analysis of multiple deprivation in the City and subsequent designation of the two areas as priority areas for joint economic and social initiatives by both authorities.
- 1.3 It is also proposed that if these two initiatives were successful then similar initiatives might be established in other areas at a later date. The first two initiatives would be monitored and evaluated as a means of identifying good practice for inclusion in these subsequent initiatives.

2. Overall Aim and Objectives

- 2.1 In both areas the initiatives will involve taking action to reduce unemployment and poverty, improve health and housing conditions and improve the quality of services and facilities. The need to bring about improvements in the short term is recognised. But in both areas it is felt that the overall aim must be to bring about fundamental and comprehensive improvements in the longer term.
- 2.2 Both Councils recognise that many of the problems of these two areas, including lack of facilities, poor environment and inadequate housing, will require many millions of pounds of investment. Recognising the present financial and political climate, a significant proportion of the funding will need to come from other than the public purse.
- 2.3 It is considered that this would best be achieved by aiming to provide within both areas the range and standard of services and opportunities and the degree of community identity normally associated with medium sized towns.
- 2.4 No detailed programmes of action have been prepared at this stage. If the initiatives are approved then these would be worked out by the Area Management Groups and staff referred to below in association with the local communities. It is however proposed that while within the overall aim the approaches adopted in the two areas might differ slightly because of different local circumstances they should both have the following more specific objectives:-

(1)/...

- (1) To regenerate the local economy of the areas and, in particular, to create jobs for local people should be a major objective and reflected in the ways in which programmes are designed and implemented.
- (2) To maximise incomes and reduce poverty through the creation of jobs, provision of training opportunities and improvement of take-up rates of welfare benefits and other initiatives should also be a major objective.
- (3) The management, other arrangements and detailed proposals should be designed to obtain the greatest possible involvement of the communities in the projects to ensure that they can have real say in their development and implementation.
- (4) The general approach to community development should be to try to develop a sense of community identity in each area as a whole but at the same time recognise and support the development of smaller communities within the areas. This principle should be reflected in the implementation of all programmes in the area not just community development work.
- (5) To improve the type, size, tenure, condition and quality of the housing in the area.
- (6) To improve health conditions and services and to increase take up of health services.
- (7) To improve other services such as education, social work and leisure and recreation.
- (8) As far as practicable the management and implementation of the projects should be devolved to the areas.
- (9) All appropriate agencies should be involved.
- (10) The initiatives should aim to maximise the use of all available resources including those of the private sector for appropriate purposes including shopping, leisure and recreation, housing and industrial development.
- (11) Innovation and joint working should be particularly encouraged in an attempt to find ways of doing things which more effectively meet the needs of the area.
- (12) In these and other ways the initiative should seek to generate a high degree of interest in and commitment to the area by all staff working in the area, by other public agencies, the private sector and the community.

### 3. Staffing

3.1 It is proposed that lead officers to be known as 'Project Executives' should be appointed, one for each area on a contracted basis initially for 5 years with a possible continuation for a further five years.

3.2 The Project Executives should be responsible for achieving the general objectives outlined in Section 2.0.

3.3/...

RCEIDP281

- 3.3 The project Executives should have direct access to members and officials at the most senior level but should not have direct line management responsibility over local managers.
- 3.4 Each Executive should have a small team of staff plus direct access through possible secondment to existing staff in both the Region and District. These staff and the Project Executives would be based in the initiative areas.
- 3.5 There would be Area Managers for all the major services in each area, including employment development. In many cases these posts already exist. In some, such as social work, education and employment development, new posts would be created.

4. Management

- 4.1 Each Initiative Area should have its own area Management Group with equal voting rights for both Regional and District Councils; but decision making should normally be by agreement. The existing District Council Area Management Committee areas would be amended accordingly. The Area Management Groups would report to the Policy and Resources Committee of the District and Regional Council on matters with major resource or policy implications. As far as possible other decisions should be devolved to the Area Management Groups to work within the approved financial and policy guidelines laid down by the two authorities. The Area Managers should be responsible for the preparation of proposals for service development reporting to the Project Executives and Area Management Groups.
- 4.2 Membership of the Area Management Groups would include all local elected members, the Project Executives and senior member and officer representation from the District and Regional Councils. The Scottish Development Agency and Health Board would also be invited to be represented.
- 4.3 A Liaison Group would be established comprising a small number of senior elected members and officers to monitor the effectiveness of the initiatives, resolve any major difficulties and consider the scope for extensions of the initiatives to other areas.
- 4.4 The following summarises the key features of the staffing and management proposals:-

Drumchapel

Easterhouse

Liaison Group

Area Management Group

Area Management Group

Project Executive  
4 staff-administrator, researcher and  
2 typist/clerical - plus possible  
secondments.

Project Executive  
6 staff-administrator, researcher and  
4 typist/clerical - plus possible  
secondments.

Area Officers - Existing posts  
+ additional posts including  
Employment Development.

Area Officers - Existing posts  
+ additional posts including  
Employment Development.

5./...



5. Community Involvement

5.1 Effective community involvement would be the basis of the initiatives. The guiding principles of that involvement should be:

- to provide communities with additional support to identify and, as far as possible, meet expressed needs;
- to increase access of community organisations and groups to decision making;
- to encourage community organisations to harness the many latent resources within the community;
- to develop effective organisations and structures which will allow community needs and demands to be expressed.

5.2 Community involvement should be provided for in a variety of ways. These might be:

- across the initiative areas, involving groups with a common interest in particular issues which are initiative wide or in the development of the initiatives as a whole;
- at the level of local and identifiable communities;
- in encouraging more effective involvement in the delivery and improvement of local authority services;
- in further extending support for existing community organisations.

5.3 If the establishment of the two initiatives is agreed then it is proposed that discussions will take place with the community about precisely how effective community involvement might be achieved according to the principles outlined above.

6. Resources

6.1 It is proposed that each area should be given an 'Area Budget' which might be jointly funded by the participating agencies and the use of which would be devolved to the Area Management Groups. The areas should also be given access to additional funds from other sources such as Urban Aid, local grants, the EEC and the private sector. Once detailed proposals have been produced for the areas it is proposed that these should be given greater priority for capital and revenue mainstream resources.

7. Timing

7.1 If these proposals are approved then it is recommended that after a period of consultation with the Community in both areas staff should be appointed and the Area management Groups established with a view to the initiatives becoming operational in the Summer of 1985. Staff would be appointed initially for 5 years but the needs of the areas are such that it is envisaged that the initiatives would last longer than five years.

8. /...

## 8.0 Costs

- 8.1 The main direct costs will be the additional staffing required to undertake the new approach required by the initiatives as outlined in Section 3 above, i.e., the appointment of project executives, area managers, employment development staff and administrative support staff. It is estimated that the staff costs in 1985/86 will be a maximum of £158,000 rising to £272,000 in a full year. Other revenue costs (rent, rates, heating, telephone, travel, publicity) are estimated to be £20,000. In addition, property costs will be incurred but these cannot be quantified until suitable low cost properties have been identified.
- 8.2 Given that budgets for 1985/86, for example Urban Programme, will be heavily committed in advance of the start of the initiatives it is considered that there is a case for a special "pump priming" budget for 1985/86 to enable small scale local initiatives to be supported in the first year of the project. On this basis it is proposed that a pump priming budget of up to £100,000 should be ear marked. This would be allocated between Greater Easterhouse and Drumchapel on the basis of population sizes.
- 8.3 With the exception of the Education and Social Work Area Managers, it is proposed that the above costs should be shared equally between the Regional and the District Councils. Other partners to the initiative will be requested to make a contribution to these costs.

## 9. Recommendations

- 9.1 It is recommended that joint initiatives in Drumchapel and Greater Easterhouse be approved on the basis outlined above.

ROBERT CALDERWOOD  
Chief Executive  
Strathclyde Regional  
Council

STEVEN HAMILTON  
Town Clerk and  
Chief Executive  
City of Glasgow  
District Council

LIST OF CONTACT PERSONS

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>TEL. NO.</u>
<u>Drumchapel</u>		
Mr R Allan District Housing Manager	35 Hecla Avenue Glasgow G15 8LG	944-0651
Ms Liz Atkinson Community Development Officer, Housing	35 Hecla Avenue Glasgow G15 8LG	944 8292
Mr H Clark Social Work Community Development Organiser	1660 Great Western Rd Glasgow G13	954-2671
Mr F McDade Social Work Area Officer	236 Kinfauns Drive Glasgow G15	944-0551
Mr G Peden Community Education, Area Officer	78 Kearns Avenue Glasgow G15	944-8262
<u>Easterhouse</u>		
Mr P Mair District Housing Manager	7 Shandwick Street Glasgow G34 9DP	771-5717
Mr N Jardine Community Development Officer Housing	" " "	771-5717
Mr G Westwater Social Work Area Officer	36 Westerhouse Road Glasgow G34	771-7401
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