



The evolution of multi-tenure estates in the British housing system.

DIXON, Laura Anne.

Available from the Sheffield Hallam University Research Archive (SHURA) at:

<http://shura.shu.ac.uk/19564/>

A Sheffield Hallam University thesis

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Please visit <http://shura.shu.ac.uk/19564/> and <http://shura.shu.ac.uk/information.html> for further details about copyright and re-use permissions.

CITY CAMPUS, POND STREET,
SHEFFIELD. S1 1WB.

101 651 886 2



REFERENCE

KEY TEXT LOAN

Return to Learning Centre of issue
Fines are charged at 50p per hour

18 OCT 2006

4.10pm

ProQuest Number: 10694445

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10694445

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

The Evolution of Multi-tenure Estates in the British Housing System

Laura Anne Dixon

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of

Sheffield Hallam University

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September 2000

Collaborating Organisation: The University of Sheffield



| | Page |
|---|-------------|
| Contents | i |
| List of Tables, Figures & Maps | v |
| Acknowledgments | vii |
| Abstract | x |
| Introduction | 1 |
| <i>Part One: Context</i> | |
| Chapter One: Multi-tenure Estates and Social Balance | 6 |
| 1.1 Introduction | 6 |
| 1.2 Social Balance: The idea of neighbourhood and the balanced community | 10 |
| 1.3 The Scale of Social Balance | 20 |
| 1.4 Problems associated with Social Balance and the Neighbourhood Unit Concept | 21 |
| 1.5 Conclusion | 23 |
| Chapter Two: Social Exclusion, Social Division and Housing Tenure | 25 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 25 |
| 2.2 Defining Housing Tenure | 25 |
| 2.3 Social Exclusion and Housing Tenure | 27 |
| 2.4 Social Division and Housing Tenure | 42 |
| 2.5 Housing Policy and Tenure Diversification | 47 |
| 2.6 Residualisation and Housing Tenure | 49 |
| 2.7 Socio-Tenorial Polarisation | 54 |
| <i>Part Two: Research Aims, Design and Methods</i> | |
| Chapter Three: Research Aims, Design and Methods | 58 |
| 3.1 Introduction | 58 |
| 3.2 Aims and Objectives of the Thesis | 61 |
| 3.3 Phase One: A Postal Questionnaire Survey of Local Authorities and Housing Associations in England | 63 |
| 3.4 Phase Two: Five Local Authority Area Case Studies | 71 |
| 3.5 Phase Three: Resident Focus Groups | 80 |
| 3.6 Phase Four: Resident Survey | 90 |
| 3.7 Conclusion | 92 |

Part Three: A Stakeholder View of Multi-tenure Estates

| | |
|--|------------|
| Chapter Four: A National Picture of Multi-tenure Development | 94 |
| 4.1 Introduction | 94 |
| 4.2 The Size of an Organisation and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 96 |
| 4.3 Regional Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 101 |
| 4.4 Length of Organisational Involvement in the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 111 |
| 4.5 The Scale of Organisational Involvement in the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 113 |
| 4.6 The Effect of Partnerships on the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 115 |
| 4.7 The Factors Influencing Multi-tenure Development | 117 |
| 4.8 Conclusion | 118 |
| Chapter Five: A Local Picture of Multi-tenure Development: aims and objectives | 120 |
| 5.1 Introduction | 120 |
| 5.2 The Housing Situation in the Local Authority Case Study Areas | 122 |
| 5.3 The Origins of Multi-tenure Estates in the Local Authority Case Study Areas | 130 |
| 5.4 The Aims of Housing Organisations When Developing Multi-tenure Estates | 138 |
| 5.5 The Partnership Approach to the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 144 |
| 5.6 Conclusion | 149 |
| Chapter Six: A Local Picture of Multi-tenure Development: creating communities | 151 |
| 6.1 Introduction | 151 |
| 6.2 Dwelling Size and Type Mix on Multi-tenure Estates | 152 |
| 6.3 Tenure Mix on Multi-tenure Estates | 154 |
| 6.4 The Use of Allocations and Sales to Achieve Social Balance on Multi-tenure Estates | 157 |
| 6.5 Stakeholder Opinions on the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 159 |
| 6.6 The Future Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 162 |
| 6.7 A Model of Multi-tenure Development | 163 |
| 6.8 Conclusion | 168 |

| | Page |
|---|---------------------------|
| 19713 . | <i>lti-tenure Estates</i> |
| 25131 | 170 |
| | 170 |
| | 171 |
| | 175 |
| Is private finance the | <i>Estates</i> |
| answer for home repair, | 183 |
| maintenance . | 193 |
| | 195 |
| | 195 |
| | 196 |
| | 201 |
| - Laura Anne Dixon | <i>re Estates</i> |
| | 209 |
| The evolution of | 217 |
| multi-tenure | 220 |
| | 223 |
| | 223 |
| | 233 |
| | 242 |
| | 246 |
| Appendix Three: Postal Questionnaire Covering Letter | 251 |
| Appendix Four: 'About the Survey' Information Sheet | 252 |
| Appendix Five: Postal Questionnaire Reminder Letter | 253 |
| Appendix Six: Response Rates of the National Postal Questionnaire | 254 |
| Appendix Seven: Exploratory Interviews Guide | 256 |
| Appendix Eight: Local Authority/Housing Association Interview Guide | 257 |
| Appendix Nine: Private Developers Interview Guide | 261 |
| Appendix Ten: 'Drop-through-door' Questionnaire | 265 |
| Appendix Eleven: Focus Group Statement Sheet | 266 |
| Appendix Twelve: Resident Survey: Multi-tenure Estate | 267 |
| Appendix Thirteen: Resident Survey: Single tenure Estates | 271 |
| Appendix Fourteen: Resident Survey Covering Letter | 275 |
| Appendix Fifteen: Questionnaire Analysis: an explanation | 276 |
| Appendix Sixteen: Housing Corporation Regions | 277 |
| Appendix Seventeen: Semi-structured Interview Sources | 278 |

| | Page |
|---------------------|------|
| <i>Bibliography</i> | |
| Bibliography | 280 |

| | Page |
|---|-------------|
| Figure 1.1 The Five Waves of Planned Residential Communities in the UK | 11 |
| Figure 2.1 Inter-relationships of Lawless & Smith's (1998) Four Perspectives of Social Exclusion | 32 |
| Table 3.1 The Administrative Phases of the Postal Questionnaire Survey | 69 |
| Figure 3.1 The Geographical Location and Scale of Possible Case Study Areas | 74 |
| Table 3.2 Tenure Mix on the Estate of the Chosen Local Authority Areas | 75 |
| Table 3.3 Sheffield Estates as Possible Locations for Resident Focus Groups | 83 |
| Figure 3.2: Krueger's (1994) Continuum of Analysis Choices | 89 |
| Table 4.1 Contingency Table Testing the Association Between the Size of a Local Authority's Dwelling Stock (number of units owned) and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 98 |
| Table 4.2 Contingency Table Testing the Association Between the Size of a Housing Association's Dwelling Stock (number of units owned) and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 99 |
| Map 4.1 Local Authorities and Multi-tenure Estates, England and Wales, 1995 | 102 |
| Table 4.3 Contingency Table Testing the Association Between a Housing Association Operating in the London Region and their Collaboration With Partners Over the Management of Multi-tenure Estates | 103 |
| Table 4.4 Contingency Table Testing the Association Between a Housing Association Operating in the West Midlands and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 105 |
| Table 4.5 Contingency Table Testing the Association Between a Housing Association Operating in the East Region and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 106 |
| Table 4.6 Contingency Table Testing the Association Between a Local Authority in the South East and Working in Partnership With a Private Developer | 107 |
| Table 4.7 Contingency Table Testing the Association Between a Housing Association Operating in the South West and the Number of Multi-tenure Estates Developed | 109 |
| Table 4.8 Comparison of Local Authorities and Housing Associations First Attempts at Multi-tenure Estate Development | 112 |
| Table 4.9 Contingency Table Testing the Association Between the Number of Estates a Housing Association has been Involved in Developing and the Length of Time They Have Been Involved in the Development of Multi-tenure Estates | 114 |
| Table 4.10 A Comparison of the Factors Influencing a Local Authority or Housing Association to Plan and Develop Multi-tenure Estates | 117 |
| Table 5.1 The Aims and Objectives of Organisations when Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Sheffield | 139 |
| Table 5.2 The Aims and Objectives of Organisations when Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Norwich | 139 |

| | Page |
|--|-------------|
| Table 5.3 The Aims and Objectives of Organisations when Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Birmingham | 140 |
| Table 5.4 The Aims and Objectives of Organisations when Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Newham | 141 |
| Table 5.5 The Aims and Objectives of Organisations when Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Thamesdown | 142 |
| Figure 5.1 The Impact of the Page report on Housing Development | 143 |
| Figure 6.1 A Model of Multi-tenure Development (based on the findings of the five local authority case studies) | 166 |
| Figure 7.1 Age Distribution of Residents on Owner Occupied Estate | 172 |
| Figure 7.2 Social Class Distribution of Owner Occupied Residents (10% Sample) | 173 |
| Figure 7.3 Age Distribution of Residents on the Socially Rented Estate | 173 |
| Figure 7.4 Social Class Distribution of Socially Rented Residents (10% Sample) | 175 |
| Table 7.1 The Integration of Young People on Single Tenure Estates | 183 |
| Table 7.2 Opinions on Property Maintenance by Single tenure Estate Residents | 185 |
| Table 7.3 The Geographical Proximity of Friends on Single Tenure Estates | 186 |
| Table 7.4 Chi-squared Analysis Testing the Relationship Between Housing Tenure and the Location of a Resident's Closest Friend | 187 |
| Table 7.5 Housing Tenure and Friendship on Single Tenure Estates | 187 |
| Table 7.6 Resident's Views on Their Estate on Single tenure Estates | 189 |
| Table 7.7 Views of Multi-tenure Estates by Single tenure Estate Residents | 191 |
| Figure 8.1 Age Distribution of residents on the Unplanned Estate | 197 |
| Figure 8.2 Social Class Distribution of Residents on the Unplanned Estate (10% Sample) | 198 |
| Figure 8.3 Age Distribution of Planned Multi-tenure Respondents | 199 |
| Figure 8.4 Occupational Status of Planned Multi-tenure Estate Respondents | 200 |
| Figure 8.5 Length of residence on the Planned Estate | 200 |
| Table 8.1 The Integration of Young People on the Planned Estate | 209 |
| Table 8.2 Opinions on Property Maintenance by Planned Estate Residents | 211 |
| Table 8.3 The Geographical Proximity of Friends on the Planned Estate | 212 |
| Table 8.4 Housing Tenure and Friendship on the Planned Estate | 213 |
| Table 8.5 Resident's Views of Their Estate on the Planned Estate | 215 |
| Table 8.6 Knowledge of Neighbours on the Planned Estate | 216 |
| Table 8.7 Views of the Planned Estate by Residents | 216 |
| Table 9.1 The Effect of Regional Housing Markets on the Implementation of Multi-tenure Estates | 227 |
| TableA6.1: The Response Rates of Local Authorities by Housing Corporation Region | 254 |
| Table A6.2: The Response Rates of Housing Associations in the National Postal Questionnaire Survey | 255 |

There are many people who have touched my life and influenced the choices I've made and helped to complete this PhD. Some acknowledgment should go, however, to Keith Hoggart, my tutor at King's College London. I went to him towards the end of my undergraduate days to seek advice on what he thought I should do next. I mentioned the possibility of postgraduate study to which he replied: "Laura go and get married and have kids, it's what you want to do". This firmly set me on the path towards a research degree, which he has subsequently assured me was his intention in saying it.

Next, I want to thank Ian Cole, Sheffield Hallam University, and Tony Crook, The University of Sheffield, for offering me the opportunity to take from them their proposal for this PhD. Their continuing support and encouragement helped turn it into the thesis which lies before you. Thanks also to the staff of the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) 1995-1998, especially: my fellow research students, Christina Beatty and Alison Herrington for their help with the 1991 Census, and Tony Gore for his help with Map Info; members of the Housing Division in the School of Urban & Regional Studies. Thanks also to Val Heap, the departmental secretary at the University of Sheffield, whose help was invaluable in arranging supervision meetings and made completing the thesis so much easier.

Within these departments there are individuals who deserve special acknowledgments: Joanna Disson who has listened tirelessly to every twist and turn of the whole process whilst going through it herself; Clare Greensmith, has spent many hours calming me down and helping prepare drafts for submission and Rebecca Player, who had to live with, as well as listen to, me.

Special thanks from my days studying in Sheffield must however go to Amanda Smith, who shared her house with a frantic student and read faithfully everything I ever did, offering help and assistance in any way she could and made me laugh when I felt like crying! Without that I don't think I'd have finished. She began her own PhD in 1998 – I only hope she can say I did the same for her.

Then there are those who have had to work for the last two years with a 'part-time' research student/wedding organiser at the University of Manchester and just listened to the tangle of issues with which I've dealt. They are Anna Fielder, Jo Cheeseman, Carmel O'Toole, Adam Holden and Micaela Mazzei of the School of Geography, Yunas Muhammed and John J who kindly provided technical assistance, Professor Brian Robson for letting me have time off to help finish the writing up and finally DR Benito Giordano, my fellow CUPS inmate for irritating me onward!

Finally, I must acknowledge the people without whom none of this would mean anything, and they are my dearest parents, Patrick and Janet Dixon, my brother, Christopher and his partner Sarah Prentice, all of my family and my husband Peter Twomey (perhaps he should come first?!). My family have always supported and encouraged every decision I have ever made when it comes to what I wanted to do, perhaps without fully understanding what it was I was trying to do. Without it, however, I would never have come this far. Their love and nurturing since the day I first asked "how do you spell...?" without being able to write has made this possible. Along with Peter, they have never let me give up and helped convince me I could do it. I am very lucky to have such a close, loving and supportive family, which has extended to include Peter's parents and sisters who have also helped nudge me along in the last three years. This is dedicated to you all.

For Peter, my parents, my brother, my family and in-laws

With all my love and thanks for ever

Laura x x – September 2000

Towards the end of the twentieth century academic debates in social policy have increasingly focused on social exclusion. Housing, especially housing tenure, has become of central concern to policymakers, planners and academics alike when contemplating mechanisms for the alleviation of social exclusion at the local level. In particular, the development of multi-tenure housing estates have been seen as strategy for tackling the detachment of local neighbourhoods from the mainstream by the current Labour Administration and its advisors (see Urban Task Force Report, 1999).

The research, using both quantitative and qualitative methods, undertaken in this thesis predates the current enthusiasm for such developments and attempts to trace the evolution of the multi-tenure housing estate in the British housing system. It highlights both the potential possibilities and limitations of multi-tenure estates, and housing tenure, as a tool for aiding social inclusion. It finds that these estates marginally influence the social networks and behaviour of its residents, but fail to significantly alter the stigma attached to social housing. Therefore, indicating that the geographical proximity of different tenures does not necessarily lead to integration. It cautions against the belief that these estates will 'solve' the problem of social exclusion, but rather should be seen as one of many measures at the Government's disposal.

The Evolution of Multi-tenure Estates in the British Housing System.

My interest in housing studies began in my final undergraduate year whilst writing my dissertation. Whilst collecting the data and writing up I was struck by the way in which housing was influenced, and in turn influences, our behaviour. I decided to explore ways in which to continue looking at such issues. In June 1995, a Joint Research Scholarship was offered by Sheffield Hallam University and the University of Sheffield entitled 'Dissolving Tenure Divisions? The Social and Community Dynamics on Multi-tenure Estates'. Upon applying I discovered the research hoped to explore issues surrounding social division and housing tenure. My interest was aroused and has remained constant as I have discovered the ways in which planners, using housing tenure, have attempted to influence our habits, patterns and behaviour, especially with regard to the social housing sector. Having grown up on a council estate (with the worst reputation in town) and being the daughter of right-to-buy parents, I found my journey through the literature and subsequently the research findings a fascinating insight into the way in which different groups in society perceive themselves and others.

My own life experiences have been coloured by the tenure in which I was brought up. I attended the schools with the worst records in town. However, I was one of the lucky ones, I achieved at school and encountered the surprised looks of disbelief from teachers and peers when they asked where I lived and what school I had come from when having everyday, general conversations. Tenure did matter – only 20 out of 120 sixth formers at my upper school had attended my primary and middle schools. The council estate on which I grew up became synonymous with crime and underachievement, like many of the others in the country.

Therefore, it is no wonder that many people ‘buy into’ the ideology of home ownership as did my parents and its effect on people’s perceptions and behaviour. Multi-tenure estates have occurred ‘naturally’ through the introduction of the 1980 Housing Act and the ‘Right-to-Buy’, but will the planning of such areas affect patterns of behaviour and social relations, networks and levels of deprivation as the current Labour Administration hope? This thesis attempts to show both the potential of such estates and their limitations, and demonstrates that the patterning of people’s social relations may only be marginally altered, but there might be an important reduction in the stigma attached to social housing. Multi-tenure estates should not perhaps be considered a ready made solution to the problems facing housing professionals and planners at the turn of the twentieth century, but rather as part of a package of initiatives that could begin to solve the problems they face.

In order to do this the thesis is organised into five parts, each containing relevant chapters. Part One, Context, draws upon the literature of various disciplines, namely:

- ❖ Planning
- ❖ Social Policy; and
- ❖ Sociology

The first two chapters introduce the focus of the study the multi-tenure estate and locates these developments *historically* alongside other attempts at planned residential communities, and *conceptually* within the current debates concerning social exclusion, social division and housing tenure. These chapters note that previous attempts at creating planned communities with social balance objectives have produced little empirical evidence that they succeed and question the British Government’s wisdom in promoting the development of multi-tenure estates considering the lack of evidence.

However, in the Government's defence in light of the social policy challenges it faces at the local level, in terms of social exclusion, the chapters also argue that perhaps it is unsurprising that the Government should adopt such an approach in order to promote social inclusion. The aims of the thesis are, therefore, to add to the current limited knowledge concerning the evolution of multi-tenure estates and highlight the potential possibilities of such estates in tackling social exclusion as well as its limitations.

Part Two, Methods; provides an in-depth discussion of the methods employed to research the aims of the thesis, namely, a national postal questionnaire survey and five local authority case studies to chart the evolution of the multi-tenure estate and the housing professions view of the estates. As well as focus groups and a resident survey to discover the perceptions of the estate residents in an attempt to provide a holistic view.

Part Three, of the thesis presents the findings of the Stakeholder's view of multi-tenure estates. It discovers that multi-tenure estates have been developed since the 1970s by local authorities, but with increasing involvement from housing associations in the 1980s and 1990s. There is also a strong regional dimension to the development of multi-tenure estates that affects their characteristics. However, multi-tenure estates, due to a number of reasons, are not meeting any social balance objectives hoped for by the developing partners.

Part Four, presents the perceptions of the residents living on the estates in Sheffield. It discovers that living on such estates has a limited impact on their social networks and that geographical proximity does necessarily promote interaction and integration hinting, therefore, that housing tenure does indeed represent a significant plane of division in the UK.

Finally, Part Five, provides a summary of the main findings of the thesis and concludes that in their present format multi-tenure estates perhaps should not be seen as a definitive solution to the problems of social exclusion at a local level but rather as one element of a strategy for dealing with the issues.

Part One: Context

Chapter One begins Part One of the thesis which aims to provide a context for the subsequent research findings. It introduces the focus of the research, the multi-tenure estate, by historically situating the estates within previous attempts to use housing to achieve community diversity. It also outlines the theoretical assumptions on which planned residential communities have been built, and around which multi-tenure estates have been developed.

1.1 Introduction

Multi-tenure estates are a central issue in terms of British housing policy in 1999 (see Urban Task Force, 1999). However, such estates are under-researched, where assumptions and judgements have been made as to their success in combating social exclusion at the local level. This doctoral research preceded this current interest. Therefore it takes a step back from the enthusiasm surrounding multi-tenure housing estates and attempts to highlight both the potential possibilities of such estates in altering people's social relations and networks as well as their limitations.

The multi-tenure estate could be viewed as the crucible for many issues, such as housing tenure and social interaction, social division and exclusion, affordability, allocations and housing need, stigma and neighbourhoods/communities. The thesis follows some of these strands, but begins with an exploration of the literature concerning social balance and locating the development of multi-tenure estates *historically*.

During the 1990s successive British Governments have attempted to promote social diversity in a variety of ways. The Conservative Administrations of Thatcher and Major adopted the 'Right-to-Buy' (RTB) to extend home ownership as far down the income scale as possible. However, in the midst of this various other approaches were considered including:

-
- a) multi-landlord estates; and
 - b) multi-tenure estates.

Both of these approaches aimed to manipulate a neighbourhood's social characteristics in order to achieve balance and diversity in the community. These strategies were an attempt to counteract the social problems found on monolithic, mainly council housing estates resulting in the geographical segregation of different housing tenures due to the way in which housing is developed in England and is a key feature of the housing market. The election of the Labour Administration in 1997 has seen the Government agenda 'catch up' with the interest in attempting to promote diversity in local communities, and within estates, and with the focus of the thesis: the multi-tenure estate. Each of the approaches outlined above, are subtly different in their approach.

a) Multi-landlord estates

An estate that is:

- a housing development of 50 or more dwellings
- grouped together but in physically separate buildings (i.e., not just one tower block)
- perceived by both residents and the general public as a single entity
- usually considered by residents to require some degree of concerted management approach by the landlord(s)

but has the additional feature that more than one landlord owns the dwellings are called a multi-landlord estate (Harre & Zipfel, 1995:2).

Multi-landlord estates have been promoted as part of the Conservative Government's (1979-1997) policy of tenure diversification and aspirations for a more viable social

rented sector, which was less reliant on local authority provision. This policy also affected partnerships between local authorities and housing associations in terms of estate regeneration and has often resulted in a multi-landlord approach. However, it has been suggested that there is a limit to which such developments can be seen to have achieved community diversification if all new owners are offering identical forms of tenure (Harre & Zipfel, 1995:4).

b) Multi-tenure estates

The limitation of multi-landlord estates would appear to be the fact that they are constricted by housing tenure, through their operation in social housing. This, therefore, leads to a second approach for achieving community diversification and the focus of the thesis: the multi-tenure estate. Multi-tenure estates can be newly built or established residential areas, where the goal is a 'mixed' or 'balanced' community. To date there has been little published about multi-tenure estates. Page (1993) and (1994) outlined the rationale and provided the impetus for the incorporation of such estates into many local authorities housing strategies. Subsequently, Page & Broughton (1997) attempt to provide information about the practicalities concerning multi-tenure estates, as so little is known about them, including how is it best to do it; what works and what does not. Page & Broughton (1997:68) concluded that the main problems with multi-tenure estates had little to do with the mixture of tenures, but arise more out of the day to day problems of life on a predominantly social housing estate. These problems, however, could be avoided in the future through design solutions, for example pepper-potting different tenures rather than developing blocks of single tenure dwellings. Jupp (1999) has written a report based on research conducted on multi-tenure estates, in which they have focused on resident's perspectives of the estates and the subsequent impact on their

lives, and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) have announced that they plan to build a new multi-tenure estates on the edge of York (Richard Best at the 1999 LSE Housing Seminar *Social Exclusion and the Future of Our Cities*) and extolled the virtues of such a development and predicted its success. However, Best provided no evidence that a development of this nature will influence its resident's lives, other than the JRF's belief that it will work.

There is, therefore, a lot of current interest, but little solid evidence on which to rely. The lack of published research and evaluations of multi-tenure estates is compounded by the absence of information relating to how these estates have been implemented at the local level and the level of adoption nationwide. However, despite the apparent lack of information regarding the estates there is much interest in the idea. The Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1996), Perri 6 (1997) and Young & Lemos (1997) all advocate the development of multi-tenure estates to aid social diversification. Policy documents have more recently also championed the multi-tenure estate as a potential solution to the problems associated with inequality. Planning regulations, in the form of Planning Policy Guidance 3 (PPG3), aim to ensure that all new developments contain a mix of housing tenures, and the Urban Task Force (1998) sort evidence of the achievements of mixed communities through the integration of different types of tenure within a single neighbourhood in its July 1998 proposal.

Such documents, however, assume that multi-tenure estates can help achieve the integration of social groups. Yet, as highlighted above, there has been no real evaluation of the estate's ability to deliver such objectives. Therefore, on what foundations has such a policy been formulated? The ideas behind multi-tenure housing estates can be traced historically by looking at other examples of socially balanced

planned residential communities. Therefore the remaining sections of Chapter One trace the concept of community diversity and housing using the debates surrounding social balance found in the planning literature to help illustrate the theoretical underpinnings of such developments as a form of planning intervention.

1.2 Social Balance: The idea of neighbourhood and the balanced community

The last 150 years demonstrate at least four other attempts to create planned, socially balanced residential communities in the UK. In Figure 1.1, p. 11, the author has summarised the literature to outline what could be termed the five ‘waves’ of planned residential communities which contained within them the objective of social balance. It can be seen that multi-tenure estates could be viewed as the fifth ‘wave’ of such developments. The four other initiatives outlined in Figure 1.1, will be discussed in the following section of the chapter whilst exploring the notion of social balance which provides a rationale for the formulation of a policy to develop mixed tenure estates.

It has been proposed that the achievement of social mix, or balance, whether in a smaller or a larger area, should be a planning objective (Evans, 1976:247). What is social balance; where does it originate from; and what is its history in terms of planning and housing policy?

Social balance, or mixing, is precisely what the term implies the integration of the population of a newly built residential area according to their social characteristics. This has mainly been conceived in terms of social class in the twentieth century. Etherington (1976:231-234) stated the reasons for encouraging social mixing and outlined the following goals:

Figure 1.1: The Five Waves of Planned Residential Communities in the UK

| | 1st Wave mid 1800s | 2nd Wave early 1900s | 3rd Wave 1950 → | 4th Wave late 1970s → | 5th Wave 1980 → |
|---|--|--|---|---|--|
| Initiative Example | Employer Housing Bournville (Birmingham) | Garden Cities Welwyn Garden City | New Towns Milton Keynes | Inner City Policy London Docklands Development Corporation | Multi-tenure estates Manor Estate (Sheffield) |
| Evidence of social balance objective | From the start, all classes of workers were represented on the site and some of the first residents were chosen with a view to 'gathering together as mixed a community as possible (Bournville Village Trust, 1956 in Sarkissian, 1976) Improve the moral standards of the working classes Social class | ... the garden cities were definitely segregated according to class and income on a micro level, though when taken as a whole it included a cross-section of society (Howard, 1946 in Sarkissian, 1976) Recreate the communities found in the countryside Social class | The new towns were designed to avoid mainly working class housing and to bring together the social classes in 'balanced' towns and to achieve mixing at a neighbourhood level (Heraud, 1968) Extend the post war reconstructed society Social class | ... there needs to be a 'better balance' between housing and employment in the inner cities (DoE, 1977) Alleviate urban deprivation Economic status | ... it is hoped that more balanced communities will emerge, with a collective identity and community spirit Tackle social exclusion and socio-tenurial polarisation Housing tenure |
| Attempting to | | | | | |
| Social balance factor | Production | Production | Production | Production | Consumption |
| Mode of | | | | | |

-
1. to improve the functioning of the city and the welfare of its inhabitants by
 - ensuring the provision of leadership
 - promoting economic stability; and
 - helping to maintain essential services at minimum expense through mixing in housing
 2. to 'raise the standards of the lower classes' by nurturing the spirit of emulation
 3. to encourage aesthetic diversity and raise aesthetic standards
 4. to encourage cultural cross fertilisation
 5. to increase equality of opportunity
 6. to promote social harmony by reducing social and racial tensions
 7. to promote social conflict in order to foster individual social maturity
 8. to maintain stable residential areas
 9. to reflect the diversity of the urbanised world

The above objectives outlined by Etherington (1976) demonstrate just how diffuse the aims and objectives of socially balanced communities can be and Gans (1961:180) also highlights the benefit of population heterogeneity on children. He argues that it provides them with a broadening educational influence, by exposure to alternative ways of life. The above would appear to be the main reasons for advocating social mix. Those which would appear to be most pertinent to the development of multi-tenure estates in the 1990s are points 2, 6 and 8, whereby the mixing of housing tenures aims to improve standards in social housing by following the example set by home owners, and to promote social harmony by reducing in particular social tensions between tenures, and to maintain stable residential area, it is hoped by mixing housing tenures balanced and sustainable communities will be created.

As Figure 1.1, p. 11, shows the development history of planned residential communities has been broken down into five 'waves' by the author of the thesis. This was done in an attempt to clarify how the term 'social balance' is amorphous and how different elements have been emphasised at different times. The rest of this section of the chapter looks at each of the different waves in turn, starting below with the first: employer housing.

a) Employer Housing

Sarkissian (1976:234) points to the development of a village near Ilford station in 1845 by a London architect, which could accommodate a mixed group of 'pretty self-contained cottages', as the starting point of the social balance idea. The stated aims of the residential 'mix' were to establish housing groups small enough to achieve a 'country character' but 'not too small as to diminish the probabilities of social intercourse' (Bell & Bell, 1969 cited in Sarkissian, 1976:234).

In the same decade as the Ilford plan, a similar project was devised by John Cadbury (Williams, 1931 cited in Sarkissian, 1976:235). This is commonly thought of as the start of the social balance concept, through the building of Bournville near Birmingham. This is represented by the first wave of planned residential communities in Figure 1.1, p. 11. From the start, all classes of workers were represented on the site and some of the first residents were chosen with a view to 'gathering together as mixed a community as possible applied to the character and interests as well as to income and social class' (Bournville Village Trust, 1956 cited in Sarkissian, 1976:235). Bournville is given in the literature as the first practical implementation of planned residential mix, although this was quickly followed by other developments such as New Eastwick and Saltaire.

Social balance aimed to improve the moral standards of the working classes through integration by class and to provide a more compliant workforce for the employers.

b) The Garden Cities

Social balance was revived through the spread of 'Garden Cities', which were based on the ideas of Ebenezer Howard. However, the garden cities were definitely segregated according to class and income on a micro-level, though when taken as a whole it included a cross-section of society (Howard, 1946 cited in Sarkissian, 1976:235). The garden cities were designed to reflect and recreate the communities that were found in the countryside. It was thought, especially during the nineteenth century, that real communities were found in the English countryside (Davidoff *et al*, 1976 cited in Mitchell & Oakley, 1976:146). These rural communities were the epitome of the stable social hierarchy; therefore the garden city movement attempted to recreate them with a desire for an ordered social world (Davidoff *et al*, 1976 cited in Mitchell & Oakley, 1976:170).

In both employer housing and the garden cities social balance could also be seen as promoting social order. The planning of social balanced communities aimed to order the social groups and create a social hierarchy: bosses – employees; landed gentry – tenants. People were not expected to move from one category/class to the other. This is significantly different to the view of social balance in relation to subsequent developments and multi-tenure estates where social balance could be viewed as a means of achieving diversity as opposed to order. People were expected to intermingle and interact in subsequent attempts at social balance, as can be seen in the third wave: the new towns. This could be viewed as a movement from a more 'static' to 'fluid' state of social interaction.

c) The New Towns

The idea of social mix was revived on a large scale at the end of the World War II by the development of the New Towns. The philosophical origin of the New Towns and their planning was largely attributed to the principles of the garden city movement (Derbyshire, 1967:430). The New Towns were constructed in three phases. The Group I towns were all started in 1950, after which there followed a pause between 1951 and 1961 whilst the Town Development Act got underway. New Town development stopped for ten years, except for Cumbernauld and Hook, which were both started in 1955. These are the Group II towns. Group III towns were started in 1961. The design standards of the Group I towns were assembled into a brief by the Reith Committee. They thought “the minimum for a workable community was 20000 and the maximum that needs to be striven for was 60000...it was also assumed that these towns were balanced” (Derbyshire, 1967:430).

This arose out of a desire to extend the post-war, reconstructed society, the ‘togetherness and lack of social barriers exhibited during the war years’ in the armed forces and the civil defense services. It led to a renewed interest in the concept of ‘social balance’ at the neighbourhood level as the end of the war approached (Thorns, 1972 cited in Sarkissian, 1976:239). This was reflected in the Reith Committee report in 1946. Housing was split up into “neighbourhoods...and these neighbourhoods were supposed to encourage the formulation of social grouping” (Llewelyn-Davis, 1966:158). The neighbourhoods were to consist of about 5000 people who were provided with a primary school, local shopping and a little meeting hall for that group. These were then grouped into districts of 15-20000 with secondary schools, a health centre and bigger shops (Derbyshire, 1967:431). Here then social balance could be viewed in terms of

notions of community, as opposed to order (waves 1 and 2) or diversity (multi-tenure estates). It was hoped that people from different class backgrounds would mix in the same way as they had during the war, if they lived in residential areas that were in close proximity to one another. Therefore, it can be seen that the way in which social balance is perceived by planners reflects the social setting of the time.

The New Towns were designed, therefore, to avoid mainly working class housing and aimed to bring together the social classes in 'balanced towns' and achieve mixing at neighbourhood level (Heraud, 1968:33). However, they anticipated the problems that might arise by the indiscriminate mixing of dwellings for families of different income levels. The solution suggested was a clustering of families with *similar* characteristics (Heraud, 1968:37). It was hoped that through physical proximity and sharing of facilities, such as community centres, mixing would occur.

d) Inner City Policy

Bournville, the garden cities and the new towns were the first three attempts that included a commitment to promote socially balance residential communities. In the late 1970s/1980s urban policymakers resurrected the concept (fourth wave, Figure 1.1, p. 11) and applied it to inner city policy in an attempt to combat the problems facing Britain's cities. However, social balance was not the sole objective of such policies but more an ancillary one.

MacGregor (1990) states that the inner city had become a public issue, as it represented a 'constellation of social worries, to do with urban poverty, squalor, ill-health, deprivation, decay, crime, social disintegration and social polarisation' (cited in MacGregor & Pimlott, 1990:65). Housing is represented in this statement in the keywords 'squalor', 'decay', 'social disintegration' and 'social polarisation'. The

Department of the Environment (DoE) in its 1977 document *Policy for the Inner Cities* noted that the inner cities were in physical decay, due to the age of its housing (Para. 11), at a social disadvantage due to the concentration of poor people living in these areas (Para. 14) which led to the problem of social polarisation and disintegration in these areas, and the physical environment demonstrated many of the country's worst housing problems. Improvements were needed to relieve overcrowding and give older houses a new lease of life and provide basic amenities to those who live there now (Para. 28).

The 1977 document outlined that there needed to be a 'better balance' between housing and employment in the inner cities. . . a greater variety of tenure forms may well help mobility (annex Para. 4). (This is perhaps the first explicit reference to social balance in a policy document). The idea of balance resurfaced again in the policy literature, but this time its overriding goal would appear to be economic, an attempt to rematch the skills of the residents to the employment opportunities in the inner cities. The above statement suggests that as with multi-tenure estates, social balance in the fourth 'wave' could be viewed as diversity, reflecting concerns with segregation and polarisation in society during the 1980s and 1990s. Therefore, there has been a movement away from the perspectives of the early half of the twentieth century concerning diversity within tenure groups, towards trying to achieve diversity via employment.

There were also housing improvement schemes, such as the Priority Estates Project, Estate Action, Housing Action Trusts and the Housing Investment Programme (Deakin & Edwards, 1993:58), but on the whole the strategy for the inner cities was not designed to have a direct effect on housing and housing conditions in the inner city.

The situation which arose from inner city policy objectives in the late 1970s and early 1980s in relation to housing were viewed negatively by existing residents. Many overriding policy tools came into effect through legislation. Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) and Enterprise Zones (EZs) were set up during the 1980s to regenerate the inner cities, however, as mentioned earlier, their aim was not to include housing, but to encourage investment into the areas (economically driven). Although housing may not be a direct function of the UDCs, they had under Section 136 of the 1980 Local Government Planning and Land Act a responsibility for 'bringing land and buildings into effective use, encouraging the development of existing new industry and commerce, creating an attractive environment and *ensuring that housing and social facilities were available to encourage people to live and work in the area*' (Deakin & Edwards, 1993:99, emphasis mine).

Housing, therefore, became an issue. Cameron (1990) noted that housing policies in the inner cities had been greatly affected by the reduction in the role of the public sector. . . (and). . . one response has been to try and involve the private sector developers in housing in inner city areas (cited in Cameron, 1992:5). This has led to a distinction between two types of area:

1. the existing inner city residential areas - housing sold rather than rented, but usually low-cost which can be afforded by local residents (Cameron & Thornton, 1986 cited in Cameron, 1992:6); and
2. the non-residential areas of the inner city - previously industrial, often this housing is expensive and beyond the reach of most inner city residents.

In Newcastle, and other UDCs, the second type of area became very important. The scale of social housing provision in the Tyne and Wear Development Corporation was

relatively small, as the development was placed on housing for sale and the attractions of a riverside location to those with high incomes. This meant that most of the housing provision did not meet the needs of the low-income residents of the inner city (Cameron, 1993:10). Although these developments do not directly displace the existing inner city residents, they utilise the land that is available for the construction of housing which could be afforded by local residents.

Evidence of this is strong when looking at the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC). The LDDC, although not technically a housing authority, had a major impact on the local housing market. Of the 15220 new dwellings constructed in the area. . . 81% were built by private developers and a further 14% by housing associations, and 804 were built by local authorities (LDDC, 1991 cited in Deakin & Edwards, 1993:112-3). It did, therefore, achieve a substantial increase in the number of dwellings and an almost equally spectacular turnaround in tenure mix.

In spite of this it would appear that this round of inner city policy did not achieve its goal of encouraging 'better balance'. The effects of the investment inducements into the inner cities did not create jobs for the local residents or provide them with affordable housing. Instead it encouraged employers to locate there who did not demand their skills and provided housing which was out of their reach. The problems of poverty in the inner city 'stems from the persistence of the divisions in status and income' (Inner Area Studies, 1977a cited in Cheshire, 1979:41). The inevitable feature of this social fact is that as long as society is unequal and undivided, residential segregation will tend to reflect these divisions. Perhaps then it should be questioned why social balance has been taken up so recently as a policy objective? As it would appear that social balance has not taken place in the inner cities, but has led to further social disintegration and

polarisation, the very phenomena it was attempting to solve. As the policy instruments employed were helpless in the face of global economic shifts.

1.3 The Scale of Social Balance

One factor determining the degree of social mix in an urban area is its size. If the urban area is small there is very little opportunity for much social segregation to occur; as the size of the urban area increases so do the incentives for a household to optimise its location costs (Evans, 1976:248). Residential areas became socially homogeneous. Therefore, the neighbourhood has emerged over time as the most favoured 'unit' within which to attempt to achieve 'social balance'. The neighbourhood unit concept has been a cornerstone in planning, especially in the towns (Heraud, 1968:43).

Mann (1954:163) stated that the core of the neighbourhood unit theory is as follows: 'The unplanned growth of towns and cities has resulted in the breakdown of social relationships of the *Gemeinschaft* or primary group type'.

If new towns are built and old towns re-planned so that the residential areas become physically delineated units, each with certain amenities, such as schools, shops and other services appropriate to their size and population, then the social integration of the inhabitants of these areas will be facilitated. Therefore, the balanced residential community would be advocated at the neighbourhood level, containing typical cross-section of dwelling unit types and population characteristics, notably age groups and socio-economic levels (Gans, 1961:176).

The neighbourhood unit was to be a self contained residential unit bounded by main traffic roads, without any main traffic routes. The unit was to provide all the housing, schools, shopping and recreational facilities for its population within these boundaries,

with the school and community buildings as its centre (Pearson, 1972 cited in Bell & Tyrwhitt, 1972:255).

1.4 Problems associated with social balance and the neighbourhood unit concept.

One of the most fundamental problems of social balance and the neighbourhood unit concept is, according to Sarkissian (1976:240), that since the ideas became an accepted part of town planning, architects, planners and legislators have rarely shown that they understand the complexity of the issues involved. Another problem facing those researching social mix is that remarkably little attention has been paid to the vital question of scale. There is still no concrete agreement between academics or planners about which level to promote social mix. In the first three waves of socially balanced residential communities, mix would appear to have been at the settlement level, with neighbourhoods containing households with similar characteristics, as for example in the new towns. The development of multi-tenure estates is different in that it aims to promote balance at a local neighbourhood or 'estate' level.

There is also little empirical evidence to support the claims of those who favour social mix. In fact most studies which have been carried out would suggest that social mixing cannot be achieved through planning measures. The belief in population heterogeneity is based on the assumption that if diverse people live together, they will enviably become good neighbours and, as a result, learn to respect their differences (Gans, 1961:177). But this is not always the case. People with higher incomes and more education may feel that their children are being harmed by living among less advantaged neighbours. Therefore, the neighbourhood plan needs to engender a sense of *belonging* among the residents of each residential neighbourhood and that the

allocation of amenities should seek to foster community spirit (Broady, 1961:88). But does this happen?

Form's study of Greenbelt, a planned community in Maryland, USA, found that although a non-stratified society was envisaged, a complex status structure had begun to emerge after a few years. The Greenbelt experience suggests therefore a 'strain for stratification', as the planned community cannot be completely divorced from those factors which underpin the status structures in the larger society (1945:610-12). However, it should be noted that there are limitations associated with directly transferring research findings from the USA to the UK.

So what about the British experience? Heraud (1968:52) looked at the effect of the policy in the New Towns. Was social balance achieved? He noted that class enclaves had arisen within neighbourhoods, possibly due to the fact that dwellings for different classes had been built in groups and not scattered through the neighbourhood. Therefore, class segregation may have been promoted due to the building programme, leading to the development of socially 'unbalanced' neighbourhoods. Could this have a similar effect as the lack of pepper-potting properties on multi-tenure estates - a theme that will be explored later in the thesis?

Heraud (1968:52) noted that differences in tenure would always be associated with differences in status. Even though more and more working class people are now purchasing their homes, home ownership was still predominately a middle class characteristic. Therefore, the question of how far is it possible to inhibit the development of class anomalies by the way housing of different kinds is allocated had to be considered (Broady, 1961:93). This would appear to suggest that any attempt to

affect widespread social mixing on a local basis, however designed, would be met with little success.

Krupak (1985:177) has also pointed to the fact that some forms of tenure are stigmatised, a negative identity being particularly associated with public housing. This could prevent social balance from achieving success within residential areas. The stigma associated with public housing can lead to self-depreciation and helplessness among residents and exploitation by non-residents. The issue of stigma amongst residents will also be explored in more detail later in the thesis.

The apparent lack of empirical evidence to suggest that previous attempts at social balance have succeeded in meeting their objectives raises questions as to its effectiveness as a mechanism for achieving social integration. Combined with issues such as the stigmatisation of social housing in particular may suggest that this policy is fundamentally flawed. However, the goals of social balance, as outlined by Etherington (1976) and Gans (1961), provide a compelling theoretical or moral justification for attempting to implement multi-tenure estates.

1.5 Conclusion

Chapter One has introduced the focus of the thesis, the multi-tenure estate, and through situating it within the framework of previous attempts at planning socially balanced residential communities highlighted theoretically why planners and policymakers are interested in promoting such developments. However, the chapter has also demonstrated that little empirical evidence exists to suggest that the previous 'waves' of social balance have succeeded in creating balanced communities, yet the goals and objectives of social balance have endured despite having received little empirical sustenance. More recently little research has been conducted evaluating or monitoring

the ways in which multi-tenure estates themselves have been implemented or are meeting their social objectives.

Chapter One has attempted to locate the development of multi-tenure estates within a *historical* framework and has shown how such estates selectively address some of the objectives of social balance, but differ in scale and focus from previous attempts yet retains clear echoes of previous initiatives.

Chapter Two, therefore, moves on to locate multi-tenure estates in an *conceptual* framework by providing one possible view as to why the present British Government are so keen to promote multi-tenure estates, considering the apparent failure of previous attempts at social balance.

Chapter Two provides the conceptual and academic, as opposed to historical, context within which multi-tenure estates have been developed. Namely the debates around increasing social inequality, division, polarisation and exclusion – the issues that the proposed development of multi-tenure estates aim to solve. The chapter relates these debates in particular to housing tenure in an attempt to illustrate why policymakers, planners and academics feel that multi-tenure estates can help to solve such problems.

2.1 Introduction

As outlined in the conclusion to Chapter One, this chapter explores the debates in social policy and sociology that help to explain why policymakers and planners are advocating multi-tenure estates as a policy solution, even though the estates in existence have not been evaluated and little evidence exists of their success in other guises, such as the New Towns.

Chapter Two begins by exploring the debates surrounding social exclusion, with particular reference to housing tenure. However, as housing tenure is of central importance to the doctoral research it is first important to explore the meaning of the term.

2.2 Defining Housing Tenure

Tenure is a term that has evolved historically. It was initially purely a legal term, developed to refer to the conditions of occupying and using land in a feudal society. These customary feudal tenures were abolished in the 1660s after which time, it appears, that tenure began to refer more to property in general rather than simply land and rights and duties of owning versus non-owners (Kemenka & Neal, 1975 cited in

Barlow & Duncan, 1988:219). Dwellings need land on which to be built and are a very visible, and usually valuable, form of property. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the now hybrid term 'tenure' - referring to both land and property - eventually became grafted onto housing itself. Tenure has undergone a transformation from a means of defining land occupancy rights in a European feudal society, to a term describing occupancy rights in English speaking capitalist nations (Barlow & Duncan, 1988:220).

Gray (1982:267) has asserted that for a number of decades, and in particular the post war period, there has been an increasing tendency to fetishise the impact of owner occupation - as a tenure form - on social relations. Gray claims that rather than fetishising the tenure as an object with necessarily distinctive qualities which, in turn, confer upon home owners specific social relations, it could be argued that both the tenure and the social relations of owner occupiers should be seen to be dependent upon a host of external variables a processes that are not uniform over space and time. However, does the development of multi-tenure estates recreate this fetishism for home ownership by emphasizing its central role in the creation of a balanced community?

There would appear to be some controversy about what the term 'tenure' represents or means. Home ownership has been promoted through national housing policy and one of the aims of developing multi-tenure estates is often the introduction of home ownership, as a tenure category, with assumptions made about the social characteristics of home owners. However, Lee & Murie's (1997) research, among others, has demonstrated that there are differences, in terms of poverty and social exclusion, both *within* and *between* tenures. Therefore, this confusion as to the meaning of tenure or what it represents may well be a point around which the concept of multi-tenure as a method for achieving

social balance and integration may be flawed. Could the pursuit of multi-tenure estates as a policy objective, therefore, be viewed as updating the UK's fetishism for housing tenure, in particular home ownership? (see Balchin, 1996). If so, the widespread nature of home ownership in the UK may have led to any tenurial influences on behaviour to have become so elastic as to render any theoretical reference to tenure redundant. However, housing tenure is still seen as an important indicator of social circumstance despite the dominance of home ownership. It is seen as particularly important within the social exclusion debates that have risen to prominence since the mid-1970s. Housing tenure was an important aspect of the Social Exclusion Unit's agenda outlined in 1997 (SEU, 1997). These debates also form part of the conceptual framework and context for the development of multi-tenure estates, therefore the chapter now turns to look at them in more detail.

2.3 Social Exclusion and Housing Tenure

The idea of 'social exclusion' has emerged over a relatively short space of time to take centre stage in political and popular debates about social disadvantage (Marsh & Mullins, 1998:749). The concept was originally developed by French sociologists (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997:414), where the term was coined in 1974 and used to refer to various categories of people unprotected by social insurance, "marginal, asocial persons and other misfits" (Gore, 1995 cited in Cousins, 1998:128). As successive social and political crisis erupted in France during the 1980s, exclusion came to be applied to more and more types of social disadvantage and the continual redefinition of the term to encompass new social groups and problems gave rise to many diffuse connotations (Silver, 1994:532). The term began to be associated with the process of social

disintegration in the sense of a rupture between the individual and society (Gore, 1995 cited in Cousins, 1998:128).

Questions of urban poverty and social exclusion have again re-emerged as central issues in contemporary debate (Lawless & Smith, 1998:201), although it is often difficult to differentiate between the two terms. Room (1995a), however, distinguished between the Anglo Saxon liberal tradition of poverty research, a product of the nineteenth century, and the notion of social exclusion as part of a continental tradition. The notion of poverty is focused on distributional issues, “the lack of resources at the disposal of an individual or household”. The notion of social exclusion, in contrast, focuses on relational issues, that is, “inadequate social participation, lack of social protection and lack of power” (p. 105).

The term ‘social exclusion’ has been used increasingly in recent years as a result of the Europeanisation of social policy (Levitas, 1996 in Somerville, 1998:761), with the foundation of a European Observatory on National Policies for Combating Social Exclusion in 1990. The Social Exclusion Unit (SEU), founded by the Labour Government elected in May 1997, along with the European Observatory offer what are perhaps the most commonly quoted definitions of the term social exclusion. The European Observatory defines the term in relation to

“the social rights of citizenship . . . to a basic standard of living and to participation in the major social and occupational opportunities of society”
(Room, 1993:14).

However, the EC recognises

“that social exclusion is not simply a matter of inadequate resources and that combating exclusion also involves access by individuals and families to decent living conditions by means of measures for social integration and integration into the labour market; accordingly request member states to implement or promote measures to enable everyone to have access to: education; by acquiring proficiency in basic skills, training, employment, housing, community services and medical care” (EC, 1989 quoted from Robbins by Abrahamson, 1998 in Beck *et al*, 1998:147).

Somerville (1998:761-762) notes that these two meanings of social exclusion would appear to be particularly prevalent. The first meaning relates to the denial of social citizenship status to certain groups. The second in contrast relates to exclusion from the labour markets of advanced capitalist countries. The concept and usage of social exclusion seems, therefore, to have at least two different genealogies and ‘families’ of linked terms and phenomena. Poverty and material deprivation on the one hand, social disintegration, marginality, un-belonging, up-rootedness and so forth on the other (Saraceno, 1998 in Beck *et al*, 1998:178).

In relation to housing tenure, the first ‘family’ could be seen as a by-product of the different subsidy systems for different tenures, especially the role of housing benefit in forcing employed households out of social housing, leaving predominantly unemployed households in the social sector. The second ‘family’ reflects the issues of stigmatisation and polarisation of in particular social housing. Therefore, the development of multi-tenure estates can be linked to both ‘families’, as they have been designed to counter the increasing social polarity between the two most dominant tenures, social housing and owner occupation. However, there are many different perspectives offered within the

literature to explain why and how certain groups become detached from the so-called mainstream society, and hence excluded.

a) Explanations of Social Exclusion

Various attempts have been made to explain how social exclusion has arisen in Europe.

Lawless & Smith (1998) identified four perspectives:

(i) global economic change

(ii) inadequate welfare provision

(iii) institutional perspective

(iv) cultural perspective (p. 203). The chapter will consider Lawless & Smith's (1998) four perspectives.

(i) global economic change

Since the mid 1970s, the advanced capitalist democracies have been undergoing a process of profound economic restructuring. As a consequence, new social problems have emerged that appear to challenge assumptions underlying Western welfare states (Silver, 1994:531). Therefore, one approach would be to locate social exclusion within the wider processes of global economic change (Harloe *et al* 1990; Harvey, 1989), such as globalisation or flexible specialization.

(ii) inadequate welfare provision

A second interpretation would perceive social exclusion as a response to inadequate welfare provision. Changes in the economy, such as the decline in manufacturing employment which has led to high levels of unemployment, place pressure on the welfare state leading to the emergence of the 'new poor' (Room, 1990). Often those with low-skill bases who find it hard to find jobs in the service sector.

(iii) institutional perspective

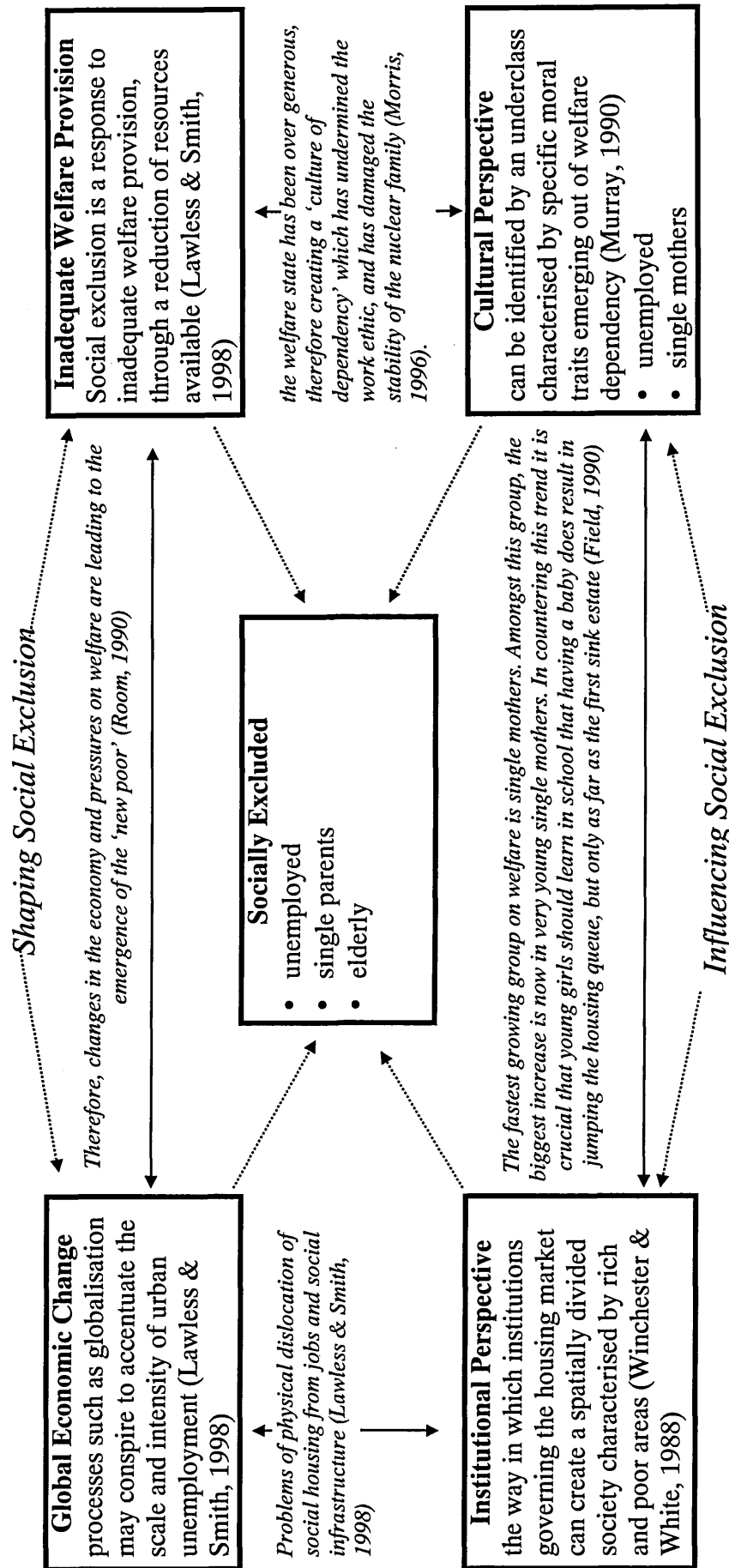
At one level the institutional perspective can be seen to include problems of physical dislocation caused by the construction of suburban social housing which is locationally divorced from jobs and social infrastructure (Lawless & Smith, 1998:203). However, it also points to the way in which institutions governing housing markets can lead to the creation of a spatially divided society characterised by rich enclaves and areas with high concentrations of marginalised groups (Winchester & White, 1988).

(iv) cultural perspective

Finally, there is the cultural perspective developed by Murray (1990, 1994). Social exclusion here is characterised by an underclass that is in turn characterised by specific moral and behavioral traits emerging from a dependence on welfare. The underclass is assumed to have rejected the norms and values of mainstream society. This view relates to the debate suggesting that the welfare state has been over generous, therefore creating a ‘culture of dependency’ which has undermined the work ethic, and has damaged the stability of the nuclear family (Morris, 1996:161).

Each of these four perspectives could apply to the process of social exclusion in the UK, and there are interrelationships between them. In Figure 2.1, p. 32, the author demonstrates these relationships. Both the global economic change and inadequate welfare provision perspectives have (what the author has termed) a *shaping* effect on the processes associated with social exclusion, through the way in which they shape the characteristics of those groups that are termed socially excluded. Economic restructuring has forced a large section of the working class into a “new lower class” (Lash, 1994:157).

Figure 2.1 Inter-relationships of Lawless & Smith's (1998) Four Perspectives of Social Exclusion



The growth of recurrent and long-term unemployment has thus been associated with dependence on more basic forms of social assistance, often the provision of poverty line benefits, for example, in the UK the number of unemployed families on social assistance rose from 15 percent to 35 percent between 1979 and 1983 (Kennett, 1994a:25). Changes in the economy and increased pressures on an inadequate welfare state are leading to the social exclusion, in particular, of the unemployed.

The institutional and cultural perspectives have (what the author has termed) an *influencing* effect on social exclusion whereby they influence the groups which could be termed socially excluded as opposed to a shaping effect. Institutions can create a spatially divided society characterised by rich and poor areas, e.g. Winchester & White (1988). This, therefore, influences the spatial location of the socially excluded, whether they be young single mothers housed on sink estates or the unemployed denied access to the social infrastructure necessary to their re-entry to the labour market. The cultural perspective influences what groups are considered to comprise the underclass. The socially excluded are seen to be outside the mainstream by virtue of their behaviour, e.g. single parenthood or non-participation in the workforce. These trends are seen to be undermining the norms and values of mainstream society and characterised by a dependency on welfare.

What can be seen from Figure 2.1, p. 32, is that each perspective is responsible for the social exclusion of certain groups with British society:

- global economic change and the unemployed
- inadequate welfare provision and low income groups
- cultural perspective and single parents and the unemployed
- institutional perspective and the spatial concentration of such groups.

Each reinforces another until we are left with certain groups spatially concentrated, often within social housing. It is here that the importance of housing and social exclusion becomes evident.

“The quality, accessibility and location of low income housing not only affects the quality of life of poor populations, it also contributes to structuring their spatial distribution, relative concentration and isolation”

(Schmitter Heisler, 1996:178).

Housing tenure can be important therefore, in each of these perspectives, as predominantly low income groups, the unemployed and single parents are housed in the social housing sector where they can gain access to subsidised housing via the housing benefit system. Therefore, they are increasingly marginalised and spatially concentrated in social housing estates. Multi-tenure estates could be seen as attempting to counteract these processes by recognizing their existence and influence on the lives of the socially excluded and aiming to reconnect them to society by manipulating housing developments through tenure mix and reconstituting the characteristics of the local population.

Alongside, the four perspectives outlined above, Silver (1994) has outlined a three-fold typology, which distinguishes between different theoretical perspectives, political ideologies and national discourses associated with the term social exclusion. Each is based on different notions of social integration:

(v) solidarity

(vi) specialisation

(vii) monopoly. Each paradigm attributes exclusion to a different cause and is grounded in a different political philosophy (p. 539).

(v) solidarity

In French Republican thought exclusion occurs when the social bond between the individual and society breaks down (Silver, 1994:541). The French notion of social exclusion is linked to this tradition where integration is achieved by key state institutions (Ion, 1995:67).

(vi) specialization

In Anglo-American Liberalism, exclusion is considered a consequence of specialization; of social differentiation, the economic division of labour and the separation of spheres. Here social integration is based on freely chosen relationships between individual and society. Therefore, exclusion reflects discrimination, market failures and unenforced rights (Bhalla & Lapeyre, 1997:415; Cousins, 1998:129).

(vii) monopoly

In this paradigm, exclusion and poverty are a consequence of the formation of group monopolies. Exclusion arises from the interplay of class, status or political power and serves the interests of the included (Silver, 1994:543).

Cousins (1998) places the situation found in the UK within the specialization paradigm (and the global economic change perspective). The UK labour market has witnessed a severe and prolonged decline in manufacturing jobs and an increase in service sector jobs that have favoured part-time jobs, especially for women (p. 139).

The above section has considered the conceptual explanations for social exclusion in Europe and the North America. The following sections of the chapter reflect on the influence of housing tenure and place in relation to social exclusion, as often in the literature those considered detached from the mainstream are concentrated in particular neighbourhoods not equally distributed throughout urban or rural areas.

Housing tenure, as it is seen as a way in which exclusion is represented in the housing market and place is important because exclusion implies a state of detachment from the mainstream. More often than not in housing an excluded place is represented as ‘an estate’, and this highlighted in the objectives of the SEU to tackle the ‘worst housing estates’ in the country. It is here that it can be seen that a local, neighbourhood based approach, such as the neighbourhood unit concept outlined in the social balance literature and previous chapter, could appear attractive to planners and policymakers aiming to counteract the effects of social exclusion.

c) Exclusion as a Tenure Phenomenon

“ . . . housing tenure has increasingly been used as a framework for understanding the relationship between housing and deprivation and housing and income poverty” (Lee, 1998:62).

This has arisen, in part due to the processes of residualisation and socio-tenorial polarisation (which are discussed later in the chapter). However, Lee (1998) has taken this argument further by connecting housing to four aspects of social exclusion identified by Room (1995b):

- (i) the *concentration* of exclusion on population and groups or areas
 - (ii) the *persistence* of exclusion over time
 - (iii) the *compound* nature of disadvantage which creates exclusion
 - (iv) the *resistance* to existing or traditional policy solutions.
- (i) *the concentration of exclusion*

Lee (1998) claims that the concept of social exclusion is of particular reference to housing because of the explicit spatial references (p. 66). Of particular relevance is the fact that in many areas the only households becoming council tenants are those who

were classified as homeless or outside the labour market (Forrest & Murie, 1988; Prescott-Clarke *et al*, 1994). This pattern is being repeated in the housing association sector (Page, 1993; Lee *et al*, 1995).

As certain areas and parts of the market become associated with poor people and represent poor social environments those with choice in the housing system are less likely to move to such areas. As a result the social and income mix in these areas is further eroded (Lee & Murie, 1997:12). This point is important as it is in the hope of a reversal of this trend that the development of multi-tenure estates takes place.

(ii) the persistence of exclusion

The role of time in the relationship between poverty and exclusion is often overlooked. The profile of housing types suffering from housing deprivation has changed significantly in recent years so that young single person households now represent the majority of household types suffering multiple housing deprivation (Lee, 1998:67).

(iii) the compound nature of exclusion

The interaction between benefits, incomes and housing finance has implications for the ability of households to take up employment or move beyond the poverty trap (Lee, 1998:68-69). The benefit system is often seen as compounding a household's economic situation. For example, if an unemployed person gains low-paid employment this usually results in their loss of housing benefit, this acts as a deterrent leading to households choosing to remain financially dependent on the State.

(iv) resistance to existing or traditional policy solutions

Lee (1998) suggests that policies designed to reverse trends that end in people being socially excluded should not simply rely on a traditional departmental and focused intervention (p. 71).

The relationship between housing, deprivation and poverty is typically talked of in terms of the residualisation of council housing. However, housing deprivation persists in some of its worst aspects in other tenures. Implicit assumptions are often made about housing, which at worst can stereotype images of disadvantage, and exclusion related to housing. In this sense, housing tenure is often used as an indicator of disadvantage - the worst estates are assumed to be council estates - but this ignores elements of deprivation or exclusion which surface in other tenures (Lee, 1998:76).

The creation of a property owning democracy in Britain may have been the aim of the Conservative governments in power between 1979 and 1997, and their policies may well have led to a housing system which is characterised by a residualised public sector and a highly stratified dominant owner occupied sector. However, there is also the increased incidence of homelessness witnessed throughout the 1980s and 1990s, which has been accompanied by a rise in the number of households in temporary accommodation (Ginsburg, 1997:140). Those with the resources to gain access to housing are still subject to different experiences and divisions.

In practice Britain's housing market is amongst the most restricted in Europe. Since nearly 70% of British homes are now owner occupied, the choice in many areas is simply between buying and buying. Those that cannot afford to buy are being forced to rely on an ever dwindling, socially rented sector, and a privately rented sector that has less housing than any other European country. This situation would not matter so much if Britain's form of owner occupation was more successful in building and providing homes (Goodwin, 1997:207). Over the past decade or so the interaction between

extremely volatile house prices and the insecurity of employment 'has created a vicious inequality of gains and penalties as well as an unprecedented level of personal financial crisis [for people] unable to meet their commitments' (Hutton, 1995:205).

In 1996/7 12% of mortgagors defined themselves as paying but 'with difficulty', and while mortgage arrears and possessions are cyclical, and currently low, in December 1998 there were still 360980 mortgagors owing two or more months payments (Kempson *et al*, 1999). For these people the freedom and choice promised by owner occupation has become 'an intolerable burden, a financial trap' (Hutton, 1995:209). 33820 properties were taken into possession in 1998 and following a period of decline, these figures are set to rise again, suggesting an increase in possession in 1999 (Kempson *et al*, 1999).

Lee & Murie (1997) presented evidence that there are disadvantaged groups within each tenure. They found that cities are not becoming more polarised in the sense of two homogenous types of area, one for the deprived and one for the affluent. Rather, we have cities becoming more differentiated with neighbourhoods with widely different attributes and characteristics (p. 54). Each of the housing tenures has a range of affluent and disadvantaged areas. This could have serious implications for multi-tenure estates, especially if those housed in the social housing are the poorest of tenants and the owner occupied properties filled with marginal home owners. This would not be the social mix envisaged by planners.

d) Exclusion as a Neighbourhood Phenomenon

McGregor & McConnachie (1995) noted that the disadvantaged are becoming increasingly spatially concentrated, and that this has resulted in the isolation of many individuals from mainstream social and economic activities (p. 1587). Barclay (1995)

and Hill (1995) note the growing gap between the rich and poor in the UK is becoming more pronounced. There is an increasing polarisation between what have been called 'work-rich' and 'work-poor' households with two or more people in work and those where no one is in work (Gregg, 1993). As a result of these trends residents are being excluded from many of the markets and services vital to their human development and pursuit of a decent lifestyle (Gershuny, 1993). Buck (1996:291) states that the important point in these arguments is not just that the potential underclass is spatially concentrated, or even segregated, relative to the remainder of the population, but that this segregation plays a part in the marginalisation of this group. Part of their isolation or exclusion from mainstream society is a spatial isolation and this reinforces economic marginality.

Disadvantaged urban areas have been found to contain disproportionate numbers of poor people (McGregor and McConnachie, 1995:1587). There is a tendency for urban unemployment to be concentrated within, typically, areas of poor quality private or social rented housing. This is consistent with a number of factors:

- shortage of local jobs
- poor transport access to employment opportunities
- lack of a social network of employed people in the neighbourhood
- lack of educational qualifications among residents
- stigmatization of employers of residents of disadvantaged areas due to the negative image many of these localities have acquired through time.

(McGregor and McConnachie, 1995:1588).

However, it takes many years for excluded areas and their populations to become detached from the conventional labour market.

Morris (1996) relates the problem of unemployment to social housing estates:

“... the long term unemployed tend to live on public housing estates with high levels of unemployment, tend to have partners who are also unemployed, to show concentrations of unemployed in their extended networks, and name close friends who are also unemployed”.

Morris suggests an estate could become isolated and detached from the mainstream and it is easy to see where Governmental concern for estates and neighbourhoods arises. It also highlights the fact that housing (and housing tenure) is one of the key planes of division in contemporary British society, and that differential access to accommodation and one's subsequent experience of it, is crucial in many aspects of social and economic life (Goodwin, 1997:203).

It has been argued that housing policy itself has been a relatively insignificant factor in the growth of social exclusion compared with, for example, the persistence of mass unemployment, the growth of income inequality and job security, the increase in lone parenthood and the roller coaster of the housing market (Ginsburg, 1997:140). However, wider socio-economic changes have had an impact on increasing housing needs and accentuating housing inequalities - in particular with respect to the growth in homelessness and the increased polarisation within the housing market itself.

Social exclusion has focussed on inequality and social divisions in a particular way – i.e. as a process rather than a condition or end result. Therefore, it is unsurprising that policymakers are seeking strategies to alleviate inequality and promote integration at the local, neighbourhood level. Regeneration or change at the level of a housing estate represents an ideal opportunity to target some of the poorest and unbalanced localities. However, how far does changing housing tenure represent the best mechanism for

achieving integration and balance? After all previous attempts at socially balanced residential communities operated around notions of social class, though often fairly loosely, or labour market position not housing tenure (see Figure 1.1, p. 11). However, those attempts have met with little success, which does not invalidate an approach based around housing tenure.

With these questions in mind Chapter Two now turns to look at the changing nature of social divisions in the UK, with reference to the characteristics of the occupants of various tenure categories.

2.4 Social Division and Housing Tenure

The following section of the chapter outlines the academic debates associated with the changing nature of social division in contemporary society, namely the addition of consumption based divisions, e.g. housing tenure, to the traditional production based divisions, e.g. social class.

The debates concerning the changing nature of social division in relation to housing tenure begin in the 1960s. It is here that the implications of the social composition of different housing tenures were first highlighted. There are two principal schools of thought concerning the changing social composition of housing tenure. The first is that the opening up of council housing and owner occupation to a wider clientele widened the social base of both tenures. The other view is that as the private rented sector contracted, from the early 1960s onwards, there has been a growing polarisation between the two major tenures.

In order to begin to understand the production-based to consumption-based shift in the nature of social divisions in the UK, the search of the literature began with an exploration of the links *between* social class and housing tenure. The Marxist tradition

(see: Wright, 1980; Edel, 1982; Saunders, 1983 and Berry, 1986) tended to be too dismissive of the independent effects of tenure. The Weberian tradition (see: Rex & Moore, 1967; Haddon, 1970, Saunders, 1978,1983; Hamnett, 1989; Morris & Winn, 1990) tended to emphasize tenure too widely. Therefore, a review of these approaches and the debate between became a little sterile and added nothing significant to the context of the thesis until the discovery of the consumption cleavage debate which formed part of Saunders' (1978) response to the criticisms of Rex & Moore's (1967) housing classes which gave the initial stimulus to the debate.

a) The Consumption Cleavage Debate

Saunders (1978) developed a domestic property classes model as a response to Rex & Moore's (1967) initial attempts to apply the Weberian model of classes to the housing market (Pratt, 1981:483). Saunders argues that domestic property ownership offers an objective for class formation and is not merely an index of life chances. The crux of his argument is that home ownership itself leads to wealth accumulation. He identifies three classes on the basis of their varying relationships to domestic property and then subdivides the major class divisions into strata.

The first class is that of private capital, whose 'members' are engaged in the supply and distribution of housing. Different interests within private capital would be finance capital (lending organisations), industrial capital (the construction industry), commercial capital (large landholders and landlords).

The second class is that of house owners and can be sub divided between owners and mortgagees. The third class consists of non-owners of domestic property, i.e. tenants (Pratt, 1981:484).

Saunders then, however, proceeded to criticise his own model in which the fundamental cleavages are recognised between housing suppliers and consumers and between consumption exchange categories. His first criticism was that if the conditions which he had outlined as factors contributing to the property as a profitable source of investment were altered (i.e. if tax subsidies were dismantled, etc.) 'then the logic of the Weberian position is that the different tenure categories would no longer constitute distinct property classes, but could only be represented as specific political interest groups' (Saunders, 1979:98).

The second criticism that Saunders levels against the Weberian perspective is that the model is essentially static. He sees this as a general problem of Weberian theory, the question of how, if at all, the different social classes relate to each other? Saunders notes that several relations of exploitation can be established within the property class model - between private capital and house owner and between tenant and private capital. The third criticism Saunders makes about Weberian stratification theory and its application to housing is: how does the property class system articulate with the acquisition class system?

The debates concerning class models and housing moved on once more after the policy shifts witnessed by the election of the Conservative Party in 1979. The 1980 Housing Act, introducing the right to buy, led not only to the further residualisation of social housing and the increased social distance between tenures but also prompted the question of whether class cleavages had been overshadowed by a consumption sector cleavage (Johnson, 1987). The Conservative Government had ten years earlier seen home ownership as the preferred tenure as the following quote demonstrates:

“Home ownership is the most rewarding form of tenure. It satisfies a deep and natural need on the part of the householder to have independent control over the home that shelters him and his family. It gives him the greatest possible security against loss of his home; and particularly against price changes that may threaten his ability to keep it. If the householder buys his own home, he builds up steady saving capital a capital asset for himself and his dependents” (1971 White Paper *A Fair Deal for Housing*, cited in Hamnett, 1984:399).

Subsequently, there has been a widening of the debate in recent years as to the significance of housing tenure as a variable with regard to class alignments within contemporary capitalist countries (Williams *et al*, 1987:274). Saunders (1984:202-3) has argued that the economic advantages associated with home ownership may lead to an additional dimension of social stratification based on consumption, separate from more traditional class divisions based on production relations. He abandons his attempts to theorise home ownership as a determinant of class structuration and turns to the view that the division between privatised and collectivised modes are based on differing relationships to a means of consumption.

In post war Britain ownership of housing has provided access to significant means of wealth accumulation by three principal sources:

1. house price inflation
2. favourable rates of interest on housing loans
3. government subsidies on home purchase.

Criticisms of this approach can be made. It can be argued that although during the 1970s many owner occupiers did make substantial real gains from the rising capital

values of their homes, that this period was exceptional and that a combination of high interest rates, falling inflation and a relatively stagnant market has depressed rates of returns for home owners in recent years.

A second point is that although owner occupation may still function as an important means of wealth accumulation, the working class owners do not benefit as highly as other owners due to the heterogeneity of the market situation. Therefore, it has become generally accepted that different groups of owner-occupiers do not all benefit equally (Saunders, 1984:205).

The third point is that there still remains the question of whether home ownership can be seen as a significant factor in class restructuring. Saunders (1984:206) argues that attempts made to integrate housing tenure divisions into class analysis are fundamentally flawed. The reason being that the debate eludes the analytically distinct spheres of consumption and production.

So, just as the main social division arising out of the organisation of production in capitalist countries is that between those who own and control the means of production and those who do not; the main division arising out of the process of consumption in society is between those who can satisfy their main consumption needs through personal ownership and those who rely on collective provision through the state. The argument, therefore, goes that we are moving towards a dominant mode of consumption in which the majority will satisfy their needs through market purchases while the minority remains directly dependent on state provision. Saunders (1984:213) suggests that:

“... we may see developing in British society a major new fault line drawn not on the basis of class but on the basis of sectoral alignment. A fundamental division between those (the majority) who are able or will be

able to enjoy market access to good quality services and those (the increasingly marginalised minority) who are not.”

And proving to this analysis that housing tenure is becoming a more significant indicator of social status and division in contemporary British societies, which cuts across the traditional class boundaries.

It could be argued that housing tenure might represent an additional level of social stratification based on consumption. The use of housing tenure as a ‘social divider’ cuts across the traditional class based system of stratification. The acceptance that each housing tenure represents a section of society, with similar characteristics, is fundamental to the development of multi-tenure estates. The following section of the chapter looks at the ways in which housing policy has using housing tenure created the spatial patterning which has convinced policymakers and planners to view housing tenure as key plane of division in society or a factor around which balanced communities can be created.

2.5 Housing Policy and Tenure Diversification

“Rolling back the boundaries of the state, reasserting the freedom of the individual, the efficiency of the ‘free market’ became the hegemonic discourse of the 1980s”

The above quote from Kennett (1994b:1022) typifies the sentiments of the successive Conservative governments between 1979-1997. Government intervention represented a disengagement from ‘welfarism’ and its focus shifted towards the ‘market’. This is particularly evident in relation to the state and housing in Britain with the withdrawal of the government from public-sector housing towards subsidization of the individuals and the private sector. Just as housing policy was a critical ideological and material element

of the Conservative Governments (1979-1997), so has it proved an ideological linchpin in the promotion of neoconservative rhetoric, concerned with rolling back the state, reducing public expenditure and the creation of a 'property-owning democracy' in Britain (Kennett, 1994b:1024).

Forty years ago the public sector was the fastest growing part of the housing system (Malpass, 1990:7). In 1999 a different picture is presented. Changes in the system can be attributed to the reshaping of housing policy in the 1980s. However, the resulting changes reflected the legacy left by previous policy initiatives. In turn the reshaping of housing policy can be traced to the change in political control which heralded the arrival of the Conservative Government in 1979. As summarised by Offe (1984) the welfare state [at this time] was said to be ineffective, inefficient, repressive and conditioning a false sense of understanding of social and political reality within the working class. Such criticism found a new and 'unwelcome ally in the anti-planning and anti-statist ideologies of the new right' (Szelenyi, 1981 cited in Forrest and Murie, 1986:47).

The new Conservative Government believed in the notions of self-help, decentralisation and self-determination, which translated into the democracy of the free individual competing in the free market. After taking office in May 1979 the new government wasted no time in moving towards the implementation of what could only be considered its first wave of policies directly affecting council housing (Malpass, 1990:15).

The 'Right to Buy' was introduced as the centrepiece of the Housing Act (1980), and took effect from October 1980. At this time almost a third of all households in Britain were in the State sector representing one of the highest levels of direct state provision outside of the state-socialist societies the sheer size of the public housing sector represented a major ideological irritation for the Conservative Party (Forrest and Murie,

1986:51). Therefore, the implementation of the Right to Buy was a direct move by the Conservative Party to encourage the privatisation of housing in this country.

The sale of council housing was a major factor in the changing character of public housing throughout the 1980s, and has to be seen in the context of the growing commitment to private market solutions. The 'Right to Buy' was not the only policy implemented by the Conservative Party that was designed to erode state provision of housing. The Housing and Planning Act (1986) launched the second wave of privatisation. Local authorities were given additional powers to dispose of blocks or whole estates. The Housing Act (1988) set out arrangements by which approved landlords can exercise their right to acquire parts of the municipal housing stock, unless a majority of the tenants vote against the sale. Further erosion was planned in the form of Housing Action Trusts (HATs). These bodies were designed to take over those parts of the local authority stock which were deemed problematic; as beyond the abilities of the local authorities to deal with them (Malpass, 1990:16-7).

These changes to housing policy led to residualisation and socio-tenurial polarisation. The next sections of this chapter will look at each of these in turn, providing a definitions and evidence of their existence.

2.6 Residualisation and Housing Tenure

References to a 'residual' public sector have become increasingly common in the literature on housing and housing policy (Malpass, 1983:44). Forrest & Murie (1983:453) were among the first to note that 'something strange was happening to council housing', and went on to highlight that for the first time since its inception it was declining in both absolute and relative terms. It was also increasingly catering for specific groups within the working class, such as single mothers and the homeless.

The terms 'residual' and 'residualisation' entered the housing studies literature in the early 1980s, but remain ill defined. Malpass (1983:44) states that the most important criterion in the definition of a residual public sector is the social composition of the tenants. It is generally understood that a residualised municipal service would be largely, if not completely, confined to those amongst the low paid, the unemployed, the elderly, single parents, the disabled and others, who are so disadvantaged in the housing market that they were unable to obtain adequate accommodation privately (Malpass, 1983:44; Forrest & Murie, 1990:1). By looking at the social composition of a residualised social sector, it can be seen that these are essentially the same groups in society who are said to be socially excluded and/or constituting the development of an underclass.

The municipal housing sector effectively becomes a provider of a low quality service, which is means tested, catering for impoverished minorities and providing a safety net where market provision dominates. Thus 'residualisation' refers to the process of moving towards a residual safety-net type of state welfare provision, and in relation specifically to housing, it refers to the way in which the local authority sector has begun to take on this role (Malpass, 1990:27).

Forrest & Murie (1990) presented evidence to support the claims of a residualised municipal housing sector. They looked at various indicators:

(i) age and household type

Ermisch (1991:232) highlighted three broad sources of change in the number of households:

1. changes in the age distribution of the population;
2. changes in marriage and divorce; and

3. changes to the economic and housing market which effect the propensity if individuals to set up a household of their own.

These are reflected in Forrest & Murie's (1990) research. The age structure of the population changed as a whole between 1977 and 1987 (the research period). A higher proportion of the population were in age groups 30-44 and over 75, whilst those aged 45-75 declined in proportional terms. However this changing age profile was not reflected across all tenures. In council housing the major change was towards older households, there were also more council tenants under 25. The sharpest decline was in the 45-65 age group and there was a small decline in the 30-45 age group (Forrest & Murie, 1990:6). The role of council housing would appear to have moved away from family housing towards single persons and the elderly, aided by the right to buy policy. Indicating a movement towards a residualised role in terms of the age groups for which the sector provides shelter.

This 'hollowing out' of the public sector has continued, leading to an absence of the middle aged. Poor areas are often marked by a high degree of age polarisation; the older people who remain are the long established residents. Their social networks have been weakened as younger newcomers have replaced those who left. Younger people and younger families appear to lack the discipline of a previous generation; therefore some element of tension is inevitable in any neighbourhood (Forrest & Kearns, 1999:19). This trend for poorer neighbourhoods to house either young adults or the elderly, an unbalanced age mix, is important when referring to multi-tenure estates. It is possible that the goal of social mix or balance may be taken to mean 'age mix' as much as 'income mix' when talking about tenure balance.

(ii) economic activity and the number of earners

The proportion of all heads of household that were economically active declined from 70% in 1978 to 60% in 1987. However, this decline was most dramatic in the local authority sector and least among owner-occupiers with a mortgage (Forrest & Murie, 1990:13), again enhancing the differences between tenures and leaving the local authority sector with the larger number of unemployed. The trend for local authorities to house the large proportion of the unemployed has been reinforced through changes to the role of social housing provision under the 1988 Housing Act. Housing associations took up the responsibility for the dominant share of new social housing provision and have also found that a high proportion of their tenants are unemployed.

(iii) occupational distribution

Council housing is the tenure which houses the lower paid occupations, but as if to emphasize the above point, the major contrast between council housing and home ownership was the heavy concentration of the unemployed in the public sector (Forrest & Murie, 1990:22), a trend which continues in the late 1990s.

d) supplementary benefit payments

By 1982 62% of those on supplementary benefit were council tenants. The proportion of council tenants receiving benefits has steadily risen. This trend has continued as demonstrated by Shaun Stevens, a participant at a seminar in Ashford, Kent in July 1998. He noted that in the year 1996/7 76% of all tenants in the South East region of the UK (often regarded as the most affluent region) were dependent on benefits (Cole *et al*, 1999:3).

e) dwelling type and size

The shift from general needs housing sector to special needs role for council housing is evident from the dominance of smaller flats and houses in the reduced totals in 1988 (Forrest & Murie, 1990:36). Existing stock has also been depleted of certain kinds of dwellings by the Right to Buy policy. There is a consistent and marked decline in the proportion of 3 bed dwellings and a parallel increase in smaller dwellings. Therefore, council housing is becoming progressively a tenure of flats and one bedroom dwellings (Forrest & Murie, 1990:39).

When looking at the 1990s, however, the changing role of housing associations to that of the main providers of social housing in the UK, has reintroduced some family housing into to public sector. Before 1988, more than half of housing association stock consisted of bedsits or one-bedroom flats; a further 30%, mostly flats had two bedrooms; only 20% of the stock comprised of larger family accommodation of 3 bedrooms or more which had been the mainstay of council provision. Since 1988 housing associations have had to change not only their role, but also the type of housing they provide to include a high proportion of family housing (Page, 1993:3).

The above indicators demonstrate the way in which social housing, and in particular council housing, can be viewed as a residual service. This is an important viewpoint in terms of the research, as it is this concern over large, residualised single tenure estates, that has led to estate based regeneration projects based around a multi-tenure approach, to counter geographical concentrations of the socially excluded. It also suggests that a 'mixed community' could be viewed as having many different components, such as age, not just tenure.

2.7 Socio-Tenurial Polarisation

One of the most important questions posed by the changes in Britain, outlined above, especially in the last 35 years is the extent to which it has led to the growth of marked, and possibly intensifying, levels of tenurial segregation? The original logic behind this argument revolves around the fact that whereas the privately rented sector in the past was, by virtue of its size, socially heterogeneous, the owner occupied and council sectors have tended to be orientated towards two quite distinct sections of the population, the criteria for access being, respectively, ability to pay and need (Hamnett, 1984:389).

The population changes outlined in the previous section, which have taken place in council housing, have not occurred in isolation. Changes have also taken place in other tenures, especially owner occupation. These changes, and the differences between the two dominant tenures which emerge from them, are usually summed up by the term 'socio-tenurial polarisation' (Wilmott & Murie, 1988:28).

Most recent research has concentrated on the difference between owner-occupiers and council tenants on the basis of membership to socio-economic groups. Although socio-tenurial polarisation has existed in some form since the beginning of the century (i.e. when council houses were first constructed they catered for the skilled working class and owner occupation the middle class, with the unskilled still dependent on private renting), it is the changes which have taken place over the last fifteen to twenty years which have concerned commentators. With the eclipse of the private sector, however, the schism between the two other main tenures has become increasingly acute (Somerville, 1986:190), and attention has focused on it.

Hamnett's (1984) study presented evidence from the 1961, 1971 and 1981 Censuses to illustrate the changing tenurial patterns amongst socio-economic groups. He presents

evidence that the professional and managerial group experienced a decrease in the degree of representation in the owner occupied sector, and manual groups experienced a slight increase in the sector. In the council tenure, the degree of under-representation of non-manual groups increased slightly and the degree of over representation of the skilled manual group decreased. Conversely, the degree of over representation in both the semi-skilled and non-skilled increased considerably (Hamnett, 1984:396-7). On the basis of these figures, Hamnett suggests that the 'tenurial watershed', if such it can be called, between different socio-economic groups, has shifted over this particular twenty year period and that there is increasingly a growing gulf between those occupying the two dominant tenures. Murie (1984:168) sustains this view by highlighting the fact that there is a general agreement that the two major tenures are becoming more distinct in terms of the social characteristics of households in the tenures.

Hamnett's (1984) research would appear to support the first of the following propositions that are put forward concerning socio-tenurial polarisation in Britain:

- a) that social housing increasingly contains low-status, poor and disadvantaged people;
- and
- b) that such people are increasingly concentrated in particular areas and estates.

The rise in joblessness in the 1980s and 1990s would appear to have been concentrated almost exclusively among tenants of councils and housing associations, leading to a different experience where poverty and unemployment have become the norm rather than the exception on many estates. Polarisation in this country has, therefore, two dimensions: a) those concerning the characteristics of the populations involved; and b) their geographical positioning in the urban area. Therefore, the important point in relation to multi-tenure policy is not purely whether or not the marginalised are living in

one particular tenure (socio-tenurial polarisation), but whether they are also concentrated in particular areas (residualised).

2.8 Conclusion

From the discussion of the literature surrounding social exclusion, social division and housing policy outlined in this chapter, housing tenure emerges as a key socio-economic *and* spatial indicator, even if debates continue about its precise function in the creation of social exclusion. Housing tenure can be identified as one of the elements which lead to households or communities to be excluded from the mainstream of society (Lee & Murie, 1997:51), and represent a plane of division/inequality in contemporary society (Saunders, 1984:213). It would appear logical, therefore, that policymakers would attempt to adopt a housing policy, involving tenure as a mechanism for tackling both the social and spatial effects of social exclusion.

The above discussion has focussed on the conceptual debates around the complexity of housing tenure as a component of social inequality. The following chapter reflects further on the literature reviewed in the first two chapters of this thesis in order to critically assess the gaps in existing knowledge in order to define a suitable set of aims for the research that has been conducted.

Part Two: Research Design, Aims and Methods

Chapter Three critically assesses the literature reviewed in the preceding two chapters of the thesis, defines the aims and objectives of the research conducted and outlines in detail the methods employed to research these aims. The fieldwork was carried out in four phases, each of which is described below. The four phases are as follows:

- I. a postal questionnaire survey*
- II. five local authority case studies*
- III. resident focus groups*
- IV. resident survey*

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter begins by critically assessing the literature presented in the first two chapters in the thesis in order to define the aims of the thesis and then goes on to describe the methods that have been employed to research these aims.

From the preceding two chapters outlining the context and historical background within which this research on the evolution of multi-tenure estates has been conducted, two fundamental, but linked, issues have emerged.

The first concerns the scale at which policymakers and planners have attempted to implement social balance objectives. Throughout their history planned residential communities have employed various scales of integration in order to manipulate social behaviour. However, the neighbourhood, or estate, has emerged as the most favoured 'unit' within which to achieve social balance. This could be a result of the fact that policymakers and planners seek to influence resident's social worlds, networks and levels of interaction with their neighbours who would ideally have different social characteristics to themselves in order to reflect the diversity of society.

Historically, it was a logical conclusion and assumption to make that people who lived in close proximity to each other would interact with their neighbours through the use of local facilities, such as shops and pubs, and that their children would attend local schools together. In fact the New Towns were developed around school catchment areas (Derbyshire, 1967:431). However, Gans' (1961) article in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* highlighted that whilst an element of population heterogeneity is desirable, different social classes behave in different ways which often led to a minimal level of interaction between them. Add to these reservations modern day trends, such as: increasing levels of car ownership, the development of out-of-town shopping centres and changes to school catchment areas, the situation arises whereby people today consume space in a different way to those who inhabited previous planned residential communities. Next door neighbours do not necessarily shop in local precincts together or have children attending the same schools. People's residential location is no longer necessarily the sole location of social and kin networks.

This would therefore cast doubt on the ability of multi-tenure estates to bring about social balance and the integration of residents from different social backgrounds, especially considering the lack of empirical evidence to suggest that any previous attempts at planned communities had succeeded. Yet, the focus of the Social Exclusion Unit's attempts to combat exclusion, as outlined in the 1999 publication *Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal*, is the 'neighbourhood' and housing is a key element the renewal process, including tenure diversification.

The second issue emerging from the literature which questions the suitability of multi-tenure estates as a tool for delivering social integration and inclusion is the assumption that by mixing housing tenures you are by default mixing people with different social characteristics or classes. The crude notion that owner-occupation is a middle class tenure and that social housing is a working class tenure is no longer appropriate and is positively outdated. Changes in housing policy, especially since 1979, expanded the social characteristics of owner-occupation and in some areas there is very little, if any, difference between owner-occupiers and social housing tenants. This would give rise to concern that housing tenure, and therefore multi-tenure estates, is not going to necessarily lead to the mixing of residents with different social characteristics. Especially as the home-owners likely to be attracted to properties on an estate with social housing are likely to be at the lower, more marginal end of the home owning spectrum.

Therefore, the fact that people are less geographically fixed in terms of their social networks than they were in the middle of the twentieth century and that planners and policymakers are dealing in notions of housing tenure that are similarly outdated, casts the promotion and development of multi-tenure estates in a questionable light. Combined with the lack of empirical evidence suggesting that previous attempts at social balance at a neighbourhood level were a success, it would appear that a policy involving multi-tenure estates would be fundamentally flawed. However, it is still important to research the evolution of these estates in the British housing system in order to discover exactly why policymakers promoted their development, what objectives they sort to achieve and whether or not this phase of planned residential

communities has succeeded where others could be seen to have failed, by using housing tenure as a mechanism for insuring balance.

3.2 Aims and Objectives of the Thesis

The research aims of the thesis are outlined below. They attempt to trace the evolution of the development of multi-tenure estates from a policymaker's perspective as the development of such estates has been a 'top-down' approach. However, they also seek to embrace a holistic approach which had never been attempted by also conducting research with residents in such estates in order to discover the effects of such a policy on their lives.

1. to determine which local authorities and housing associations (in terms of geographical location and size) were developing multi-tenure estates
2. to determine when multi-tenure estates were constructed by local authorities and housing associations
3. to determine how multi-tenure estates were constructed, in terms of the parties involved
4. to determine why local authorities, housing associations and any other developing agencies were involved in multi-tenure estate development
5. to assess whether or not multi-tenure estates were meeting the objectives of the policymakers and planners involved in their construction
6. to assess multi-tenure estates from the perspectives of residents on both single and multi-tenure estates
7. to evaluate whether housing tenure is an appropriate tool to use when creating balanced communities

In order to achieve these aims a mixture of both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed. The fieldwork component of the thesis was broken down into four phases. Phase One involved a postal questionnaire survey to local authority housing departments and housing associations in order to determine which organisations were developing the estates and when, how and why they were doing so (Aims 1-4).

Phase Two involved five local authority policy case studies. This explored in more detail how and why multi-tenure estates had been developed in the local authority areas. They also attempted to assess whether the estates were meeting the objectives outlined by their developing organisations (Aims 2-5).

Phases Three (resident focus groups) and Four (resident survey) explored the reactions of the residents living on both single and multi-tenure estates in order to assess the impact of living on such estates on resident's behaviour and lives (Aim 6).

Finally, all phases of the fieldwork were used to evaluate whether housing tenure was the most appropriate tool around which to be creating balanced communities (Aim 7).

The rationale behind the selection of these methods for the exploration of these aims and objectives are provided in the rest of the chapter.

In order to research the aims of the thesis certain information, involving various kinds of material, needed to be collected. Different research questions suit different research methods, which is why the thesis has employed both quantitative and qualitative research tools. The research for the thesis also took on a multi-staged approach in order to tackle different types of questions with different tools at different times. The chapter will now consider each fieldwork phase in turn.

3.3 Phase One: A Postal Questionnaire Survey of Local Authorities and Housing Associations in England

Phase One of the fieldwork was designed to address the following research aims:

1. to determine which local authorities and housing associations (in terms of geographical location and size) were developing multi-tenure estates
2. to determine when multi-tenure estates were constructed by local authorities and housing associations
3. to determine how multi-tenure estates were constructed in terms of the various parties involved
4. to determine why local authorities, housing associations and any other developing agencies were involved in multi-tenure estate development

It was felt that a postal questionnaire survey would be the most appropriate method for addressing the above aims. The remainder of the section outlines the reasons for such a decision.

a) Rationale behind the Postal Questionnaire Survey

Answering these questions required a certain amount of information to be collected about a large number of housing organisations that may have been involved with the development of multi-tenure estates. A postal questionnaire survey was chosen as the method of obtaining this information, as opposed to any other method, for example, interviewing, as only very basic information was required without too much detail. Therefore, a postal questionnaire would be a more effective use of time and resources, as to interview a member of every local authority and housing association would be impractical or costly.

Mail questionnaires are 'without doubt generally cheaper than other methods' (Moser & Kalton, 1971:257). They also allow the researcher to 'widely spread the sample' and this was important considering the number of local authorities in England (361) and the fact that 200 housing associations were also sampled. Only the largest 200 housing associations were sampled, as the majority of development activity relates to these organisations. It would have been impossible to interview a member of the housing department in each local authority and a member of the development team in each of the housing associations to such a degree.

There are disadvantages associated with mail questionnaires. Moser & Kalton (1971:260) provide a discussion of these disadvantages. Non-response is perhaps the disadvantage that a researcher must be aware of when undertaking a postal questionnaire survey as their results depend upon it.

Any research tool has its disadvantages, therefore it is important to be aware of and acknowledge them. The next section deals with the construction of the questionnaires themselves (the local authority questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1 and the housing association questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2) and discusses the ways in which attempts have been made to overcome some of the disadvantages associated with a postal questionnaire survey.

b) Constructing the questionnaire

The purpose of the questionnaire was to discover the nature of the dwelling stock managed by the local authorities and housing associations in England, especially in relation to any multi-tenure development activity. This purpose formed the starting point for the development of the questionnaire. Along with this general aim, it is also important that the questionnaire should have the following characteristics:

-
- it should maintain the respondent's co-operation and involvement throughout
 - it should leave the respondent without any doubt about the kind of information required
 - it should help the respondent to work out their response
 - it should not force the respondent to give a certain reply
 - it should be easy to use and produce (Heather and Stone, 1991:1).

There are therefore, many factors to consider when beginning to formulate a questionnaire.

When thinking about the kinds of questions to be asked, they appeared to fall naturally into different sections. The local authority questionnaire contained three sections and the housing association questionnaire four. The last section of each questionnaire asked for the details of the person completing the questionnaire in an attempt to enable a check to be kept on who was filling them in.

The housing association questionnaire contained an extra section, as questions were asked concerning the nature of the organisation, namely which of the Housing Corporation's regions it operated in and what percentage of their stock fell into certain categories (i.e. London Boroughs, Metropolitan Districts, Towns of 10000 population or more, and Other). It was not necessary to ask the local authorities these questions, as it is easier to distinguish whether they were a predominantly metropolitan, urban or rural authority area. This would help to distinguish what types of authorities were involved in the development of multi-tenure estates.

The two common sections to both questionnaires were based around questions concerning the dwelling stock and construction programme of the organisations and

their multi-tenure developments. These were used as natural break points in the questionnaire and formed its overriding structure.

The majority of the questions asked in the questionnaire were questions of fact. Kalton & Schuman (1982:44) note that when constructing questions it is important that the respondents fully understand what they are being asked and what is the appropriate answer. For this reason the questions were designed to be on the whole closed, as opposed to open ended, in which all possible answers were provided for the respondent and they just had to pick all of those which applied to their organisation. In order to derive these categories a brainstorming session was held with a contact in the housing department of Sheffield City Council. There was also an 'other' option in some cases, to allow respondents to write in an answer if it had not been provided for them. Making the questions specific in this way hopefully made the task easier for the respondent, which in turn, will have resulted in more accurate reports of behaviour, reducing error (Sudman, 1980:241).

There are problems associated with factual questions that include:

- problems of definition;
- accuracy of response; and
- honesty of the response (Heather & Stone, 1991:5).

By trying to make the questions more specific, as mentioned above, it was hoped that there would be a reduction in any error that might occur from an inaccurate response. To enhance understanding of the questions and improve accuracy the terminology favoured by those working in local authorities and housing associations was as far as possible adopted. Finally to aid the honesty of the response, the questions were designed to be as non-threatening as possible.

Three open-ended questions were used at the end of the section entitled 'Multi-tenure estates'. These were designed to allow and encourage the respondents to answer freely and in their own words to these questions. It was important that the respondents were able to make their own distinctions, which would not have been possible if they had been constructed in a closed format.

Here it would seem pertinent to acknowledge the potential problems associated with the term 'multi-tenure estate'. Many estates could now be termed multi-tenure, especially as a result of the 1980 Housing Act's introduction of the Right to Buy which involved the sale of local authority dwellings to tenants. It was decided that the research would only seek information about those in local authorities that had a pre-determined tenure balance, or mix, during their planning stage. An information sheet was sent of with each questionnaire and attempted to highlight what the author meant by a multi-tenure estate, namely a newly built estate with a pre-determined tenure balance. Previous drafts of the questionnaire contained a larger number of questions, including those making reference to:

- how estates were allocated post-development
- what social balance meant to the respondent
- social balance and multi-tenure estates
- whether any evaluation had been conducted and if so, what were the results?

A section was also included for authorities that responded negatively to having developed multi-tenure estates, asking for their views concerning the potential of such developments. These topics were eventually left out of the final questionnaire. The questions about social balance were thought to be too leading, and those referring to allocation and evaluation best explored through other methods. The topics also did not

lend themselves to the research objectives the postal questionnaire was attempting to cover.

c) Distributing the Postal Questionnaire Survey

The questionnaire was sent to all local authorities in England and the top 200 housing associationsⁱ. The top 200 housing associations was based on the number of dwellings that the association managed. As mentioned previously in the chapter, the top 200 housing associations were selected, as opposed to the top 500, as the majority of development activity is associated with those organisations.

The questionnaire was sent to, in the case of the local authorities, the Director of Housing, with the addresses being taken from the *Housing Yearbook 1996*. The housing associations themselves were chosen from the Housing Corporation's *Source Research 12d*, and were the top 200 in terms of self contained units. A combination of the *Housing Yearbook 1996*, the Chartered Institute of Housing *Yearbook and Membership Directory - 1996*, and the National Federation of Housing Associations *Housing Associations Directory and Yearbook 1992* was used to gain the contact names and addresses of the Director of Development at each association.

d) Administering the Postal Questionnaire Survey

Along with the questionnaire, a covering letter (see Appendix 3) and an 'About the Survey' information sheet (see Appendix 4) were used as tools to explain the purpose of the questionnaire. These were used to complement the following types of instructions that were found on the questionnaires:

- general instructions - which form an introduction to the questionnaire and assure the respondent of its confidentiality;
- section instructions - which form an introduction to each section;

- question instructions - which indicate how the respondent should answer certain questions; and
- 'to go' instructions - which direct the respondent depending on their response to the previous question (de Vaus, 1991:94).

The questionnaires, due to the large number of them, were sent out at different stages.

Table 3.1, below, shows the way in which this was done.

Each questionnaire was given a number that was assigned to an individual local authority or housing association. Therefore, when questionnaires were returned a list of who had responded could be kept, so that reminders could to be sent and results traced back to individual authorities.

Table 3.1: The Administrative Phases of the Postal Questionnaire Survey

| Phase | Date | Contents |
|---------|----------------|--|
| Phase 1 | June 1996 | Local authority pack containing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a covering letter • an 'About the Survey' information sheet • a questionnaire • a pre-paid envelope |
| Phase 2 | July 1996 | Local authority reminder letter to all non-responding authorities |
| Phase 3 | August 1996 | Local authority reminder pack containing: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a second reminder letter • another questionnaire • a pre-paid envelope Housing association pack containing the same as original Local authority pack |
| Phase 4 | September 1996 | Housing association reminder letter to all non-responding associations |
| Phase 5 | October 1996 | Housing association reminder pack containing the same as Local authority reminder pack |

(For a copy of the reminder letter see Appendix 5).

e) Response Rates and Problems

Good response rates were achieved. Responses were received from 243 of the 361 local authorities giving an overall response rate of **67.3%**. A response rate of **69.0%** was achieved for the housing association survey, with 138 of the 200 housing associations surveyed responding. A discussion of the implications of the geographical spread of responses can be found in Appendix 6.

There were problems and difficulties with the implementation of the postal questionnaire survey. In hindsight the summer period was not the best time at which to undertake a survey of this nature, as many of the respondents went away on holiday and understandably a questionnaire of this nature from a research student was not high on their list of priorities when they returned to the office and found a pile of mail on their desk. Also at around this time some local authorities went through a period of reorganisation, some local authorities were merged to form larger, unitary authorities.

Therefore, some of the local authorities targeted no longer existed and others came in to being. Respondents were helpful in that they wrote letters explaining who should be contacted in the new authorities enabling the questionnaires to be resent out to the correct people. Finally, the implementation of the postal questionnaire survey was lengthy and time consuming. However, the postal questionnaire survey provided a valuable foundation on which to take forward the research into further stages. It proved a success in gaining information about a large number of local authorities and housing associations in relation to their involvement in multi-tenure estates, with 32% of local authority dwellings completed between 1980 and 1995 being incorporated within multi-tenure development compared with 64% of housing association dwellings.

3.4 Phase Two: Five Local Authority Area Case Studies

Phase Two of the fieldwork aimed to address the following aims:

2. to determine when multi-tenure estates were constructed by local authorities and housing associations
3. to determine how multi-tenure estates were constructed in terms of the various parties involved
4. to determine why local authorities, housing associations and any other developing agencies were involved in multi-tenure estate development
5. to assess whether multi-tenure estates were meeting the objectives of the policymakers and planners involved in their construction

The following section of the chapter outlines why this method was selected to meet these aims.

a) Rationale behind Choosing Case Studies

The form of research question asked above are best suited to a case study research strategy. A case study is, according to Yin (1994:13)

“... an empirical study that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident ... the case study enquiry also relies on multiple sources of evidence.”

The case studies aimed to discover any similarities and/or differences between five different local authority areas in their development and implementation of multi-tenure estates. This was to enable a comparison between Sheffield and other local authority areas to be drawn. This was seen to be important if the development of estates in Sheffield was to be contextualised.

b) Selection of Local Authority Areas

Possible case study areas were identified from the responses gained to the local authority questionnaires. In particular the response to question 12 '*what factors influenced your authority's decision to plan and develop multi-tenure estates?*'. If the response mentioned social factors, such as creation of social balanced community, as being an important in their authority's decision making process, then they were filtered out for further investigation. These local authorities were selected as the research is particularly interested in the notions of social balance and diversification, therefore it was important to seek out authority areas which had implemented multi-tenure as part of its social, as well as housing, policy. Twenty-three local authorities were filtered out of the original population of 210. The 187 local authorities that were not selected, as they did not state social factors in their response to question 12 of the survey, mentioned other factors as being important to them in their decision making process. 27 of the rejected local authorities stated that local housing need or demand had influenced their decision to participate in multi-tenure schemes, 19.1% cited economic reasons, i.e. the need to share the cost of development, with an additional 12.2% quoting funding as the primary reason for developing multi-tenure. The remaining local authorities were equally split between physical/environmental factor, political and other reasons.

In the final section of the questionnaire, entitled 'About Yourself', the respondents were asked for details about themselves and if they would be prepared to take part in further stages of the research. Some of the twenty-three local authorities had indicated that they would be unwilling to co-operate with any further research, therefore, a second phase of filtering took place. This left nineteen local authority areas that could be chosen a possible case study.

The remaining nineteen authorities were sent a letter asking them for the names of the housing associations and private developers which they had worked in partnership with. This was then, as mentioned in the letter, followed up with a phonecall after three days to ask them for this information over the phone. This was better than 'cold calling', as it gave the respondents time to locate the relevant information, as it was unlikely that they would have it to hand, and they then had some indication as to which day they would be called. This worked well, as all of the respondents had the information ready when called on the days specified in the original letter.

Once this information had been gathered, five had to be chosen as case studies. The number five was chosen to provide a wide enough mix of areas to ensure adequate comparison. Also it was anticipated that within each authority area five to six semi-structured interviews would be conducted with housing professionals from the local authority, housing associations and private developers who had been involved with the development of the multi-tenure estates. This would mean in the region of twenty five to thirty interviews and given the limited time scale of a piece of Ph.D. research this would be about the optimum manageable, and provide a compromise between breadth and depth of information.

The authority areas remaining underwent a third round of filtering based on three criteria,

- *geographical location* - Five case study areas needed to be chosen. Sheffield, as it was the base of the research, and thought to have been one of the pioneering local authorities in the country in terms of multi-tenure estate development, was chosen as one case study area. Therefore, four other local authority areas needed to be chosen. It was determined that a regional spread would be essential due to the results of research

Figure 3.1: The Geographical Location and Scale of Possible Case Study Authorities

| Scale | Region | North | Midlands | South (inc. London) | East | West |
|--------------|--------|----------------|------------------------|---|-----------------|------------|
| Metropolitan | | Bury | Solihull Birmingham | London Borough of Newham | | |
| | | North Tyneside | | | | |
| Urban | | Wirral | | Portsmouth Stevenage Gravesham | Norwich | Thamesdown |
| | | Bolton | | | | |
| Rural | | Sheffield | | Rother Epsom & Ewell Three Rivers | Huntingdonshire | Stroud |
| | | Rotherham | | | | |

Indicates local authority case study area

carried out by Crook *et al* (1996) which highlighted the importance of regional difference in housing association investment. Figure 3.1, p. 74, shows the geographical location of the authority areas, highlighting those that were chosen.

- *scale* - was the second criterion. Case studies were chosen that were of a very broadly similar scale to each other. This would allow for comparability. Figure 3.1 also shows the scale of the different local authorities. It was decided to look at only local authorities that were predominantly urban. This was due to the fact that rural authorities may have different motives when developing housing estates to their urban counterparts, such as PPG3. Therefore, to allow a comparison to be drawn between similar areas, authorities facing similar issues to Sheffield were chosen.
- *tenure mix* - all authorities had home ownership and/or shared ownership on their multi-tenure estates, as the research is particularly concerned with identifying the dynamics between residents and tenants. Table 3.2, below shows the tenure mixes found on multi tenure estates in each local authority area.

Table 3.2: Tenure Mix on the Estates of the Chosen Local Authority Areas

| | Home Ownership | Shared Ownership | Housing Association |
|--------------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Sheffield | ✓ | x | ✓ |
| Birmingham | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Norwich | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| London Borough of Newham | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Thamesdown | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

c) Implementing the Case Studies

As the quote from Yin (1994) stated on p. 71, 'the case study enquiry relies on multiple sources of evidence'. The local authority policy case studies rely, primarily, on the following sources of evidence:

- exploratory interviews - with local authority contacts to confirm the information provided in the questionnaire and in telephone conversations, to gain further contact names in the area and obtain documentation.
- documentation - including the Housing Strategy Statements for each local authority and any available plans and material relating to the schemes themselves.
- direct observation - of the estates that are within the local authority area, which allowed the researcher to see evidence of what the estates are like for themselves. This means that the researcher did not have to rely too heavily on the interviewee for a description of what they estates look like, in terms of building design, layout, and quality.
- semi-structured interviews with five or six key housing professionals in each of the local authority areas, in a range of organisations involved in the development of the estates. These professionals were suggested by the local authority contact that answered the original postal questionnaire.

The exploratory interviews took place at the beginning of 1997 (a copy of the questions asked can be found in Appendix 7), and were conducted with the local authority contact in each of the five areas gained from the questionnaire returns. These interviews took around half an hour to complete and provided the contact names and addresses for the

succeeding round of semi-structured interviewing. This stage of the research was also used to collect documentation on, and allowed for direct observation of, the estates.

d) Semi-structured Interviews with Key Housing Professionals

Interviews have often been used to establish the variety of opinion concerning a particular topic (Fielding, 1993 cited in Gilbert, 1993:137). In this case semi-structured interviewing has been used to establish the opinion of the local authorities, housing association officers and private developers actively involved in the development of multi-tenure estates in each of the five local authority case study areas.

Interviewing in social research can take three basic forms:

1. standardised or structured interviewing - where the wording of the questions and the order in which they are asked is the same from one interview to another.
2. semi-structured - where the interviewer asks certain, major questions in the same way each time, but is free to alter their sequence and probe for more information.
3. non-standardised - here the interviewers simply have a list of topics which they want the respondent to talk about, but are free to phrase the questions as they wish, ask them in any order which seems sensible at the time and even join in the conversation by discussing what they think of the topic themselves.

(Fielding, 1993 cited in Gilbert, 1993:135-6).

In this piece of research, the second type of interviewing was selected. This is because the method allowed for greater flexibility than the standardised form, which is important when discussing topics with respondents, especially as the research was searching for common themes between local authority areas and evidence of uniqueness. Therefore, as question patterns can be altered to take into account the responses gained, allowing the freedom of being able to probe the respondents further about the information they

gave is important in order to take experiences from one organisation and/or local authority area to the next. It is also more structured than the non-standardised approach, which was necessary due to the fact that respondents were told that the interview would take between 30 and 60 minutes. This was done in order to gain their co-operation in taking part in the research, as many were busy people with full schedules.

e) The Interview Guide

Two interview guides were produced. One was for use when interviewing local authority or housing association contacts, the other was used when interviewing private developers. The distinction was made due to the fact that the two groups (local authorities/housing associations and private developers) have different experiences of developing multi-tenure estates, namely that private developers are involved with the sale of properties on these estates, whereas the local authorities and housing associations are involved with allocation and renting of properties, and in the case of some housing associations shared ownership. Therefore, the questions were essentially the same for both groups with one section changed for the private developers to deal with the sale of properties instead of allocations.

The interviews guides (see Appendices 8 and 9) consisted of five sections, which are outlined below:

- Background information (on the respondent's history): this was collected to gain a picture of the respondent's position within the organisation and how long they had been involved in multi-tenure developments;
- Aims and Outcomes: it was anticipated that questions in this section would help to answer Aim 4 of the thesis concerning why multi-tenure estates were developed;

-
- Partnerships: it was anticipated that these questions would help address Aim 3 of the thesis relating to how multi-tenure estates were developed;
 - Development: again answers from these questions would help address Aim 3 of the thesis;
 - Allocation policy/Sales policy: answers relating to allocation or sale of properties it was hoped would help with Aim 5 of the thesis, if social balance was a desired outcome of estate development; and
 - Evaluation; it was hoped that the answers to these questions would address Aim 5 of the thesis also.

Questions were organised around this framework, to help structure loosely the interview and it was hoped that they would reflect the chronological development of the estates, therefore aiding the memory recall for interviewees.

f) Problems with the Case Studies

Arranging the interviews became difficult. Some people were elusive, never responding to letters or phonecalls, others had moved on to a different organisation that no one in the previous office could remember. In this way some of the possible contacts were lost. There were the usual problems of cancellations of interviews at the last minute and endless efforts at reorganisation which lead to abandonment by the respondent as their willingness to take part subsided. The time period originally allowed for undertaking this part of the research was exceeded, therefore the occasional interview was conducted after the majority. Another major problem, which was particularly time specific, was the effect of the IRA campaign to disrupt the transport network in the UK during the General Election period. This had adverse effects travelling to interviews and caused delays in the interviewing process. Perhaps the most important problem with the case studies was

the failure to secure interviews in the Norwich local authority area. The local authority contact sent five contact names, two of which agreed to be interviewed, two said they were not willing to take part and one could not be contacted by telephone and failed to respond to letters sent. This will have an affect on the analysis of this section of the research.

People were on the whole friendly and approachable and if they were unable to answer questions they passed me on to someone else within the organisation that could help me. However, it is important to acknowledge that the answers gained may well be influenced by the views the housing officers interviewed. The interviews were an effective method by which to gain information on the aims and objectives of the multi-tenure estates, how the estates were developed and whether or not they are viewed as a success.

3.5 Phase Three: Resident Focus Groups

Phase Three of the research aimed to concentrate on achieving the following aim:

6. to assess multi-tenure estates from the perspective of residents on both single and multi-tenure estates

This was to have been the final stage of the research (see section entitled Problems with the Focus Groups, p. 88 for an explanation) and was designed to take place on housing estates in Sheffield with a view to looking at resident's perceptions of social balance. Traditionally the notion of social balance has been created by the policy makers, and followed a top-down approach. The focus groups that were carried out concentrated on what the residents thought about the idea. The following section details why focus groups were employed to meet this aim and objective of the thesis.

a) Rationale of Focus Groups

Focus groups can produce a rich body of data, which is expressed in the respondent's own words and context. This is important as the fieldwork wanted to uncover the residents perceptions of multi-tenure housing estates. Although focus groups are not 'natural' in setting or situation, they are more sensitive to *emic* categories of knowledge that is, based on the concepts and meanings of everyday life (Goss & Leinbach, 1996:117). With an audience of peers, participants are more likely to describe their experiences in locally relevant terms, rather than attempt to impress or please the researcher, or use language and concepts that they believe to be the researcher's (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990:33)

Another reason for adopting focus groups is that they can be useful when undertaking exploratory research where little is known about the phenomenon of interest. At the time the research took place it was unaware of any research that had taken place into the residents perceptions of multi-tenure estates, therefore focus groups provide an ideal way of exploring both the issues that the research feels is important and what the residents think are important, as these may be vastly different. However, since completing the focus groups Page & Broughton (1997) and Atkinson & Kintrea (1998) have published work which looks at resident's opinions of multi-tenure estates.

Focus groups are but one of a number of research techniques that involve the use of groups (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990:9). Morgan (1996) defines focus groups as

“... a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher. In essence, it is the researcher's interest that provides the focus, whereas the data themselves comes from the group interaction” (cited in Morgan, 1997:6).

Therefore, a focus group is a special type of group in terms of purpose, size, composition and procedures. It is a carefully planned discussion designed to obtain *perceptions* on a defined area of interest in a permissive non-threatening environment (Krueger, 1994:6 emphasis mine). Therefore, it is an inclusive approach that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher (Morgan, 1996).

There have been attempts to distinguish focus groups from other groups using criteria. Both Frey & Fontana (1989) and Khan & Manderson (1992) assert that focus groups are more formal. In particular, they argue that focus groups are likely to involve inviting participants to the discussion and they stress the distinctive role of the moderator. Other criteria that have been offered as distinguishing features of focus groups are their size and the of specialised facilities for the interview (McQuarrie, 1996), therefore, they are appropriate depending on your research objectives.

b) Selection of Housing Estates in Sheffield

Sheffield was chosen as the location for this particular phase of the fieldwork, as this was where the researcher was based. Therefore, it had to be decided where within Sheffield the estates should be located. In order to begin this process, a meeting was arranged with the members of the housing department and housing research and policy team from Sheffield City Council, to enable them to put forward their views on areas which would make good locations for research and those which should be avoided. After this meeting, a visit to the local authority Right to Buy office took place, where the suggestions were plotted in terms of their levels of Right to Buy sales and active rents. The estates suggested were discussed in detail. Table 3.3, pp. 83-84, shows the estates, whose names have been changed to maintain confidentiality, and the reasons for or against their selection.

Table 3.3: Sheffield Estates as Possible Locations for Resident Focus Groups

| <u>Estate</u> | <u>Tenure Structure</u> | <u>Reasons For or Against Selection</u> |
|---------------|-------------------------|---|
| Red | Planned multi-tenure | Although the red estate is an established planned community on the edge of Sheffield and would have made a good comparison study with a newer estate, a new development is set to take place in the area and any research conducted may have picked up issues surrounding this. |
| Orange | Planned multi-tenure | The orange estate is a newly established multi-tenure estate in Sheffield. However it is quite a large area and it was felt that perhaps it would be too large for one person to research be themselves. It is also predominantly high rise, and comparison estates would be low-rise. |
| Purple | Planned multi-tenure | The purple estate is an area of continuing development and that alone is a good reason to look at alternatives. It is also a heavily researched area and within one of the city's SRB areas, therefore the population may have research fatigue and been concerned with issues to do with the redevelopment more than tenure composition. |
| Blue | Planned multi-tenure | The blue estate is an inner city area that has been redeveloped using a multi-tenure approach. It is a manageable area for one person to research and contains all the necessary features. |

| | | |
|--------|------------------------|---|
| Green | Unplanned multi-tenure | The green estate is an unplanned multi-tenure site. A main road separates the owner occupiers from the local authority tenants. This would make an interesting comparison to a planned scenario. |
| Grey | RTB multi-tenure | The grey estate became multi-tenure through default with the introduction of the Right to Buy in the 1980 Housing Act. It is roughly now half and half, however, it is located the edge of Sheffield and may be to far away from other sites to allow for comparisons to be made. |
| Mauve | RTB multi-tenure | The mauve estate was originally a local authority estate, but has become multi-tenure through default due to the Right to Buy Initiative. |
| Indigo | 100% Local Authority | The indigo estate is a local authority estate which has had a particularly low up take of the Right to Buy Initiative. An estate of this nature would allow for comparisons to be made between multi-tenure and single tenure estates |
| Violet | 100% Local Authority | The violet estate is again a local authority estate which has suffered from a low uptake of the Right to Buy Initiative. Again it would allow for comparisons to be drawn. |
| Yellow | 100% Local Authority | The yellow estates is the same as the two estates above |
| Pink | 100% Home Ownership | The pink estate is a privately developed, 100% home ownership site, which is located near to the yellow and mauve estates. It would also allow for comparisons to be made between single and multi-tenure estates. |

Five estates were selected from this list. They were:

- blue - planned multi-tenure
- mauve - right to buy multi-tenure
- green - unplanned multi-tenure
- yellow - 100% local authority
- pink - 100% home ownership

The blue estate was selected from the planned multi-tenure estate possibilities because of its size (it is small and contained making it easy for one person to research), dwelling type (the majority of properties were low rise) and tenure mix (it contained home owners, renters and shared ownership properties). The mauve, yellow and pink estates were all selected as they were geographically located near to one another. Finally, the green estate was selected as it allowed for a comparison between planned and unplanned multi-tenure estates. It was also in a similar position in the city to the mauve, yellow and pink estates, although on the other side of the city. This meant a similar environment and theoretically similar issues would be applicable to all estates.

c) Planning the focus groups.

After selecting the estates on which the focus groups were to be carried out, the next step was to contact the local area housing offices and alert the local housing managers to the work that was taking place. A letter was sent to the housing managers, along with a pre-paid envelope so that they would respond to the question asked in letter that asked for details of any issues which might be of particular concern to local residents and for any possible ideas as to where a focus group could be held in the area close to the resident's homes.

The local housing managers were extremely helpful and were actively involved in setting up the focus groups in their area. The focus groups took place in local venues that the majority of the local population would be aware of. This was deliberate in order to induce the participants into taking part in the groups, as this was a particular concern to some of the respondents, especially the elderly. The focus groups also all took place during the day, except that on the blue (planned multi-tenure) estate. This was because the majority of respondents on the other estates were elderly and felt safer participating in the group during the day than in the evening, especially as the nights had started to become darker at the time of year the groups took place. The focus group on the blue estate took place in the early evening as the respondents to the questionnaire were younger and mentioned that this time of day would suit them best.

d) Recruitment: the 'drop-through-door' Questionnaire

In order to recruit people to the focus groups a drop-through-door questionnaire (see Appendix 10) was designed. The questionnaire was contained within one A4 side of paper to promote completion, printed on coloured paper, with a different colour being used for each estate, and asked general questions about the respondent and their household. At the bottom of the questionnaire respondents were asked if they would be prepared to take part in a short discussion along with other residents in the their local area. The questionnaire was then hand delivered to properties in the five chosen estate areas. One hundred and fifty questionnaires were distributed in each area, along with a pre-paid envelope with which to reply.

Between 8-15 people responded positively to the 'drop through door questionnaire', although around 30%-40% of the questionnaires distributed were returned. Those

responding were sent an invitation 2 weeks before and then three days before the date of the focus group.

At this point it was deemed wise to consider what the literature says about the composition and size of focus groups. The literature suggested that the composition of focus groups be controlled in terms of gender, social class and ethnicity, or other variables that are assumed to effect orientation to the topic and the functioning of a group (Knodel *et al*, 1993 cited in Goss & Leinbach, 1996:119). However, it was decided to use groups which were multi-tenured and contained a mixture of genders, ages and social classes, as the sociality of the focus group provides the researcher with an opportunity to observe the formation of a temporary social structure which is a microsm of the larger context (Goss & Leinbach, 1996:118). This might lead to further evidence of social integration or separateness.

In the case of the focus groups the research was limited to those who responded to the drop-through-door questionnaire positively and who turned up on the day. This meant that the majority were elderly, retired, women who stayed at home or worked part-time, or women who had young children. This is a recognised limitation of doing research of this kind. Gaining a mix of ages and tenures could well be important as different age groups and tenure residents may well have different view points concerning the estates on which they live.

e) Operationalising the Focus Groups

The focus groups all took place in self-contained venues and were taped using a recorder and conference mike, to allow for transcription at a later date. They all took roughly one hour and followed the same format. Statements were written on a flip chart pad and transported to the different venues, along with printed A4 sheets containing the same

statements (see Appendix 10). The additional sheets were for the use of those members of the groups who may have had difficulties in seeing the flip chart. The statements were taken in order with a group discussion taking place around each one of them.

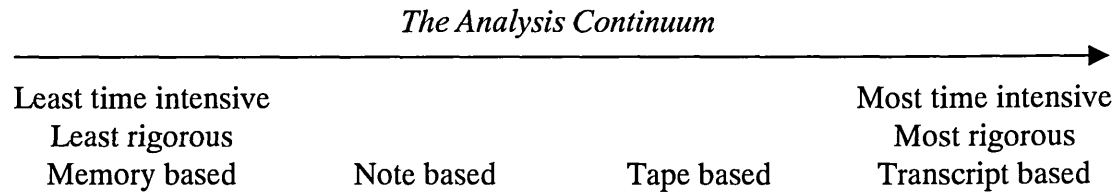
f) Analysis of the Focus Groups

When discussing focus groups, Krueger (1994: 143-5) states that the options for analysis are many and that one way to consider these choices is to place them on a continuum of the time and investment and rigor (see Figure 3.2, p. 89). The choices include the following:

1. Transcript-based Analysis – Transcript based analysis is the most rigorous and time intensive of the choices. Tapes are transcribed and the analyst uses the transcript coupled with field notes.
2. Tape-based Analysis – Tape based analysis involves careful listening to the tape and the preparation of an abridged script.
3. Note-based Analysis – Note based analysis relies primarily on field notes and summary comments at the conclusion of the focus group.
4. Memory-based Analysis – In this analysis process the moderator presents an oral report to the clients immediately following the focus group. Field notes might be consulted but much is left to recall.

The focus groups conducted as part of this thesis were all tape recorded and transcribed in full. Once transcripts were made, additional notes were made alongside with the help of field notes about the way in which the group responded to each other. This is due to the fact that the transcript itself does not reflect the entire character of the conversation. Non-verbal communication, gestures and behavioural responses are not reflected in a transcript (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990:104).

Figure 3.2: Krueger's (1994) Continuum of Analysis Choices



Once the transcripts were complete, the responses to each question were looked at closely to generate common themes arising from the different group discussions, as well as different views to some questions.

g) Problems with the Focus Groups

The main problem with the focus groups was attracting people to them. The literature suggests the use of inducements, but this was not possible in the case of this research as funding was limited, therefore it had to rely on people's goodwill. The majority of those people who responded positively to the questionnaire came to the focus groups when invited or phoned to apologise for their absence before the group took place. It was on the blue estate that it was felt not a large enough group gathered or that the group was representative of the estate's tenure composition. Therefore, further research needed to be carried out in the area to gain a different type of information about what resident thought about where they lived.

Another problem was locating a venue and setting up the focus group on the mauve estate, which meant that the group had to eventually, due to time constraints be abandoned. As mentioned previously, there were problems gaining a representative sample of the estate's population due to the recruitment method used. Although, awareness of issues which might have been of importance to local residents has been

sought from the local area housing offices, the participants of the focus groups saw the group as an opportunity to speak about the way in which their area was treated and the problems it currently faced. It was difficult to steer the discussion around to the issues that the researcher wanted to discuss.

The focus groups were a success in gaining more information about what was important to the residents and how they viewed their local area. However, they did not really achieve the objective they set out to test. Therefore, it was decided to, at a late stage, conduct a further phase of fieldwork in an attempt to meet the objective. Phase Four is the subject of the following section.

3.6 Phase Four: Resident Survey

As highlighted above, a further phase of fieldwork was considered necessary if the thesis were to address its sixth aim of assessing the impact of multi-tenure estates on those actually living on them. In order to do this a resident survey was carried out on three of the estates used in the Phase Three. These were the planned multi-tenure estate, the 100% home ownership and 100% council housing estates. The latter was included to provide a comparison to the results gained on the multi-tenure estate.

Other methods were considered, such as semi-structured interviews with residents, however, the survey was deemed the best instrument as the author had begun working full-time and the method best suited the time available to conduct the research.

A short, four A4 sided questionnaire was designed, adhering to the same principles as outlined in section 3.2 A Postal Questionnaire Survey of Local Authorities and Housing Associations in England (p. 62). Two questionnaires were designed, one for those living on multi-tenure estates (see Appendix 12) and one for those living on single tenure estates (see Appendix 13). Each questionnaire was identical, except for question

17. This question asked about their thoughts about living on a multi-tenure estate, or about what they thought life *would be* like on a multi-tenure estate.

The questionnaire, along with a covering letter (see Appendix 14) and a pre-paid envelope, was dropped through the door of 400 properties on the single tenure estates, and 300 properties on the multi-tenure estate. Each questionnaire was coded so that it could be traced back to a property, but not the person who completed the questionnaire.

a) Response Rates

Good response rates were achieved on the single tenure estates. 191 questionnaires were received out of 400 from the 100% home ownership estate giving an overall response rate of **48%**, and 113 were received from the 100% council housing estate giving a response rate of **28%**. The response from the multi-tenure estate was as disappointing as that received for the focus group, with only 58 of the 300 being returned giving a response rate of **19%**.

b) Problems with the Resident Survey

The biggest problem with the resident survey was the low response rate, detailed above, gained on the multi-tenure estate. This could be attributed to the fact that there is an ethnic community living on the estate who may not have understood the survey and therefore not responded. Better results may have been achieved if an alternative method had been used, however, considering the time available to implement the research and the constraints on the researcher at this point through working full-time, this was the best option available. The information gained, however, is valuable when complemented by that from the focus groups and was intended to be exploratory in nature. The limitations of this phase of the research will be returned to in Chapter Nine, the conclusion when reflecting on the Ph.D. as a whole.

3.7 Conclusion

The above chapter has defined the aims and objectives of the thesis and outlined the methods that have been employed in the data collection phase of the thesis, and concludes Part Two: Research Aims, Design and Methods. The thesis now moves on to present the findings of the fieldwork element. Part Three: A Stakeholder View of Multi-tenure Estates, outlines the findings of the first two phases of the fieldwork. This is followed by Part Four: A Neighbourhood View of Multi-tenure Estates, which details the results of Phases Three and Four.

Part Three begins in Chapter Four with the presentation of the results of the postal questionnaire survey of local authorities and housing associations in England.

ⁱ The top 200 housing associations were taken from the Housing Corporation's *Source Research 12d*, based on their annual statistical survey (HAR 10/1)

Part Three: A Stakeholder View of Multi-tenure Estates

Chapter Four is the first of five chapters presenting the findings of the empirical element of this thesis. It contains the analysis of the postal questionnaire survey sent to all local authorities in England and the top 200 housing associations. Some key findings of the thesis are highlighted below:

- Housing associations tend to be involved in the development of more multi-tenure estates than local authorities.*
- There would appear to be a strong regional element to the development of multi-tenure estates.*

4.1 Introduction

The following chapter begins Part Three: A Stakeholder View of Multi-tenure Estates, by presenting the findings of the postal questionnaire survey sent to local authorities in England and the top 200 housing associations. The postal survey, perhaps for the first time, allows for the construction of a national picture of multi-tenure development in England to be painted. A postal questionnaire survey was considered a suitable research method as it allowed the researcher to gain basic information about a large number of organisations in a cost effective manner. Postal questionnaires, however, are effected by the possibility of non-response which the researcher was aware of an attempted to counter by following up the questionnaires with reminder letters and a second questionnaire. Despite its limitations it was felt that the postal questionnaire survey was the most effective way of gaining the widest range of information about multi-tenure development in England, in order to address the following aims of the thesis:

-
1. to determine which authorities and housing associations (in terms of geographical location and size) were developing multi-tenure estates
 2. to determine when multi-tenure estates were constructed by local authorities and housing associations
 3. to determine how multi-tenure estates were constructed in terms of the various parties involved
 4. to determine why local authorities, housing associations and other developing agencies were involved in multi-tenure estate development

In order to address these aims the analysis of the survey centered around four themes. The five themes, size of organisation, regional development of multi-tenure estates, length of multi-tenure development, scale of multi-tenure development and the factors influencing multi-tenure development, addresses one of the above questions. The question of how multi-tenure estates were developed is covered by all four themes and section 4.5, p. 113.

The analysis of the survey used SPSS to calculate chi-squared to determine the level of relationship between two variables (see Appendix 15), using contingency tables. The number of contingency tables calculated for the completion of this chapter are numerous, therefore the chapter has been selective about those presented within the text and the appendices.

Each of the four themes will now be considered in turn.

4.2 The Size of an Organisation and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates in England

The survey asked both local authorities and housing associations questions relating to the size of their dwelling stock, in terms of the number of units owned. From the responses gained it could be calculated that 90% of the local authorities responding had under 27000 properties, with 70% having less than 10000. Whereas, 90% of housing associations responding had under 11000 properties, with 70% having less than 5000. With local authorities having on average twice the size of dwelling stock of housing associations, it could be hypothesized that the size of a housing association would have an effect on their involvement in the development of multi-tenure estates. It may be the case that larger housing associations are more likely to become involved in multi-tenure estate development as their development profile may also be larger and wide reaching. Therefore, this section of Chapter Four looks at the size of an organisation's dwelling stock in relation to the following components of multi-tenure development:

- a) the development of multi-tenure estates
- b) those developed by partnerships
- c) what partnerships involved collaboration over on multi-tenure estates
- d) the tenure mix of multi-tenure estates
- e) the length of time the organisation has been involved in multi-tenure developments
- f) their scale of multi-tenure development.

a) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates

Tables 4.1 and 4.2, pp. 98-99, show the contingency tables for the size of a local authority's and housing association's dwelling stock in relation to the development of

multi-tenure estates. It can be seen that there would appear to be no relationship between the size of a local authority and the development of multi-tenure estates. However, there is a relationship when looking at the size of housing associations. The relationship is significant at a 95% confidence level, but the contingency co-efficient is a moderate one indicating that other factors, not just the size of the association's dwelling stock are responsible for their involvement in multi-tenure development. The relationship between the size of a housing association's stock and its involvement in multi-tenure estates, might be explained by the fact that some associations are just too small to justify involvement in some smaller estate schemes which may leave them with only a few properties to manage.

b) Developing in Partnership

The survey asked both local authorities and housing associations if, when developing multi-tenure estates, they had worked in partnership with either another local authority housing association, or a private developer.

When testing for a relationship between the size of a local authority and working in partnership with other organisations, no relationships were found. This is particularly surprising as during phase two of the fieldwork, the enabling role of the local authority in developing partnerships was commonly recognised. Perhaps, however, working in partnership is not a meaningful variable for respondents, in that entering into a partnership does not influence an organisation's decision to develop using a multi-tenure approach.

Table 4.1: Contingency Table Testing the Association Between the Size of a Local Authority's Dwelling Stock (number of units owned) and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

| | 0-9999 | 10000 - 19999 | 20000 - 29999 | 30000 - 39999 | 40000 - 49999 | 50000 - 59999 | 70000 - 79999 | 80000 - 89999 | 90000 + | Row Total |
|--------------|------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------|-----------|
| Yes | 47 48.5 | 10 9.6 | 5 4 | 1 2.9 | 1 1.1 | 1 0.4 | 2 0 | 0 0.4 | 1 0.4 | 68 |
| No | 85 83.5 | 16 16.4 | 6 7 | 7 5.1 | 2 1.9 | 0 0.6 | 0 1.3 | 1 0.6 | 0 0.6 | 117 |
| Column Total | 132 | 26 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 185 |

Null hypothesis: there is no relationship between the size of the local authority and the development of multi-tenure estates.

chi-square (χ^2) = 9.96925
degrees of freedom (DF) = 8
p value = 0.26719
contingency coefficient = 0.22612

Table 4.2: Contingency Table Testing the Association Between the Size of a Housing Association's Dwelling Stock (number of units owned) and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

| | 0-1999 | 2000 - 3999 | 4000 - 5999 | 6000 - 7999 | 8000 - 9999 | 10000 - 11999 | 12000 - 13999 | 14000 - 15999 | 16000 - 17999 | 18000 + | Row Total |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|----------|-----------|
| Yes | 13 18.1 | 23 26.8 | 14 11.2 | 9 6.2 | 3 1.9 | 2 1.2 | 4 3.1 | 1 1.9 | 1 0.6 | 3 1.9 | 73 |
| No | 16 10.9 | 20 16.2 | 4 6.8 | 1 3.8 | 0 1.1 | 0 0.8 | 1 1.9 | 2 1.1 | 0 0.4 | 1 1.1 | 44 |
| Column Total | 29 | 43 | 18 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 117 |

Null hypothesis: there is no relationship between the size of a housing association and the development of multi-tenure estates.

chi-square (χ^2) = 17.49535
degrees of freedom (DF) = 9
p value = 0.04150
contingency coefficient = 0.36037

Similarly, no relationship was found between the size of a housing association and the development of multi-tenure estates in partnership with other organisations. Again, this is surprising as during phase two of the fieldwork, size was found to be an important influence as to the participation and role of housing associations within developing partnerships.

c) Influence of Size on Other Factors

The size of the organisation, whether a local authority or housing association, was found to have no relationship with the elements of multi-tenure estate development over which partnership may have collaborated, for example allocations or nominations.

The choice of tenure mixing would also appear to have no relationship to the size of the housing organisation involved in an estate's development. The size of the organisation, also had no relationship to the scale of an organisation's involvement in multi-tenure estates, nor the length of that involvement.

Therefore, the size of an organisation, whether local authority or housing association, has no statistically significant relationship with:

- the development of multi-tenure estates in partnership with other organisations;
- the collaboration with partners over certain aspects of the development process;
- the choice of tenures on the estates; or
- the length of time and scale of organizational involvement.

However, size is important in relation to whether housing associations become involved in the development of the estates.

These findings are important when determining *who* is involved, as during phase two of the fieldwork, it was claimed that smaller housing associations are dissuaded from

developing multi-tenure sites, especially in partnership with larger associations, as their role is often limited (source: Newham interview 2). Therefore, multi-tenure estates would appear to be built by local authorities, regardless of their size and larger housing associations.

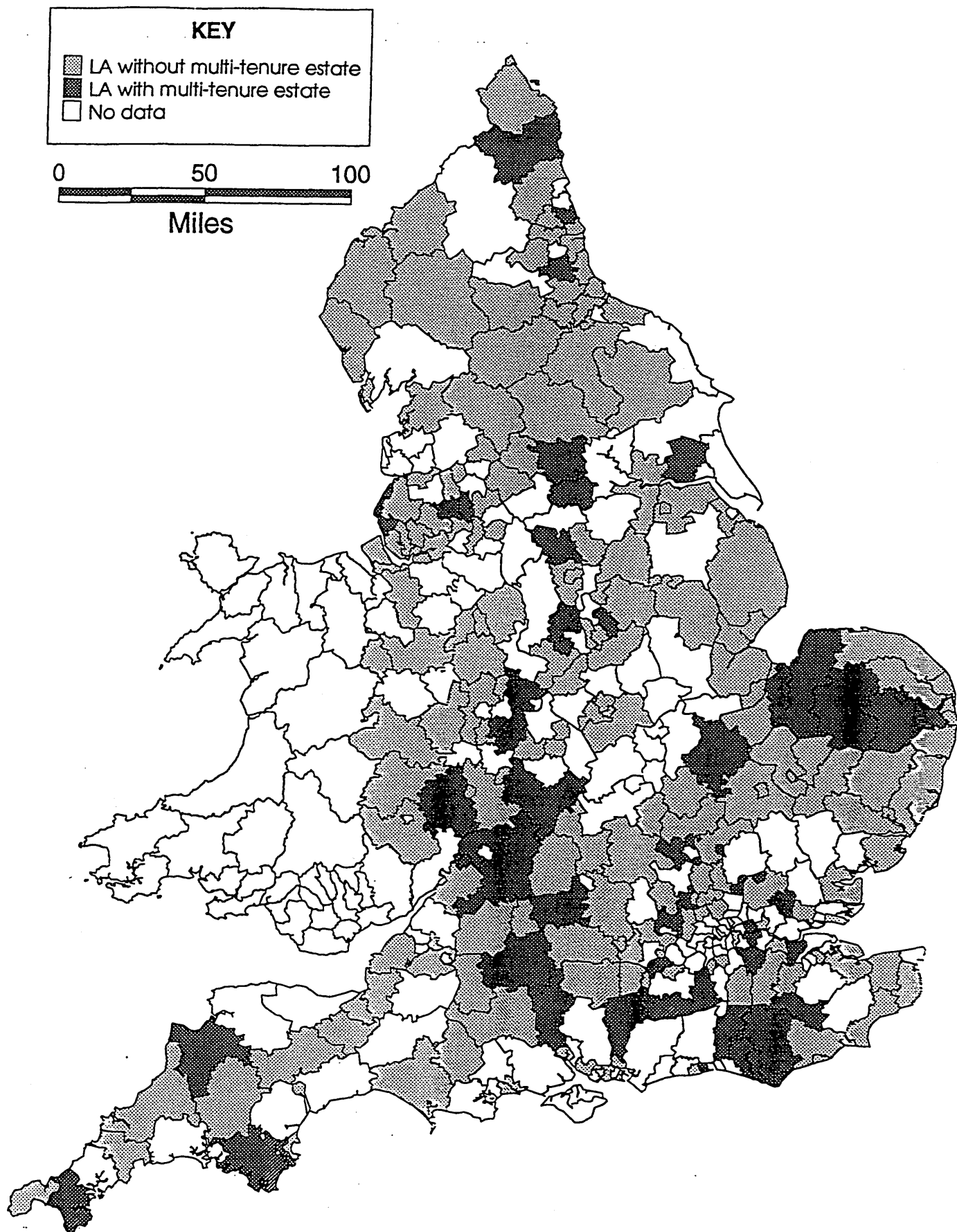
4.3 Regional Development of Multi-tenure Estates

Map 4.1, p. 102, shows those local authorities responding to the survey who have and have not developed multi-tenure estates, in 1995. The map shows that the development of the estates would appear to be clustered around certain areas. Looking at the map, it would be easy to deduce that the development of multi-tenure estates is essentially a rural phenomenon. The location of the clustering also seems to concentrate on certain urban areas, for example, around London, Norwich, Bristol and Newcastle. This could reflect the nature, and cycle, of the private market.

Booth and Crook (1986), when discussing low-cost home ownership initiatives noted a similar regional geography to that seen in Map 4.1. They found that sales had proceeded most rapidly in 'comfortable', 'affluent' and 'rural' areas on the edges of cities and in new towns (p. 52). Multi-tenure estates often contain an element of low-cost home ownership and, therefore, could be following a similar trend. There may also be a high demand for owner occupation in such localities, which would in turn influence the involvement of private developers. This finding may indicate that in these areas multi-tenure is being used as a strategy to produce affordable housing (i.e. a PPG3 requirement) not as a mechanism for reducing concentrations of social housing which is the main focus of this piece of research.

Geography would appear to play an important role in the development of multi-tenure estates. A regional focus was, therefore, considered important in an attempt to evaluate

Map 4.1: Local Authorities and Multi-tenure Estates, England and Wales, 1995



whether the segmentation of the housing market influenced the development of multi-tenure estates. The rest of this section considers the impact of developing multi-tenure estates within the eight Housing Corporation administrative regions in 1995 (see Appendix 16).

a) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates in the London Region

Using a chi-square analysis there would appear to be no significant relationship between a local authority in the London region or a housing association operating in London and the development of multi-tenure estates. There were also no significant relationships to be found between local authorities and housing associations and other housing organisations working in partnership.

Table 4.3, below, shows that housing associations operating in the London region demonstrate a significant level of association in collaborating with partners over the management of multi-tenure estates, which could be influenced by the large number of housing associations in a confined area. This collaboration over the management of estates was also highlighted in the Newham case study. London local authorities do not demonstrate significant relationships in collaborating over any aspects of multi-tenure estate development.

Table 4.3: Contingency table Testing the Association Between a Housing Association Operating in the London Region and their Collaboration with Partners Over the Management of Multi-tenure Estates

| | Yes | No | Row Total |
|--------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Yes | 16 10.6 | 9 14.4 | 25 |
| No | 15 20.4 | 33 27.6 | 48 |
| Column Total | 31 | 42 | 73 |

chi-square (χ^2) = 7.21632
degrees of freedom (DF) = 1
 p value = 0.00722
contingency coefficient = 0.29993

For local authorities there were no significant relationships between a local authority in London and the development of the different tenures on multi-tenure estates. Housing associations, however, showed a significant relationship between operating in London and the development of home ownership on multi-tenure estates, which would reflect the demand for home ownership in the London region and pressure placed on the private market. This relationship, is a positive one, although weak with a coefficient of 0.23599.

Operating in London had no significant relationship with the length of time organisations, whether local authorities or housing associations, had been involved in the development of multi-tenure estates. However, there is a relationship between both local authorities and housing associations operating in London and the scale of their involvement in multi-tenure estates (i.e. the number of estates they are involved in developing).

b) The Development of Multi-tenure in the West Midlands

Table 4.4, p. 105, shows that there is a statistically significant relationship between the development of multi-tenure estates and a housing association operating in the West Midlands.

In terms, of working with other partners when developing multi-tenure estates, the local authorities have no significant relationships with other housing organisations.

Table 4.4: Contingency Table Testing the Association between a Housing Association Operating in the West Midlands and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

| | Yes | No | Row Total |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Yes | 20 15.4 | 4 8.6 | 24 |
| No | 59 63.6 | 4 35.4 | 99 |
| Column Total | 79 | 44 | 123 |

chi-square (χ^2) = 4.73737

degrees of freedom (DF) = 1

p value = 0.02951

contingency coefficient = 0.19258

Local authorities in the West Midlands do not have any relationships with partners when it comes to collaborating with them on the development of estates, except in relation to land swap agreements. Housing associations, however, demonstrate a relationship when working in collaboration with partners on socio-economic strategies for estates, the creation of socially balanced communities, or community development. However, the strength of this relationship is weak in comparison with those of the local authorities.

When looking at relationships between housing organisations developing in the West Midlands and tenure on estates, neither the local authorities or housing associations are found to have significant relationships with the development of specific tenures on estates.

Developing multi-tenure estates in the West Midlands also has no relationship to the length of time organisations have been involved in such developments, nor the scale of their development programme.

c) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates in the East Region

Analysis of the data for the East region produced similar results to those for the West Midlands, this could indicate that the development of multi-tenure estates is similar in both regions. Local authorities demonstrated no relationship when compared to the development of multi-tenure estates in the region, however housing associations did. Table 4.5, below, shows the relationship.

Table 4.5: Contingency Table Testing the Association between a Housing Association Operating in the East Region and the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

| | Yes | No | Row Total |
|--------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Yes | 36 25.7 | 4 14.3 | 40 |
| No | 43 53.3 | 40 29.7 | 83 |
| Column Total | 79 | 44 | 123 |

chi-square (χ^2) = 17.13664
degrees of freedom (DF) = 1
 p value = 0.00003
contingency coefficient = 0.34969

Housing associations demonstrated no relationships when it came to working in partnership with other organisations, collaborating with them on estate development or the development of specific tenures on estates. Local authorities, however, showed a significant relationship when it came to collaborating with partners over the below market sale of land. The relationship can be claimed with a 95% level of confidence, but is a relatively weak, with a coefficient value of 0.24442.

Developing multi-tenure estates in the East region did not seem to be significantly related to the length of time or scale of involvement of the organisations.

d) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates in the South East

Operating in the South East did not have any significant relationship with the development of multi-tenure estates or influence tenure. However, local authorities in the South East did demonstrate a highly significant relationship when working in partnership with private developers, as Table 4.6, below, shows. This could be a similar situation to that found in London, i.e. that there is a high demand for owner occupation in the South East which would make links between local authorities and private developers vital in order to reflect the local housing market, which is characterised by a predominance of owner occupation.

Table 4.6: Contingency Table Testing the Association between a Local Authority in the South East and Working in Partnership with a Private Developer

| | Yes | No | Row Total |
|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Yes | 9 12.5 | 7 3.5 | 16 |
| No | 41 37.5 | 7 10.5 | 48 |
| Column Total | 50 | 14 | 64 |

chi-square (χ^2) = 5.97333

degrees of freedom (DF) = 1

p value = 0.01452

contingency coefficient = 0.29217

Organisations operating in the South East also demonstrated relationships when collaborating with partners on the development of multi-tenure estates. Housing associations showed a high level of association when involved in land swap agreements with partners, and local authorities were associated with physical development strategies.

Operating in the South East would also appear to be linked to the scale at which housing associations were involved in the development of multi-tenure estates, although it would appear not to influence the length of time organisations have been involved in such schemes.

e) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates in the South West

Like the South East, operating in the South West does not appear to influence the development of multi-tenure estates by either local authorities or housing associations. Similarly, it did not influence the working in partnerships or the development of specific tenures in the region by organisations, apart from housing associations operating with another association.

Housing associations, however, did demonstrate a relationship when compared to their involvement in the below market sale of land. This relationship was highly significant and can be claimed with a 100% level of confidence. The strength of the relationship is relatively weak, indicating the influence of other factors, which could include the more rural nature of the region.

Like the South East, operating in the South West influenced the scale at which housing associations are involved in multi-tenure development, as Table 4.7, p. 109, shows.

It did not, however, effect the length of time that organisations had been involved in multi-tenure estate development.

Table 4.7: Contingency Table Testing the Association between a Housing Association Operating in the South West and the Number of Multi-tenure Estates Developed

| | 1 to 5 estates | 6 to 10 estates | 11-15 estates | 16-20 estates | 21 or more estates | Row Total |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------|
| Yes | 3 6.2 | 3 2.3 | 2 0.5 | 1 0.6 | 1 0.5 | 10 |
| No | 38 34.8 | 12 12.7 | 1 2.5 | 3 3.4 | 2 2.5 | 56 |
| Column Total | 41 | 15 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 66 |

chi-square (χ^2) = 9.49785

degrees of freedom (DF) = 1

p value = 0.04979

contingency coefficient = 0.35469

f) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates in the North Eastern Region

Operating in the North Eastern region had little significant relationship to the development of multi-tenure estates in general. Only two relationships were found to exist. One relationship was between housing associations operating in the region and the development of local authority renting on the estates, which is a strange finding. However, there has been a long history of housing association management of local authority estates in the North East which may have influenced the respondents' answers. The relationship is highly significant and can be claimed with a 100% level of confidence, although the coefficient shows the relationship is of moderate strength. The other finding is concerned with housing associations working in partnership with local authorities which given the above explanation would be unsurprising if there is a history of partnership pre multi-tenurism.

g) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates in the North West

The influence of developing in the North West would appear to be small, as only one significant relationship was found between organisations operating there and the development of multi-tenure estates, and this was in terms of the scale at which local authorities were involved in developing estates. This could be explained by looking at Map 4.1, p. 102, it can be seen that very few local authorities responding to the survey in the North West region claim to be involved in multi-tenure estate development. Other regions, however, would appear to have a number of authorities responding positively to the question concerning the development of multi-tenure estates.

h) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates in Merseyside

Similar to the North West region, which surrounds it, operating in Merseyside would appear to have little effect on the development of multi-tenure estates, except in terms of the scale at which local authorities become involved in such schemes and the length of time they have been developing the estates. However, the numbers involved in the analysis were small, therefore the validity of the result could be questioned.

i) The Impact of Geography on the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

Geography would appear to effect the development of multi-tenure estates in England, which may be unsurprising considering the growing regionalisation of the UK housing market. Housing organisations developing multi-tenure estates in the eight housing association regions experience the process differently. For example, operating in the East region and the West Midlands for housing associations has a greater influence on their involvement in the development of the estates. Other regions influence the working partnerships that develop the estates, or effect tenure itself. Therefore, the way in which multi-tenure is implemented would appear to reflect the nature of the regional

housing market. Therefore, it would appear that 'multi-tenurism' means different things in different localities, indicating the possibility of a mixture of motives behind the development of such estates, not just their development as an anti-social exclusion measure. This would have a significant impact on the implementation of a national multi-tenure initiative, as the meaning of such a policy may be interpreted differently in different regions of the country. How then could the Government be sure that it would be used to achieve any social objective?

4.4 Length of Organisational Involvement in the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

Multi-tenure estates have received an increasing level of attention from policy makers during the 1990s. However, little is known about their development history: how long have they been being developed? This section of the chapter attempts to answer that question from the responses received to the postal survey, as well as looking at whether the length of time an organisation has been involved in the development of multi-tenure estates effects the way in which they operate.

Table 4.8, p. 112, compares local authorities and housing associations in relation to the year in which they first built multi-tenure estates. Table 4.8 shows that local authorities began developing multi-tenure estates before housing associations, as early as 1974. During the 1980s the number of both local authorities and housing associations involved increased. However, the table would indicate that housing associations became involved in greater number in the early 1990s. This could be a result of the publication of the Page Report in 1993 encouraging the adoption of a multi-tenure approach to housing associations developments, and the changing roles of housing associations to the main social housing developer in the country under the 1988 Housing Act.

The length of time a housing organisation had been involved in the development of multi-tenure estates, in terms of when it completed its first estate, was found to have no significant relationship with the development of multi-tenure estates in general or the way in which the organisations approached their development. Except in Merseyside where the length of time was an important factor for housing association involvement in the development of the estates, but as mentioned in section 4.3 this was based on very

Table 4.8: Comparison of Local Authorities and Housing Associations First Attempts at Multi-tenure Estate Development

| Year first estate was completed | Local Authorities (number) | Housing Associations (number) |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1974 – 1979 | 6 | 1 |
| 1980 – 1984 | 7 | 4 |
| 1985 – 1989 | 17 | 7 |
| 1990 - 1995 | 24 | 57 |

small numbers, and b) housing association collaboration with partners over socio-economic strategies in estate development.

Therefore, local authorities have been involved in the development of multi-tenure estates longer than housing associations although their involvement has increased significantly since the early 1990s. However, the length of time an organisation has been involved in the development of estates has little effect on the development of multi-tenure estates, except when housing associations are involved in collaborating over socio-economic strategies for estates.

4.5 The Scale of Organisational Involvement in the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

32% of local authority dwellings completed between 1980 and 1995 were incorporated within mixed tenure developments compared to 64% of housing association dwellings. Therefore, it might be expected that the scale at which organisations are involved in multi-tenure estates would affect the development process.

The number of estates organisations have been involved in developing was used as measure of the scale of the organisation's involvement in multi-tenure development. The most estates in which one local authority claimed to have been involved in was 15, whereas one housing association claimed to have been involved in 40. This difference in numbers could be attributed to the fact that local authorities normally only enable the development of estates within their own boundaries, whereas housing associations are not geographically bounded in this way.

This notion of scale was compared to the development of multi-tenure estates and the other aspects of the development process to see if it had effect on organizational involvement. For housing associations the scale at which they were involved in estates was significantly related to the length of time they had been involved, as Table 4.9, p. 114, shows. This was not the case for local authorities.

The scale at which organisations were involved in the development of estates did not affect the partners with which the organisations worked. The scale at which housing associations were involved in multi-tenure estates did appear related to their collaboration in land swap and management agreements. Both of these relationships were positive, but only of moderate association and significant to a 95% level of confidence. This could indicate that housing associations were prompted to become

Table 4.9: Contingency Table Testing the Association between the Number of Estates a Housing Association has been Involved in developing and the Length of Time They Have Been Involved in the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

| | 1 to 5 estates | 6 to 10 estates | 11-15 estates | 16 to 20 estates | 20 + estates | Row Total |
|-------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1980 - 1984 | 1 <i>1.9</i> | 0 <i>0.6</i> | 0 <i>0.1</i> | 2 <i>0.2</i> | 0 <i>0.2</i> | 3 |
| 1985 - 1989 | 3 <i>4.4</i> | 2 <i>1.5</i> | 0 <i>0.2</i> | 1 <i>0.5</i> | 1 <i>0.4</i> | 7 |
| 1990 - 1995 | 32 <i>29.7</i> | 10 <i>9.9</i> | 2 <i>1.6</i> | 1 <i>3.3</i> | 2 <i>2.5</i> | 47 |
| Column Total | 36 | 12 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 57 |

chi-square (χ^2) = 20.97636
degrees of freedom (DF) = 1
p value = 0.00721
contingency coefficient = 0.51866

involved themselves with multi-tenure developments when there is a land swap incentive and/or management agreement.

Scale had an impact on the development of local authority renting on estates for housing associations, and private renting for local authorities. Again, however, these relationships were relatively weak and had a confidence level of 95%.

The scale at which organisations develop multi-tenure estates has more of an impact when associated with housing associations than local authorities. The scale at which housing associations are involved influences their collaboration with partners in terms of land swap agreements and the management of estates, as well as the length of time they have been involved and the development of local authority renting on estates.

4.6 The Effect of Partnerships on the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

95% of local authorities that responded positively to having multi-tenure estates, claimed to have worked in partnership with other organisations during their development, but then it would be difficult for a single organisation to do so on their own. In the case of the housing associations, the figure was 90%. Local authorities would appear to favour working in partnership with either housing association(s) and/or private developers, rather than working with another local authority. Housing associations on the other hand seem to work equally with another housing association(s) and private developers, and slightly less with local authorities. Local authorities and housing associations would appear to enter different partnerships. The following section will, therefore, consider the impact of partnerships on the development of multi-tenure estates.

a) The Effect of Partnerships on Tenure

Working in partnership on the development of multi-tenure estates would appear to have an impact on the development of specific tenures. Both local authorities and housing associations demonstrated a relationship between working in partnership with a private developer and the development of home ownership on estates. In both cases the relationship could be claimed with 100% level of confidence and the coefficients of 0.51530 for local authorities and 0.54629 for housing associations, show that the relationship is a positive one of moderate strength. These relationships could reflect earlier findings presented in section 4.3. The links between housing associations/local authorities and private developers are hardly surprising in light of one of the main aims of multi-tenure development: the introduction of home ownership.

Housing associations, however, also showed a relationship between working in partnership with a private developer and the development of housing association renting on the estate. This would reflect the nature of multi-tenure partnerships, in that housing associations contract private developers, often the same ones who are developing the home ownership properties, to construct their properties also. Links also exist between housing associations and local authorities with regard to socially renting on the estates. This probably reflects the enabling/providing role of the two different agencies.

b) The Effect of Partnerships on Collaboration

The other area in which working in partnership with certain organisations may have an effect on the development of multi-tenure estates, is when considering what elements over which the development partners collaborate.

Local authorities working in partnership with private developers would appear to collaborate with them on a physical development strategy for the estate and land swap agreements. This more than likely reflects the brownfield nature of the sites involved in the construction of new multi-tenure estates, and the inducements offered to private developers for their participation in such schemes.

Local authorities working with housing associations appeared to collaborate over the nomination to, and allocation of, the socially rented properties. Housing associations also specified nominations as the area in which they cooperated most with local authorities.

Finally, housing associations when working in partnership with other housing associations appeared to collaborate over the management of the estates. It is sometimes the case that larger housing associations within a partnership will manage properties on estates on behalf of smaller associations.

The composition of developing partnerships would appear to influence the tenure mix of estates. The different partners would also appear to collaborate over different aspects of estate development. This could be of potential importance with regard to any promotion of a multi-tenure policy, as the mechanisms for implementing it, i.e. the partnerships, could heavily influence its success at achieving any social objectives.

4.7 The Factors Influencing Multi-tenure Development

Finally, Table 4.10, below, compares the factors influencing a local authority or housing association's decision to plan and develop multi-tenure estates. The responses gained to questions 12 (local authority questionnaire) and 13 (housing association questionnaire) were grouped under the broad headings in the table, and each organisation may have offered more than one explanation.

Table 4.10: A Comparison of the Factors Influencing a Local Authority or Housing Association to Plan and Develop Multi-tenure Estates

| | Local Authority % of responses [number] | Housing Association % of responses [number] |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Funding | 12.2 [14] | 8.9 [14] |
| Economic | 19.1 [22] | 10.8 [17] |
| Social | 13.9 [16] | 15.9 [25] |
| Need/Demand | 23.5 [27] | 8.9 [14] |
| Physical/Environmental | 7.8 [9] | 11.5 [18] |
| Political | 7.8 [9] | 24.8 [39] |
| Tenure | 7.8 [9] | 4.5 [7] |
| Other | 7.8 [9] | 14.6 [23] |

To give an indication of what is meant by each of the above headings, an example response is given below:

- Funding: attraction of external funding
- Economic: due to resource availability
- Social: they provide a mixed/balanced community

-
- Need/Demand: they allow for affordable housing in the local authority area
 - Physical/Environmental: there was difficult to let housing that needed upgrading
 - Political: political pressure for the diversification of tenure
 - Tenure: to break down the perceived problems of single-tenure estates
 - Other: the size of the rented sector

It can be seen from Table 4.10, p.117, that the factors influencing the development of multi-tenure estates for local authorities and housing associations are slightly different in the order of priority. Local authorities considered local housing need or demand for properties as their most important influence, with economic considerations second. Housing associations, however, responded that political pressure was their most important influence, with social considerations, such as social balance, secondary. What can be seen here is that although policymakers may consider social objectives a desirable outcome and reason for developing such estates, those implementing the policy are doing so for very different reasons. This may impact on the subsequent national implementation of a multi-tenure approach to housing developments.

4.8 Conclusion

The six themes that have been considered in this chapter attempt to address Aims 1-4 of the thesis. It can be seen that multi-tenurism is longer established than is often felt, and the national picture presented is a complex one that is influenced by the regionalisation of the UK housing market. Collaboration over estates varies widely, by region and by developing organisation. Therefore, it is very hard to make a judgement about whether multi-tenure estates have in fact worked.

The results outlined in the above chapter provide broad answers to the aims of the thesis being considered. It can be seen who is developing multi-tenure estates, where they are

being developed, when estate development began and how many estates there are. However, they only provide a snapshot of the situation, in 1995, and do not research in detail the aims of the thesis. The method has been useful in providing a national picture of the development of such estates, and provided an insight as the effect of regional housing markets on implementation. However, it cannot provide the depth of information needed to investigate the regional dimension of implementation. Therefore, the thesis moves on to look at multi-tenurism at a local level through the use of five local authority case studies in Chapters Five and Six.

Chapter Five is the first of two chapters presenting the findings of the five local authority area case studies. The chapter focuses on the evolution of multi-tenure estates by looking at the origins of multi-tenure in the five local authority areas, the aims and objectives of the organisations involved in their development and the ways in which organisations set about developing the estates.

The chapter finds the following points of interest to the focus of the thesis:

- *multi-tenure estates would appear to be a pragmatic solution to 'problem' estates*
- *multi-tenure estates are considered a success by housing professionals developing them and are meeting the objectives associated with local housing need, they are not however meeting any social balance objectives*

5.1 Introduction

The following chapter is the first of two that present evidence from the five local authority case study areas. The aim of the case studies was to (re)address some of the aims and objectives researched through the use of the postal questionnaire survey. The postal questionnaire presented a general picture of multi-tenure estate development in England that the local authority case studies hope to build upon in providing more detail. The case studies aim to (re)address the following aims of the thesis:

2. to determine when multi-tenure estates were constructed by local authorities and housing associations
3. to determine how multi-tenure estates were constructed in terms of the various parties involved
4. to determine why local authorities, housing associations and any other developing

agencies were involved in multi-tenure estate development

5. to assess whether or not multi-tenure estates were meeting the objectives of the policymakers and planners involved in their construction

Case studies were selected in an attempt to discover any similarities/differences that might exist between multi-tenure development in different geographical locations. The case study areas were selected from the answers received to the postal questionnaire survey discussed in Chapter Three. The initial contact came from the member of the local authority who had answered the questionnaire. They then suggested further contacts in their developing partners' organisations, which were either housing associations or private developers. The case studies were chosen for their geographical spread, and broadly similar tenure mix on estates *and* scale in terms of size to Sheffield, as well as their specification of social factors influencing their decisions to adopt a multi-tenure approach to housing developments. Therefore, they are not necessarily representative of a wide sample but chosen to suit the research's aims and interests.

Chapter Five begins by introducing the local authority areas before moving on to address Aims 2-4 of the thesis. To do this section 5.3: The Origins of Multi-tenure Estates development in the Local Authority Case Study Areas discusses when and why multi-tenure estates were first developed in the case study areas. Section 5.4: The Aims of Housing Organisations When Developing Multi-tenure Estates looks at why housing organisations chose to development multi-tenure estates and what objectives they were hoping to achieve and finally, section 5.5: The Partnership Approach to Multi-tenure Development looks at how multi-tenure estates are developed in each of the local authority areas. Chapter Six therefore moves on to address Aim 5.

5.2 The Housing Situation in the Local Authority Case Study Areas

a) Sheffield City Council

Sheffield is the county capital for South Yorkshire, and situated to the North East of the Peak District National Park. It has a population of 529300 and the local authority is responsible for general housing (72000) for families; single persons' and elderly persons', plus 37 sheltered housing schemes. For management purposes, Sheffield's housing stock has been divided into 15 Housing Areas (Sheffield City Council, 1996b:1).

Although, Sheffield City Council consider housing to be but one factor within an equation as demonstrated by the six priority themes the local authority has identified:

- a clean, safe, attractive city;
- *decent housing for all*;
- an education service that opens up opportunity for all our children;
- support for the most vulnerable in our community;
- a better quality of life through access to leisure activities; and
- the right environment for business and industry to create jobs.

(Sheffield City Council, 1996a:7).

Multi-tenure is seen as part of a multi-faceted approach in Sheffield that began in the 1980s. The approach has tended to focus on estates in redevelopment and regeneration areas, especially those located within the successful Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) areas. There are 5 multi-tenure estates in Sheffield, three of which are located in SRB areas and two could be termed in the inner city and are redevelopment sites.

The largest multi-tenure estate is still under construction and is located to the east of the city centre. The Manor will, when completed, contain around three thousand dwellings, including refurbished local authority properties, new build housing association properties for rent and shared ownership and private home ownership.

The local authority, as part of its main aim to promote accessible home ownership, actively pursues partnerships with private developers to create low cost housing for sale, and supports housing association's shared ownership schemes (Sheffield City Council, 1996a:16). These aims are met through the development of mixed tenure estates in areas within the city which have been targeted for regeneration.

Multi-tenure estates were adopted in Sheffield due to the increasing recognition that single tenure estates were not working, i.e. large council estates that had become residualised and marginalised (source: Sheffield Interview 1) and that neighbourhood diversity was a vital ingredient of any area based regeneration. The local authority is in the position, like all other local authorities, of being unable to build social housing, therefore, used housing associations to enable social housing provision to be maintained in the authority area.

The overall opinion on multi-tenure estates in Sheffield is that they have been successful despite the fact that they have been unable to meet social balance objectives (see Section 6.5). However, there are problems, especially in using housing associations as a tool for regeneration as often those able to 'afford' housing association rent levels are those on housing benefit, and therefore unemployed. The local authority still view it as a success, as they feel that owner occupiers vote by buying, therefore full occupation equals a vote of confidence in the area, and complete sales levels have been achieved eventually on all multi-tenure estates in the city (see section 6.4).

b) Norwich City Council

Norwich is the regional capital and the main administrative, industrial and cultural centre of Norfolk, with a population of 128100, although a further 300000 live in the 'travel to work area' (Norwich City Council, 1996: 13). The city has a housing stock of 53856 of which a significant proportion is pre-war. The City Council remains the largest property owner. It was penalized in the 1980s for its discouragement of RTB sales. Since 1991, the council has been unable to build new council houses to sustain a programme of housing provision that commenced in 1919. New rented housing provision in Norwich is now being undertaken solely by housing associations (Norwich City Council, 1996:15). Housing services in Norwich have undergone a period of reorganisation since the introduction of Compulsory Competitive Tendering. Norwich Housing Services Direct Services Organisation (DSO) now provides the housing management services for tenants through five geographically based contracts (Norwich City Council, 1996:16).

Norwich has 5 multi-tenure estates. However, three of those, having distinct identities, have been developed alongside each other. They have been constructed in different time periods and have separate names, but are commonly referred to as Bowthorpe.

Bowthorpe has a tenure mix that includes owner occupation, council housing, housing associations, shared ownership and some attempts at self-build. Construction began in 1975 with the development of Clover Hill. Clover Hill is approximately 50% local authority, 35-40% private and 10-15% housing association. It was built to a high density with very little car parking and small play areas. Once occupied problems became evident, for example, large gangs of teenage children, especially in the local authority properties.

Therefore, in Chapel Break, the second development that was begun in 1980 they recognised these problems and moved more towards semi-detached rather than terraced housing, provided adequate car parking but kept the patchwork idea of tenure. There was also a move away from general need housing to specialised, i.e. special needs, sheltered and adapted housing, therefore the development attempted to reflect the population structure.

The third development, Three Score, began in 1990. Here a 50-50 split between housing association and private development is desired, although not yet complete. There have been problems due to the allocation and concentration of children into the area, especially as the design is such that a bungalow, containing elderly people, may be sandwiched between two five bedroom houses.

Multi-tenure is well established in Norwich. A full list of contacts was provided from the exploratory interviews.

c) Birmingham City Council

Birmingham has a population of 988000 and constitutes part of the West Midlands Metropolitan Area along with Coventry, Dudley, Sandwell, Solihull, Walsall and Wolverhampton. Birmingham has the second largest concentration of ethnic minorities of any local authority in the country, the largest being in London. The 1991 Census found that black and minority people in the city represent 21.5% of the total population (Birmingham City Council, 1995:9). The City Council is also the largest landlord in England and Wales, with a stock of 95880 (Birmingham City Council, 1995:2).

Birmingham has 9 multi-tenure estates within the local authority area. The first multi-tenure initiative was started in 1988 with the city council working in partnership with private sector partners. Over 1000 improved or new dwellings have been developed at

the site. One hundred of these are newly built housing association homes which have been built on previously derelict industrial land, 180 city council flats have been sold to a housing association and been subject to complete refurbishment (Birmingham City Council, 1995:35).

Other sites have been developed in partnership with housing associations and private developers in an attempt to diversify the tenure composition of the area. In Birmingham, the majority of multi-tenure sites have been brownfield and part of the City's wider regeneration programme. All sites contain properties for rent and sale and a large number also feature shared ownership.

Multi-tenure estates were developed in Birmingham in reaction to central government policy that changed the role of local authorities from that of a provider to an enabler. There was also a recognition that the city needed properties for sale as well as for rent and this is reflected in its housing strategy (source: Birmingham Interviews).

Birmingham, has a large number of multi-tenure estates which have been developed in the last ten years. Problems are evident on some of the estates with tenants of housing associations feeling that there is a divide between them and the owner occupiers on their estate (source: Birmingham Interviews).

d) Newham London Borough Council

The London Borough of Newham is situated to the north of the river Thames in the eastern side of the conurbation. The resident population is rising slowly, with current estimates being 227000 people in approximately 85600 households (Newham Council, 1996b:1). Ethnic minorities make up around 42% of the population of Newham. Within Newham there are 88700 dwellings, 28% of these are owned by the local authority

(Newham Council, 1996b:3). The Council also has another 1161 dwellings outside of the borough. The Council's housing stock is predominantly (85%) of post 1945 construction. It comprises a mix of accommodation where flats form almost three quarters (72%), of which a fifth are in high rise blocks (Newham council, 1996g:3).

Newham has around 5 multi-tenure estates. Multi-tenure developments began in the borough in the late 1980s, with the refurbishment of the Woodlands estates. 50% of the properties were refurbished and sold into the private sector, therefore becoming home ownership, the remaining 50% were rented to local authority tenants. The remaining sites have all involved demolition and new build on brownfield sites, including one site having previously been a gas works. The redeveloped sites contain home ownership, shared ownership and social housing provided by housing associations.

Tenure diversification is an integral part of Newham's regeneration strategy. Newham Council (1996a:8) states that the Council will:

- promote mixed tenure in new development, taking into account existing tenure balance in the surrounding area
- seek diversification of tenure on Council estates where this has not been achieved by right-to-buy sales
- expect housing associations where they acquire existing property to further mixed tenure policies

Newham's strategy (1996a:26) is that:

"The council has an overriding policy on new developments to promote mixed tenure, in order to maximise choice and avoid overconcentration of increasingly poor tenants. Housing association developments are expected

to have a proportion of shared ownership dwellings, and if possible housing for sale. On private sites the council will seek the same result by the inclusion of some rented or shared ownership housing. Sites need to be viewed in the context of existing development - it may only be appropriate for a site to be wholly one sort of housing in order to diversify tenure in the wider area”

The local authority are proceeding with such a strategy in an attempt to regenerate the area and encourage economically active residents back into the borough. They work with around 20 developing housing associations and have a close working relationship with one private developer. Multi-tenure has been a feature of development in Newham for the last ten years, in an attempt to socially and economically regenerate the borough. There are problems. Newham was an area of high negative equity in 1996 and owner-occupiers feel unhappy about what they have bought into. Home ownership in Newham could also be termed ‘marginal’. Owner-occupiers are often no better off than the tenants living in the social housing. Child densities on some estates are also high (Newham 1996a:21).

e) Thamesdown Borough Council

Thamesdown Borough Council has a population of 173600 and the local authority is responsible for 12373 dwellings. Thamesdown Borough Council was located within the county of Wiltshire. However, on April 1st 1997 Thamesdown became a Unitary (all purpose) authority (Thamesdown Borough Council, 1996). The new authority will take on services provided by Thamesdown.

Thamesdown has 5 multi-tenure estates. Development began in the late 1970s and has continued throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The estates have mainly been developed on

greenfield sites on the edge of the existing urban area, although a couple are located on pockets of land within the original urban development.

The estates all contain some form of low cost home ownership and social housing. On two estates, instead of shared ownership, a 're-sale covenant' scheme is in operation. For a re-sale covenant property, 30% of the equity is retained by the local authority and 70% is mortgaged by the occupant. In the event that the occupant wishes to sell the property they can only sell it at 70% of the market price *plus* it must be sold to a council nominee. Occupants can purchase the remaining 30% of the equity but have to do so in one lump sum. The council see the scheme as beneficial as they can recycle the property and the occupier who didn't wish to purchase their council property can make the step into home ownership. This scheme was seen as promoting access to owner occupation for higher income tenants, whilst maintaining an affordable housing strategy.

The estates were all developed in partnership with housing associations and private developers. Partnerships are important to Thamesdown Borough Council, as one of their central aims is to maximise the potential for affordable housing (Thamesdown Borough Council, 1996:17). The Swindon and District Housing Association Liaison group is one of the longest established housing association forums in the region and contains the 11 developing housing associations in Thamesdown. They have recently agreed both a Social Housing Agreement and Common Housing Register with the local authority. Thamesdown, therefore, has had a long involvement with multi-tenure estates. However, problems do exist. The contact at the local authority commented that the problems in the borough were associated with prevailing attitudes about social housing tenants, a general stigma associated with the tenure and the design of the estates themselves. On the northern edge of the town, an estate has been built. However, it is

located alongside an existing council estate. Problems have arisen due to the stigma attached to the council estate. These attitudes have been enhanced due to the way in which estates have been designed and the social housing has been “built to look like social housing”.

From the above summary of the housing situation in the case study areas, it can be seen that as well as being geographical distinct, each has provided a different explanation for the incorporation of a multi-tenure approach into its housing strategy. This will hopefully provide an interesting basis on which to explore the implementation of multi-tenurism.

5.3 The Origins of Multi-tenure Estates in the Local Authority Case Study Areas

The following section of the chapter details the origins of multi-tenure estates taking each of the local authority areas in turn. In doing this more detail can be added to the information gained from the postal questionnaire survey about the length of time organisations have been engaged in multi-tenure developments, outlined in section 4.4: Length of Organisational Involvement in the Development of Multi-tenure Estates. This will help in addressing Aim 2 of the thesis.

A number of interviews were conducted in each local authority area, Appendix 17 gives details of which organisations were interviewed and their interview number used as reference throughout Chapters Five and Six.

a) The Origins of Multi-tenure Development in Sheffield

Interviewees often had to pause and think when presented with the question: ‘where did the idea of multi-tenure estates originate?’. Most, however, agreed that there was never a specific plan or strategy which stated that multi-tenure estates were the correct way to

go about developing housing in their local authority. In Sheffield, an interviewee noted that multi-tenure developments have *“have become legitimised by the people who have to produce the housing and have to deal with the problems on the estates . . . till they have now become common place”* (source: Sheffield Interview 2: housing association). They have become a solution to the question: ‘what shall we do with this site?’

In Sheffield it would appear that the late 1980s were a crucial period for the development of multi-tenure estates. The local authority and several of the housing associations interviewed feel that the idea evolved for financial reasons. *“There was a need for housing . . . and an acceptance that we would have to get the finance together to do it. We couldn’t do it all with local authority finance, so it was finance driven”* (source: Sheffield Interview 1: local authority). At the same time the government was promoting the idea of the transfer of landlord control (from local authorities to housing associations), due to problems increasingly associated with monolithic council estates suffering from multiple forms of deprivation. Multi-tenure estates were seen as *“a common sense idea to avoid ghettos, which was a key lesson of the 80s. Gradually people were thinking that large, traditional council estates weren’t a good thing”* (source: Sheffield Interview 3: housing association).

The pressure on local authority finances and the recognition of the ‘problem’ estate coincided with the changes to social housing provision in the country as a whole. The 1988 Housing Act altered the role of local authorities from that of service provider to service enabler, and housing associations were take over the role of general social housing provider as opposed to that of specialist social housing.

Although the late 1980s would appear to be a key period in the development of multi-tenure estates in their contemporary form, Sheffield had experimented with the concept

during the late 1960s and early 1970s. On the 1st of April 1967, an area centred on the village of Mosborough in Derbyshire became part of the city of Sheffield for the purpose of accommodating the city's overspill (Sheffield Corporation, 1969, p. viii). One of the main aims of the new township was to increase substantially the proportion of home ownership. The Government at the time was suggesting a 50:50 ratio as being desirable in large new developments, and the Mosborough Master Plan assumed that this ratio would give rise to an acceptable balance of socio-economic groups. They felt that in the future the tenure balance of the development would become more varied and that the social significance of tenure would become less (Sheffield Corporation, 1969, p. 87).

Therefore, planned multi-tenure estate developments have been used in the Sheffield local authority area for several decades. However, the origin of planned socially balanced estates using housing tenure as opposed to using social class would appear to have taken place in the late 1980s.

b) The Origins of Multi-tenure Development in Norwich

The origins of multi-tenure estates in Norwich began with the development of an estate on the edge of the city named Bowthorpe. This site was to be developed in three phases, with each phase containing a mixture of public and private housing. Therefore, *“within the social housing there was to be a mixture of council and housing association, different tenures, and within the private sector there is obviously a mixture of shared ownership and outright sale”* (source: Norwich Interview 1: local authority). This is a direct contrast to the development of multi-tenure estates in Sheffield (and other case studies), where one large development has taken place as opposed to several smaller developments.

Multi-tenure was seen as ‘the way to go’, as when the development of Bowthorpe was proposed “*there were problems with single tenure estates, especially to do with social housing. So it was thought that a development of this size would need to be multi-tenure*” (source: Norwich Interview 1).

The local authority would appear to have pioneered the development of multi-tenure estates in Norwich. The other organisation interviewed in the local authority area felt that the origins of the idea for their organisation to become involved arose from bi-annual meeting with the local authority (source: Norwich Interview 2: housing association).

c) The Origins of Multi-tenure Development in Birmingham

Birmingham City Council, before 1988, had a multi-tenure policy in that “*private developers could build properties for sale and they [the private developers] sold land to housing associations for rent and shared ownership as well as doing their own building*” (source: Birmingham Interview 1: local authority). However, after the 1988 Housing Act and its implications for the provision of social housing, larger sites within the local authority have been developed through Joint Ventures that reflect the local authority’s enabling role.

Since 1988, multi-tenure has been more prominent in Birmingham. One of the housing associations interviewed in the area outlined three factors that have helped multi-tenure estates raise their profile. These are:

- The housing market package - which led to the development of unintentional multi-tenure estates, especially on estates designed as private, single tenure areas where developers had been unable to sell all of the properties

-
- PPG3 - which encouraged developers to provide affordable housing within their developments
 - Funding opportunities - led to partnerships which developed on a multi-tenure basis, plus in order to gain Housing Corporation funding developments had to contain a mix of tenures (source: Birmingham Interview 2: housing association).

The same housing association also mentioned the desire to avoid the development of purely social housing estates, and was developing an internal policy that would use multi-tenure as a mechanism for achieving social balance and long-term sustainability on their developments. This, however, was only in the initial stages at the time of interview and had not been developed enough for discussion.

d) The Origins of Multi-tenure Development in Newham

All of the organisations interviewed in Newham agreed that the development of multi-tenure estates had taken off post-1988. The local authority stated that the impetus for the developments came from the high concentrations of poor social housing located near areas which had suffered major job losses (source: Newham Interview 1: local authority). At this time the Director of Housing began to think about ways of alleviating the problems and, having a background in town planning, considered a social engineering approach. This, coupled with the fact that since the early 1980s Newham had been developing its own shared equity housing, seemed to indicate that multi-tenure was the next logical step in attempting to solve the problems of marginalisation within the borough.

The housing associations interviewed agreed that multi-tenure estates had been “*a pragmatic solution to a practical difficulty where the site was too big to develop as purely social renting*” (source: Newham Interview 2: housing association). They felt

that the development of such estates was more policy driven with two associations stating that they felt it was a 'bright idea' from the Housing Corporation, and didn't have much to do with a housing association's policy objectives. The housing associations also mentioned the impact of the Page Report in raising the profile of multi-tenurism.

Multi-tenure developments would appear to have existed in Newham in an embryonic stage before 1988, but have developed since then into a recognised mechanism for dealing with the social problems faced by the residents of the borough.

e) The Origins of Multi-tenure Development in Thamesdown

The origins of multi-tenure in Thamesdown were said to have grown out of a partnership that already existed between the local authority housing department and a private developer. They had been working in partnership since 1971. Their partnership was gradually refined and multi-tenure estates were a natural progression from the developments they had worked on previously (source: Thamesdown Interview 1: local authority).

The local authority had some land that needed to be developed, but they were conscious that there was a need for 'tenure balance' in the town. This was directly linked to a wish not to recreate the problems associated with large council estates. Multi-tenure was considered a viable alternative and the Chief Housing Officer even went as far as to market the concept to companies with the potential to bring employment into the town. Therefore, housing was used to secure economic gains - an early Housing Plus initiative (see Evans, 1997). The private developer stated that the company built upon its links with the local authority in developing the estates, but also wished to cater for this

particular niche in the housing market (source: Thamesdown Interview 3: private developer).

Other influences for the development of multi-tenure in the local authority area were the Page Report published by Joseph Rowntree Foundation. In terms of the other private developer interviewed the idea was brought to the fore due to the downturn in the housing market and the need for private developers to come up with an alternative market for their goods - i.e. working in partnership with social housing providers.

Individual organisations had different reasons for becoming involved in the development of multi-tenure estates. The local authority desired a tenure balance in the town in order to make the area attractive to potential employers (source: Thamesdown Interview 1). Also there was a desire to avoid the mistakes of the past and not build monolithic council estates which were subject to stigmatisation and negative reputations. The housing association contact stated that their reasons for getting involved in the developments were to attempt to reap the benefits of a mixed community in overcoming social exclusion. It was hoped that multi-tenure estates would prevent stigmatisation of socially rented areas and the over concentration of those sections of society in most need, and that the provision of different tenures would lead to a mixture of role models in the community. However, they also stated that “... *one has to be realistic and some of this might have been constrained if in by pulling the different tenures together there weren't certain financial advantages. That was an important underlying factor*” (source: Thamesdown Interview 2: housing association).

For the private developers the reasons for getting involved concerned the need to make a profit and the development of market options.

f) Comparison of the Origins of Multi-tenure Development

From the above section it can be seen that multi-tenure developments in their contemporary format would appear to have taken off in the late 1980s. This would be around the time the nature of social housing provision shifted away from local authorities to housing associations. This shift is supported by the evidence of the postal questionnaire survey that found that more housing associations became involved in the development of such estates in the late 1980s and early 1990s (see Table 4.9, p. 112).

However, multi-tenure developments existed in all five local authority areas before the late 1980s, but did not involve housing associations as heavily. The evidence of the postal survey that demonstrated an earlier level of involvement for local authorities when compared to housing associations again supports this.

The reasons for the development of multi-tenure estates since the late 1980s would appear to be similar in all of the authority areas. Financial constraints and funding arrangements and the changing nature of social housing provision led to a multi-agency approach to housing developments, with local authorities undertaking and enabling role and housing associations a providing one. The lessons arising from 'problem' estates of predominantly council housing and the warning of David Page (1993, 1994) highlighted the potential of a multi-tenure approach. At around the same time a downturn in the private market left private developers with one major source of income: social housing. This encouraged them to involve themselves more heavily in multi-tenure schemes, even though this may not have been the case if the market had not been in decline. Therefore, it could be said that the end of the 1980s and beginning of the early 1990s represented the 'ideal' set of conditions, changes to housing policy and finance, fear of residualisation and socio-tenurial polarisation on single tenure estates and a recession in

the housing market, that meant multi-tenure developments were an attractive option for all the organisations involved.

5.4 The Aims of Housing Organisations When Developing Multi-tenure Estates

The following section of the chapter discusses the aims and objectives of the organisations interviewed in each of the local authority case study areas. By looking at these aims and objectives some judgments can be made about why organisations are developing multi-tenure estates and thus address Aim 4 of the thesis. The section will follow the same format as the previous section and look at each local authority area in turn.

a) The Aims and Objectives of Developing Organisations in Sheffield

Table 5.1, p. 139, shows that organisations in Sheffield had very different aims and objectives when developing multi-tenure estates. The private developers stated that they were involved in schemes because they wanted to achieve sales and make a profit, which they termed ‘selfish reasons’ (source: Sheffield Interview 7: private developer). Financial objectives also influenced the involvement of the local authority and housing associations, as was mentioned in section 5.3. However, the local authority and housing associations were also concerned with social objectives.

It can be seen that both the local authority and housing associations mention social balance as an objective of developing multi-tenure estates. However, this was not their initial objective (source: Sheffield Interview 1). Issues of social balance have become more prominent since the publication of the Page Report.

Table 5.1: The Aims and Objectives of Organisations When Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Sheffield

| Local Authority | Housing Associations | Private Developers |
|--|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The need to raise finance 2. Well balanced communities 3. Diversification - not wanting to recreate 'problem' estates | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Thinking about sustainability for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • financial reasons • will people want to live there? • to avoid problems of the past 2. To produce balanced communities 3. The desire for more stock 4. Providing homes for people with least choice 5. To gain finance | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To achieve sales 2. To produce a profitable development |

b) The Aims and Objectives of Developing Organisations in Norwich

It can be seen from Table 5.2, below, that in Norwich the local authority is concerned with the alleviation of housing need and the provision of family accommodation (source: Norwich Interview 1). The housing association, on the other hand, stated that their involvement was an "*an attempt to conform to Page's ideas*" (source: Norwich Interview 2), and an attempt to balance the community.

Table 5.2: The Aims and Objectives of Organisations When Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Norwich

| Local Authority | Housing Association |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To alleviate housing need 2. To provide family housing | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Attempting to conform to the ideas of David Page and create community balance |

The local authority, therefore, was more concerned with the alleviation of housing need in the local authority areas as opposed to creating socially balanced communities, whereas this was an objective of the housing association interviewed.

a) The Aims and Objectives of Developing Organisations in Birmingham

From Table 5.3, below, it can be seen that it was the local authority in Birmingham which stated one of its major aims in multi-tenure development was the creation of socially balanced communities (source: Birmingham Interview 1).

One housing association also stated that they aimed to achieve a ‘good mix’ on estates in terms of:

Table 5.3: The Aims and Objectives of Organisations When Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Birmingham

| Local Authority | Housing Associations |
|---|--|
| 1. To achieve social balance on estates | 1. To achieve a good income, tenure and household/dwelling size mix 2. To maintain national position 3. To maintain good working relationship with local authority |

- income
- tenure
- household size; and
- dwelling type (source: Birmingham Interview 2).

The other association felt that their organisation’s involvement was an attempt to maintain their position, both nationally, in terms of a league table of associations, and locally, with the local authority, as *“you don’t want to say no to going into a project with a local authority like Birmingham”* (source: Birmingham Interview 3). This particular association had a history with many of the sites within the local authority area

chosen as multi-tenure sites. Therefore, they felt best placed to help alleviate housing need, through considered their most important aim: the provision of housing for rent.

d) The Aims and Objectives of Developing Organisations in Newham

Table 5.4, below, shows the aims and objectives of the organisations developing multi-tenure estates in Newham.

From the table it can be seen that the aims and objectives of the local authority and housing associations were similar in Newham. They all seemed concerned about creating sustainable communities, with an emphasis from housing associations concerning shared ownership. This could be the result of the local authority's housing strategy statement that stated that shared ownership and outright sale properties should form part of any development within the borough. This was also reflected in the results of the postal

Table 5.4: The Aims and Objectives of Organisations When Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Newham

| Local Authority | Housing Associations |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. to address issues of social dislocation 2. to try and put a balance into area where clearly there was an imbalance 3. to introduce people with higher spending power 4. the opportunity to do the work . . . to get the best for Newham and its residents 5. creating sustainability and communities that would work | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. to enable people who would otherwise put pressure on the waiting lists to become self sufficient . . . through shared ownership 2. to develop low cost, affordable housing for those in greatest need 3. to stop creating ghettos and move away from the mistakes of the past 4. to make sure there is a reasonable mix |

survey when looking at the development of tenures on estates developed in the London region. Housing associations were shown to have a significant relationship to the development of multi-tenure estates with a home ownership component when operating in the London region (see section 4.3).

e) The Aims and Objectives of Developing Organisations in Thamesdown

Table 5.5, below, shows the aims and objectives of the organisations interviewed in Thamesdown.

Table 5.5: The Aims and Objectives of Organisations When Developing Multi-tenure Estates in Thamesdown

| Local Authority | Housing Associations | Private Developers |
|--|---|---|
| 1. the introduction of tenure balance to attract employment 2. to meet housing need | 1. to provide affordable homes for people at affordable costs | 1. to prevent cash flow problems associated with speculative companies 2. to respond to the social housing movements desire for multi-tenure 3. financial reasons |

From the above table it can be seen the local authority and housing association were both concerned with housing need. However, the private developers were concerned with responding to the changing needs of the social housing movement. Balanced communities did not feature as an overt objective of the organisations developing in Thamesdown.

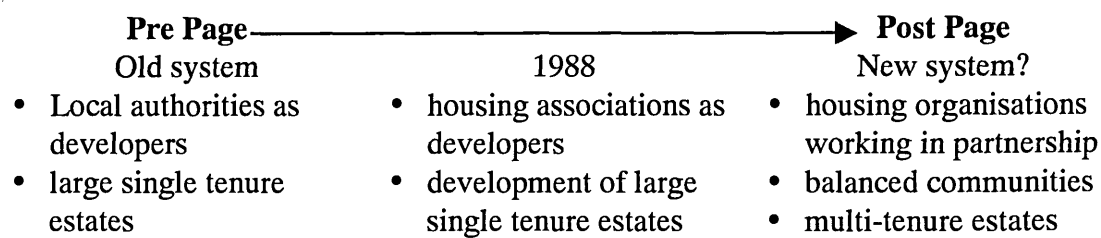
f) Comparison of Aims and Objectives in the Case Study Areas

The aims and objectives of the organisations involved in the development of multi-tenure estates in the local authority areas would appear similar. Housing associations and local authorities in four of the five areas expressed a desire to avoid recreating large scale, single tenure 'problem' estates by using a multi-tenure approach. Meeting local housing need and the provision of affordable homes for local people were also central to social housing providers.

Issues of sustainability and balanced communities were also prominent in four of the five areas. For housing associations, in particular, the publication of David Page's

(1993) *Building for Communities* could be seen as the impetus for such aims and objectives. One interviewee claimed that the Page Report has “*helped focus people’s minds . . . and that its publication has marked a transition point in housing development*” (source: Thamesdown Interview 2). Figure 5.1, below, demonstrates this transition.

Figure 5.1: The Impact of the Page Report on Housing Development



It can be seen from Figure 5.1 that indirectly the recommendations of the Page Report could well have altered an organisation's perception about how housing estates should be developed in the future, especially with regard to social rented properties.

Therefore, housing organisations in all regions would appear to share common aims and objectives when developing multi-tenure estates. There is a desire not to repeat what they see as the mistakes of the past in developing on a single tenure basis when dealing with social housing. Social balance is an aim of developing multi-tenure estates especially for social housing providers. However, realistically securing the finance to alleviate housing need and provide affordable homes are more important for social landlords. Private developers on the other hand are reacting to the market situation, in many cases riding out the storm of the downturn in private markets and delivering their own version of what they feel social landlords desire, to enable them to operate during a recession.

5.5 The Partnership Approach to the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

Chapter Four (see section 4.6) highlighted the importance of development partnerships on multi-tenure estates. This section of the chapter, therefore, explores these developmental partnerships in more detail through the interviews carried out in the case study areas addresses Aim 3 of the thesis.

a) Development Partnerships in Sheffield

The objectives to met by the development of a multi-tenure estate in Sheffield normally evolved out of a series of meetings between partners. From these meeting also comes a development plan. The development plan is, therefore specific to the site (source: Sheffield Interview 3). Plans also varied in terms of their level of formality. One interviewee noted that plans tended to more informal when there was an element of trust existing between the partners and more formal where there trust did not exist (source: Sheffield Interview 4).

By asking the interviewees how the partnerships worked to develop the estates it is possible to construct an approximation of the development process. The interviewees all agreed that the local authority played a key, strategic role and was the central element in any partnership. Both housing associations and private developers had formal agreements with the local authority. Several private developers have formed, along with the local authority, a partnership that is known as the Joint Venture Company (JVC). Those developers that are part of the JVC take in turns to develop multi-tenure sites within the city. Housing associations, however, were either hand picked by the local

authority to work on a site or had won the right to develop via a competitive bidding process. Sheffield was the only local authority area studies that had such a formal arrangement with local private developers. In light of the attitudes of private developers towards multi-tenure developments, the JVC is a powerful tool at the local authority housing department's disposal, as it represents a commitment from private developers to such schemes which is hard to achieve in other areas.

b) Development Partnerships in Norwich

The development of multi-tenure sites in Norwich is subject to very detailed planning briefs (source: Norwich Interview 1). The largest, Bowthorpe, even has its own set of planning policies (Norwich City Council, 1972). The plans for Bowthorpe were on the whole dictated by the housing and planning departments of the city council, mainly because they were devised at a time when multi-agency partnerships were not considered appropriate. Plans for other sites have been developed in partnership with other organisations.

When the need for a multi-tenure solution to a housing problem is identified by the local authority it selects which partners with whom they would like to work. The housing association is used to being approached in this way and has even worked in partnership with Norfolk Social Services on a similar development (source: Norwich Interview 2). Partnerships are, therefore, formed when the local authority identifies a need.

The local authority and housing associations have formed a development consortium. They all meet to discuss a five-year development plan. The five-year plan is based around a certain amount of land that is offered in part at nil cost to associations and in part dependent on Housing Association Grant (HAG). The five year plan guarantees the housing association a certain level of commitment from the local authority. The local

authority in return gains a percentage of the nominations and allocations to properties on the sites.

The local authority is seen as playing the central role in multi-tenure developments and any partnerships. As the interview from the housing associations stated *“it would be difficult not to involve the local authority when developing . . . because they remain the strategic housing organisation and still have the means of vetoing and stopping something happening”* (source: Norwich Interview 2).

c) Development Partnerships in Birmingham

All of the organisations interviewed in Birmingham agreed that there was a plan around which each multi-tenure estate was built. Where possible the local authority would write a brief that specified what they would like to achieve on a site. One housing association interviewee noted that a vast amount of preparatory work went into these plans including resident liaison and negotiation between the various parties involved (source: Birmingham Interview 3).

In Birmingham there would appear to be two different scenarios concerning the central figure in any partnership. The key player was normally dependent on who had originally initiated the partnership. This could be the local authority, in which case the housing associations had little say or power until the development and management phases of the process. However, some schemes were initiated by private developers, in which other partners had very little say in decision making at all (source: Birmingham Interview 2).

However, the local authority leads most partnerships. One interviewee stated that *“the local authority has to be our main one [partner] even though we might not be*

developing with them, because in consultation and liaison they are our number one partner” (source: Birmingham Interview 2). The other housing association interviewee felt that the local authority was their main contact point as *“as generally they are facilitating it and we are responding to what they want”* (source: Birmingham Interview 3).

d) Developing Partnerships in Newham

The local authority is again the central focus point of partnerships developing multi-tenure estates in Newham. It comes into any partnership with a fundamental set of objectives (source: Newham Interview 1). From this starting point, all other partners know what is expected of them in terms of what properties they will build to help alleviate housing need, and what responsibilities they will have.

The partnerships tend to be highly formalised, but begin as informal or semi-informal discussions. The partnerships revert back to a more informal status once the development of the estate is complete. As one interviewee stated *“the [the partnerships] are good in the construction and immediately after delivery phase, but in the long term the custodianship of it tends to rely on what you can develop with the community rather than with any development agencies because they disappear”* (source: Newham Interview 1).

In Newham partnerships involving housing associations of different size behave in different ways. Smaller associations are often dominated by larger associations or dissuaded from participating (source: Newham Interview 4). The relationship between housing associations of different sizes can work in the following two ways:

- a) the largest association develops the site as a whole and transfers a percentage of the stock to smaller associations for a set price per unit.

b) the larger associations manage the site on behalf of the other associations and receive an annual fee in return.

Responsibility for the site shifts between organisations in different phases of development. The local authority is the key figure during negotiations, however private developers take over during construction and housing associations take over the long-term management of the site.

e) Developing Partnerships in Thamesdown

Partnerships in Thamesdown are similar to those found in the other case study areas in that they tend to be site specific. The local authority in Thamesdown could be seen as having a highly structured approach to developing partnerships. There is a competitive bidding process that asks housing associations and private developers to collaborate over bids. Therefore, each organisation has a clearly defined role. The local authority as enabler, the housing association as provider and the private developer as builder.

In particular the labeling of private developers as ‘builders’ by the local authority and often housing associations, was seen as insulting by the developers. As one interviewee felt that developers often had more insight into the marketability of schemes incorporating home ownership and had a lot more to offer partnerships (source: Thamesdown Interview 3).

The local authority was seen as the key player in developments as they often were in control of land and funding.

f) The Development of Multi-tenure Estates

From the above descriptions of how housing organisations go about developing multi-tenure estates the role of the local authority, reflecting its enabling ability, would appear to be the key element in all local authority areas in terms of development partnerships.

Estates were developed from a plan that has usually been negotiated by all partners involved, setting out key objectives. Responsibility shifts through development process from organisation to organisation, beginning with the local authority in the driving seat and finishing with the housing association managing properties. However, the structure and degree of formality varies between areas and schemes.

Multi-tenure estates are developed through multi-agency partnerships and are often site specific. This could reflect the lack of adequate networks existing between housing providers and developers. These partnerships have set goals and objectives for each individual estate that demonstrates the ad hoc nature of these developing partnerships and their inability to play a role in the long-term development of housing. Perhaps more research is needed into the nature of housing partnerships and guidelines presented to enable them to operate in a way as to take multi-tenure housing developments forward.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to address Aims 2-4 of the thesis, concerning when, why and how multi-tenure estates are developed. Some conclusions can be drawn from the interviews conducted in the local authority case study areas, although they obviously only represent a small sample of organisation operating in the country.

It can be seen from both Chapters Four and Five, that local authorities have been involved in multi-tenure developments longer than housing associations. In Sheffield, for example, the construction of Mosborough represented a multi-tenure approach in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, multi-tenure estates in the form that they are currently being promoted would appear to have emerged significantly in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when housing associations became more involved in general need

housing provision and housing finance altered under the 1988 and 1989 Acts of Parliament.

Housing organisations in all the local authority areas would appear to share common aims and objectives when developing multi-tenure estates. There is a desire not to repeat what are seen as the mistakes of the past in developing on a single tenure basis when dealing with social housing. Social balance is not a primary objective behind the developing of multi-tenure estates by social housing providers, they are more concerned with gaining the finance necessary to alleviate housing need and provide affordable homes.

Finally, multi-tenure estates are developed on the whole through partnerships consisting of local authorities, housing associations and private developers. However, the local authority appears to be the key figure, perhaps reflecting its enabling role, facilitating develops through funding agreements and land deals in the case study areas. These partnerships vary in terms of size, the degree of formality between partners and the roles of organisations within them.

Chapter Six now moves on to explore further the issues arising from the case studies, but beginning to assess the success of these schemes from a professional perspective by discussing issues surrounding the creation of communities on the estates.

Chapter Six is the second of two chapters that present the findings of the five local authority case studies. This chapter is concerned with the assessing whether multi-tenure estates are considered a success by those involved in their development. It finds the following points of interest to the focus of the thesis:

- Tenure mix is achieved on estates, however, estate design and dwelling type and size homogeneity could hinder social balance*
- Allocation policies with regard to social housing are causing concern amongst professionals that estates will contain mini ghettos of benefit dependency*
- Despite this, estates are not viewed as failures by professionals, as they are considered an improvement on large single tenure 'problem' estates*

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Six continues presenting the evidence from the five local authority case study areas which was begun in Chapter Five. The following chapter is not, however, concerned with attempting to determine how multi-tenure estates have evolved as a solution to housing need, but with evaluating the success of the schemes in the eyes of those whom develop the estates. In doing this it is hoped that it can address the fifth aim of the thesis.

In order to evaluate the success of such schemes, evidence from the semi-structured interviews will be presented through a series of themes concerning the success or failure of schemes to meet their objectives, in particular with regard to social balance.

6.2 Dwellings Size and Type Mix on Multi-tenure Estates

“ . . . housing associations should attempt to achieve a balance of household types by specifying an appropriate dwelling mix” (Page, 1993 p. 50)

The above quote from David Page’s *Building for Communities* demonstrates his belief in the importance of a mix of dwelling types and sizes on the creation of a socially balanced community. Interviewees were asked what dwellings they built on multi-tenure estates and the number of bedrooms they contain as an indication of their size. In both Sheffield and Thamesdown interviewees stated that their organisations mainly developed family housing of between two to four bedrooms. Some flats were developed in Newham, but on the whole mainly houses were developed with between two and four bedrooms.

In Norwich and Birmingham there had been more of an attempt to diversify dwelling size and type. Organisations developing in Birmingham claimed that a mixture of dwelling types and sizes were constructed on multi-tenure estates, catering for single people, couples, families and the elderly. Finally, in Norwich to begin with mainly family housing had been developed on the estates with two or three bedrooms. However, there had been a recognition, sparked by the social problems experienced once the first phase of Bowthorpe had been completed, that there needed to be a diversification of dwelling type and size (source: Norwich Interview 1). As a result subsequent phases of Bowthorpe and other multi-tenure estates, have included sheltered housing, single and couple’s flats and residential homes in an attempt to break up the dwelling stock profile and encourage the mix of residents.

Two of the local authority areas would appear to be achieving a form of social balance through the dwelling type and size profile of multi-tenure developments, Norwich and Birmingham. The other three are still developing predominantly family housing on estates, perhaps with assumptions about the people who will occupy different tenures evoking a level of social balance. This diversity of what constitutes social balance on estates raises an important issue. Social balance is seen to mean a variety of things, it is attached to notions of dwelling size and type, as discussed here, and socio-economic characteristics such as age and income. The assumptions therefore, that a balance of dwelling sizes and types will lead to social balance could be challenged – as surely a development of family housing would also represent a mix of household income levels. The case of Norwich, however, could have been used by David Page to illustrate his quote on p. 151. Here dwelling type and size were important in avoiding the overconcentration of family types, for example, filling an estate with families with young children leading to possible problems as they move through the life-cycle. This was seen on Bowthorpe where gangs of twenty to thirty children were all sitting around on small garden fences. Once the children passed out of their teens the problems disappeared (source: exploratory interview with Area Housing Officer). This was seen as a lesson in achieving social mix by dwelling type and size mix in Norwich. Similar patterns concerning the overconcentration of teenagers were quoted in Newham (source: exploratory interview with Director of Housing). However does dwelling/tenure mix necessarily lead to age balance?

6.3 Tenure Mix on Multi-tenure Estates

“ . . . consideration should be given to producing a balanced community by mixing rented housing with housing for sale or for shared ownership; and this should not be in segregated blocks (which will function as mini-estates) but in an integrated form where renters and owners live in adjoining houses” (Page, 1993, p. 50)

The above quote suggests what Page (1993) saw was the essence of a multi-tenure estate. It stresses the importance of integrating tenures within a site in order to achieve the integration of their residents. Interviewees in the case study areas were asked therefore, if there were any problems when it came to the tenure design of estates.

In Sheffield all respondents agreed that the tenure design of estates prompted negotiation between partners but never really resulted in any problems. Negotiations took place between the partners with the private developers tending to have first choice when it came to deciding where to develop housing for outright sale. The local authority and the housing associations seemed to accept that this should be the case, especially where cross-subsidies were involved as it was in all the partners interests for the private developers to be able to sell their properties.

There also seemed to be a general agreement that tenures occupied different locations within the site. *“There are broad swathes of land that are owner occupied and swathes which are rented”* (source: Sheffield Interview 1). Any shared ownership development was seen to act as a ‘buffer zone’ between owner occupiers and social renters (source: Sheffield Interview 5: housing association). This was due to the fact that private developers seemed happier to have shared ownership properties, as opposed to socially rented properties, next to their speculative developments. As well as providing a ‘buffer

zone' it also meant a bigger 'for sale' development and gave a larger private sector identity. However, shared ownership developments in Sheffield are small. Within the development programme 1996/7 there were about eighteen shared ownership dwelling completed out of two to three hundred properties (source: Sheffield Interview 1). Therefore even though different tenures were present within the estate boundary this did not necessarily guarantee any level of integration between them or their residents. It was possible that within a larger estate boundary smaller, invisible boundaries were drawn up amongst residents of the different tenure groups.

The planning brief designed by the planning department in Norwich City Council pre allocated a parcel of land of around two to three acres per tenure in the first phase of Bowthorpe's development. The problems mentioned in the previous section with regard to dwelling size and type, also prompted a rethink as the scale of the developments. Therefore, parcels of land were also reduced in size in an attempt to promote integration and attain a "*patchwork of mix*" (source: Norwich Interview 1).

The other interviewee in Norwich first mentioned, however the issue of 'pepper potting', by stating that "*if an estate is a planned venture it should avoid pepper potting. There may social reasons for pepper potting, however, technically and legally it is better to allocate a set piece of land for home ownership*" (source: Norwich Interview 2). These views on pepper potting were echoed in the other local authority areas. In Birmingham, the local authority stated that "*developers don't like pepper potting because they perceive it as a difficulty to selling*" (source: Birmingham Interview 1), and in Newham pepper potting was discouraged in the borough as a whole and private developers would seem to earmark sites, creating a zonal pattern within a site.

However, what is interesting in Newham is the fact that at the latest development the site has been zoned so that the private development is surrounded by social housing (Waterfront plans, 1996). This is in contrast to other areas, where the private development is often on the edge of the site and served by its own entrance away from the social housing.

Similarly to other areas, private developers in Thamesdown tend to be given a free reign when deciding which part of the site they wish to develop. Therefore, sites tend to be segmented into different tenure categories, even though the local authority desired pepper potting (source: Thamesdown Interview 1).

Sites would appear to be developed in similar ways across the case study areas. But, perhaps most importantly, estates will normally contain two to three different tenure sites within them however they are not pepper potted as advocated by Page (1993), but represent often distinct units within the estate as a whole. This is normally so that the concerns of the private developers over the sale of owner-occupied properties can be accommodated and ensure their involvement. Private developers are normally given first option when looking at a site in order to ensure that the home ownership component of the estate is desirable within the private market. Private developers are happy to locate next to any shared ownership on the site, as opposed to socially rented properties, and often pick peripheral locations for their developments. Therefore, are multi-tenure estates as developed in the case study areas at present just creating the 'mini-estates' which Page (1993) talked about in his quote on p. 152)? This is one of the issues discussed later in the thesis.

The above two sections reflect on the way in which estate design can influence the creation of balanced communities. However, the sales policies adopted by private developers and, perhaps most importantly, the allocations procedures followed by local authorities and housing associations are a vital component of the creation of these communities. Therefore, the following section discusses the way in which these procedures aid or hinder the creation of socially balanced communities on these estates.

6.4 The Use of Allocations and Sales to Achieve Social Balance on Multi-tenure Estates

“The socio-economic profile of new estates is the outcome of current development and allocation practice” (Page, 1993, p. 49)

As mentioned above the nomination and allocation procedures of organisations are an important determinant of the community achieved on a new estate. Multi-tenure partnerships often involve incentives, mainly in the form of free, or cheap, land given by the local authority. The local authority in return negotiates a percentage of the nominations to properties for households on its own waiting lists. The following section will look at the practices in the case study areas and using evidence from the interviews assess whether the professionals interviewed felt they were aiding social balance on these estates.

In Sheffield, the local authority had agreements with both the private developers, through its JVC partnership, and housing associations. With regard to the JVC, the local authority were entitled to an eight week nomination period whereby they could nominate households on the waiting list whom they felt would be able to obtain a

mortgage. Once this period was over the private developer was free to sell on the open market (source: Sheffield Interview 7).

Although the local authority also had nomination rights to housing association properties, nominees had to meet the individual criteria of the housing association to which they could become tenant. The letting policies employed by the housing associations on multi-tenure estates in Sheffield were no different to those operated on other single tenure estates (source: Sheffield Interviews 2-5). The interviewees from housing associations operating in Sheffield felt that these policies did not aid social balance, even though they felt it was desirable (see Cole & Shayer, 1998; Cole *et al*, 1999). One interviewee felt concerned that allocation procedures were “*creating the problems of ghettos*” (source: Sheffield Interview 1) and that “*housing officers were worried about sustainability, as the problem is that you cannot engineer the community enough to make it successful*” (source: Sheffield Interview 5).

The notion of creating ghettos within the social housing component of a multi-tenure estate was mentioned in other local authority areas not only in Sheffield. In Norwich it was felt that allocations policies did not help to create social balance. Instead, they were allocating to those already on housing benefit. Therefore, this was just creating benefit ghettos from the outset (source: Norwich Interview 2). This occurred even when the local authority nominated from both their waiting and transfer lists.

In Newham, one interviewee stated that policies were “*creating ghettos instead of social mix*” (source: Newham Interview 4). Large numbers of homeless families, are assumed to have a vast array of social problems tended to be allocated properties (source: Newham Interview 1). Along with high levels of homelessness, 70% of tenants were in

receipt of housing benefit, the vast majority unemployed and a large number single parents (source: Newham Interview 3).

In Thamesdown, the local authority attempted to achieve a cross section of tenants on multi-tenure estates by nominating a third of tenants from those in most housing need, those on the general waiting list and its transfer list (source: Thamesdown Interview 1). The local authority and private developer work together when properties have been developed under the resale covenant package (see section 5.2). They work in partnership over marketing and the local authority nominate people from its waiting list. The local authority felt that the policies used on estates in Thamesdown did create social balance. However, the other organizations interviewed were not so convinced. The housing association contact in particular felt that *“you cannot achieve sustainability without social engineering . . . [however, because] . . . local authorities have to revisit the issue of greatest need there is a fundamental flaw in talking about sustainability on the one hand and meeting housing need on the other”* (source: Thamesdown Interview 2).

The conflicting nature of housing need versus social balance/sustainability will be returned to in Chapter Nine.

6.5 Stakeholder Opinions on the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

The following section discusses what the interviewees thought of the estates when asked whether they considered them to have been a success or not. In Sheffield the private developers interviewed felt that the schemes had been a success for them in terms of meeting the expectation they had set out to achieve, although properties had on the whole been sold at below average prices. One developer commented that the same

house as built on a multi-tenure estates but built in a different location would fetch approximately £6-7000 more in price (source: Sheffield Interview 7). Added to this the other developer interviewed in Sheffield had experienced problems selling properties on one estates due to its portrayal in the national and local press as being one of the worst estates in the country (source: Sheffield Interview 6). The issue of (under)selling properties could have an enormous impact on any social aims of multi-tenure estate development. As the people buying homes on such estates are likely to be at the lower end of the owner-occupying market. These could mean that their social characteristics are not that dissimilar to those of the social housing tenants that may be in employment and not in receipt of housing benefit. If this is the case, are multi-tenure estates simply mixing like with like, in spite of the assumed socio-economic differences between tenants and home owners?

The private developers interviewed in Thamesdown felt that the estates had been a success due to the fact that on developments of 50% of home ownership and 50% social renting, properties were selling without their roofs (source: Thamesdown Interview 3).

The local authority and housing associations in Sheffield felt that the schemes had been a success. They judged 'success' in terms of the level of demand for properties. Demand was high, even in areas of the city which were experiencing low levels before re-development. However, none of the interviewees felt that the estates met any social balance objective, although they were considered an improvement to what had been on offer before. It was thought that in future the social balance objectives of estates would be more actively promoted although in what way they were unsure.

In Norwich the interviewees disagreed with each other as to the level of success achieved by multi-tenure estates. The local authority recognised the failure of the early attempts as they resulted in social problems for the area. However, further attempts had learnt from these mistakes and resulted in a successful development. The housing association felt that on the whole the estates had been a failure and resulted in the creation of benefit ghettos (source: Norwich Interview 2). In terms of social balance, they felt that it had not been achieved but could be if more work was done at the time when first letting to the social housing properties. However, it should be noted that the interviewees were relying on perceptions of estates rather than any hard evidence concerning who was living on the estates and their socio-economic status.

In Birmingham only one of the housing associations felt the schemes had been a success, the other two interviewees felt it was too difficult to judge. The response was mixed when asked about social balance. All interviewees felt that it could be achieved if estates were small enough, but were non committal as to whether it had been achieved.

The question of scale was repeated in Newham, where organisation felt that the smaller estates had been a success whereas larger estates had failed. Social balance was said not have been achieved on the estates, however, although the tenure mix was acceptable in terms of two-thirds social renting versus one-third home ownership. It was the imbalance within social renting which was seen as an issue which is demonstrated in the following comments. *“There is not social balance on a new estates as they cater for the homeless, the unemployed and single mothers. This is not a normal community”* (source: Newham Interview 2). *“There is not a spread of income”* (source: Newham

Interview 4). However, as the local authority stated “*there is not absolute balance on the individual estates but it is taking balance in the right direction*” (source: Newham Interview 1).

The local authority and housing association interviewed in Thamesdown agreed with the private developers that multi-tenure estates had been a success. The interviewees felt that there was social balance when looking at the local authority as a whole, but when examined at a local level there would be pockets of imbalance mainly within the social housing. Multi-tenure estates despite this were seen as an improvement to single tenure estates.

6.6 The Future Development of Multi-tenure Estates

Another way of judging whether or the estates are considered a success by those developing them was to ask whether their organisations were planning to continue with multi-tenure development and whether the estates would become the ‘norm’ in terms of housing developments in the future.

All interviewees agreed that their organisation would continue to adopt a multi-tenure approach to some of their housing developments, but their opinions differed when considering the question as to whether they would be the ‘norm’ or exception in terms of housing developments of the future.

Some interviewees felt that multi-tenure estates would become the norm for social housing developments, due to the desire to avoid the creation of ghettos (source: Sheffield Interview 3, 6 and 7; Birmingham Interview 1).

Other felt that they would not become the norm as private developers were reluctant to become involved, “*it is a problem of perception. Developers want to sell their*

properties and unfortunately any social housing on a development and developers perceive that it lowers the values of the houses they are trying to sell off" (source: Norwich Interview 1). However, one interviewee in Birmingham, felt that as news spread that developers were not experiencing major problems in developing estates that they may become more involved in the future (source: Birmingham Interview 2).

The problems of perception were also raised in Thamesdown, where the housing association felt that a radical overhaul of national thinking was needed before multi-tenure could become the norm. *"Until we get rid of the stigma attached to status as a nation then [multi-tenure estates as the norm] will be difficult. There needs to be a radical rethinking of where housing tenure fits into the great scheme of things. There also needs to be a reversal of political thinking towards home owners. There needs to be the political will to see a house as somewhere to live rather than something to be traded on"* (source: Thamesdown Interview 2).

The stigmatisation of residents of social housing by those outside the tenure is rife and demonstrated by the findings presented in Chapter Seven. This stigmatisation is a fundamental barrier to integration by tenure. This is exacerbated by the status attached to home ownership by dominant political ideologies and popular media misconceptions, such as that the worst estates are always council estates (Lee & Murie, 1997). These issues will be returned to in the conclusion of the thesis.

6.7 A Model of Multi-tenure Development

To summarize the findings of both Chapters Six and Seven, and bring to a conclusion Part Three of the thesis, the following section outlines a model of multi-tenure

development based on the findings of the five local authority case studies (see Figure 6.1, p. 166). These incorporate the various stages of the development process discussed.

a) Common Influences

In section 5.3 of Chapter 5 the origins of multi-tenure development in each of the five local authority case study areas were outlined. At the conclusion of the section it was noted that there appeared to be common elements influencing the adoption of a multi-tenure approach, especially in the late 1980s/early 1990s, by all of the developing organisations. It can be seen, by looking at Figure 6.1, p. 166, that these were:

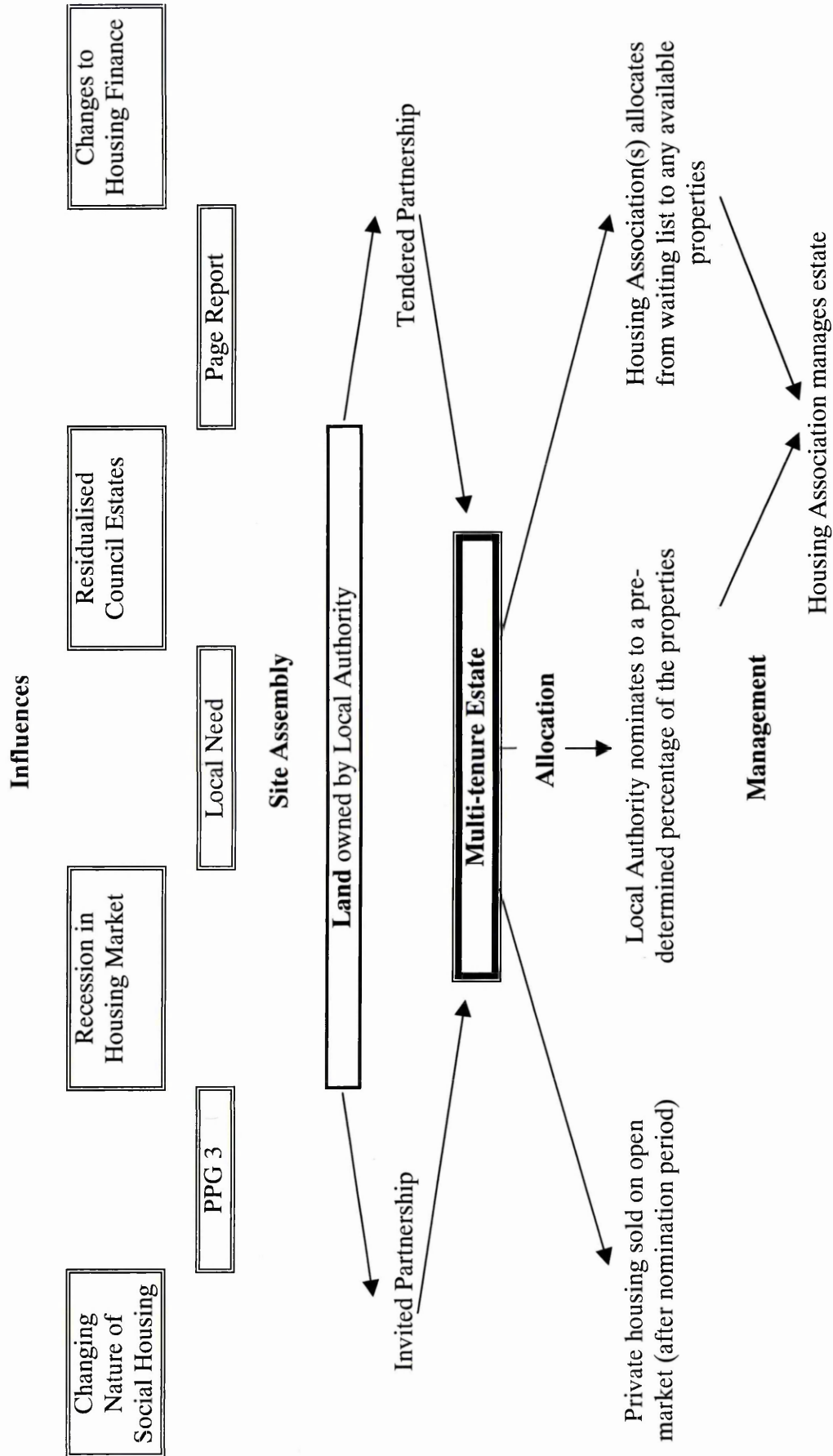
- *The changing nature of social housing provision*, i.e. local authorities shifting from providers to enablers and housing associations from specialised needs to general needs;
- *Changes to housing finance*, local authorities and housing associations needed to demonstrate they were working in partnership and involved in tenure diversification to gain access to finance;
- *Introduction of PPG3*, which stated that all 'new housing developments should incorporate a reasonable mix and balance of house types and sizes and cater for a range of housing needs' (DoE, 1992: para. 38);
- *Recession in the private housing market*, meant that private developers were more amenable to the idea of multi-tenure as part of the social housing market;
- *Publication of the Page Report*, in 1993 influenced the thinking of housing associations as they underwent their transition to main social housing providers; and
- *The legacy of monolithic council estates*, suffering from residualisation and multiple deprivation.

Not of these influences apply in each of the different case studies, but they provide a useful summary of the key aspects influencing the development of multi-tenure estates, as identified by the case studies.

b) Site Assembly

The second phase of the model refers to the assembly of the site and the creation of the development partnership. The land in most of the case studies was provided either at nil cost or for a reduced fee by the local authority, reflecting its enabling role. The resulting development partnership could be classed under two heading, as seen in Figure 6.1, p. 166. They are either (what the author has termed) *invited partnerships*, where housing associations and private developers are asked directly by the local authority to work with them, as for example in Thamesdown, or they are (what the author has termed) *tendered partnerships*, where the local authorities asks consortia of housing associations and/or private developers to bid for the right to develop the multi-tenure site, as for example in Birmingham. Once the partners negotiated the right to develop the site and the subsequent details of the development brief or plan, the site is constructed by the developing partners.

Figure 6.1: A Model of Multi-tenure Development (based on the findings of the five local authority case studies)



c) Allocation

Once development of the estate is complete, allocation and/or sale of the properties takes place. As Figure 6.1, p. 166, shows any home ownership properties are usually sold on the open market, unless a nomination period has been negotiated by the local authority in which people on it's waiting list have a set period in which to purchase properties, as for example in Thamesdown and Sheffield. The allocation of social housing, however, depends on the pre-determined nomination arrangements the local authority has with the housing association(s). In most cases where land has been given at nil, or at a subsidized, cost the local authority will receive 100% of the nominations to the new properties, and either 75% or 50% of any subsequent lettings. The housing association(s), therefore, only allocate initially from their own waiting lists if the local authority has not received the right to nominate to 100% of the socially rented properties.

d) Management

It can be seen from Figure 6.1, p.166, that once all home ownership properties are sold on the estate that this signals the end of involvement for the private developer(s) in the partnership. It is also the case that local authority involvement gradually recedes, except when involved in re-letting properties. Therefore, the major responsibility for managing the estate falls on the shoulders of the developing housing association(s). The development partnership, therefore only lasts until all properties have been allocated. This is considered a failing of the partnership approach to multi-tenure development.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to draw together the findings of both Chapters Five and Six through the presentation of a model as outlined in the previous section. It has also sort to address Aim 5 of thesis concerning whether the organisations developing estates considered them to be a success.

The design of the estates would appear to be an important factor in determining the achievement of social balance objectives on estates. Although tenure balance is achieved, the overall homogeneity of dwelling size and type as well as the breakdown of sites into mini single tenure estates, was considered to hamper integration by residents of different tenures.

Allocation policies were also highlighted as a way in which social imbalance is being created from the outset on estates through nominations to socially rented properties according to housing need criteria. This was one of the major reasons that estates were considered to be failing to met social objectives. Despite this estates were on the whole viewed as a success, as they represented an improvement on previous (social) housing developments. Interviewees in the case study areas felt that with further work concerning allocations to estates, the continued success of the estates and promotion by other agencies, multi-tenure estates may become the 'norm' in terms of social housing developments of the future, but hesitation was expressed when talking about housing developments in general, due to the stigmatisation of social housing by those outside the tenure and political perceptions of social renting.

Chapter Six concludes Part Three of the thesis that presented a stakeholder view of multi-tenure estates. Part Four moves on to discuss multi-tenure estates at the local level with residents of both single and multi-tenure estates in Sheffield.

Part Four: A Neighbourhood View of Multi-tenure Estates

Chapter Seven begins Part Four of the thesis concerning the resident's perspectives of multi-tenure estates. Along with Chapter Eight it begins to reveal what Sheffield residents think about the idea of mixed tenure estates. It combines the findings of the focus groups with those of the resident survey to explore the extent to which residents feel that integration exists on their estates, and whether housing tenure inhibits any integration occurring.

The chapter focuses on the views of residents on single tenure estates in Sheffield and found the following points of interest to the thesis:

- 'tenure typing' occurs both between and within housing tenure, leading to conflict between and within tenure groups, in particular social housing*
- social interaction on single tenure estates is 'tenure bound' with different tenure groups being involved in activities with others occupying the same group*
- multi-tenure estates are viewed with an element of 'tenure blindness' by residents of single tenure estates, with both owner occupiers and social renters agreeing that different tenure groups would mix on estates and that they are a good idea*

7.1 Introduction

Part Four of the thesis is a neighbourhood perspective of multi-tenure estates in Sheffield. It presents the findings of the focus groups, which were adopted due to the exploratory nature of this phase of the fieldwork, and the follow-up resident survey implemented due to the low level of response experienced when conducting the planned, multi-tenure focus group.

Phases Three and Four of the fieldwork were conducted in an attempt to ascertain resident's perceptions of multi-tenure estates, and explore the impact of multi-tenure policy from this perspective on people's networks and sense of community. Chapter Seven presents the results of the fieldwork based around a series of themes from the predominately single tenure estates. It is hoped that by looking at single tenure estates, as well as multi-tenure estates, the effect of living in a multi-tenure community may be seen through similarities and differences in responses given by residents through the introduction of control estates.

The Chapter begins by providing some background data on the two single tenure estates chosen as part of the fieldwork (see section 3.4, for selection of housing estates in Sheffield), using data collected from the 1991 Census. It then moves on to present the findings of the focus groups and the resident survey.

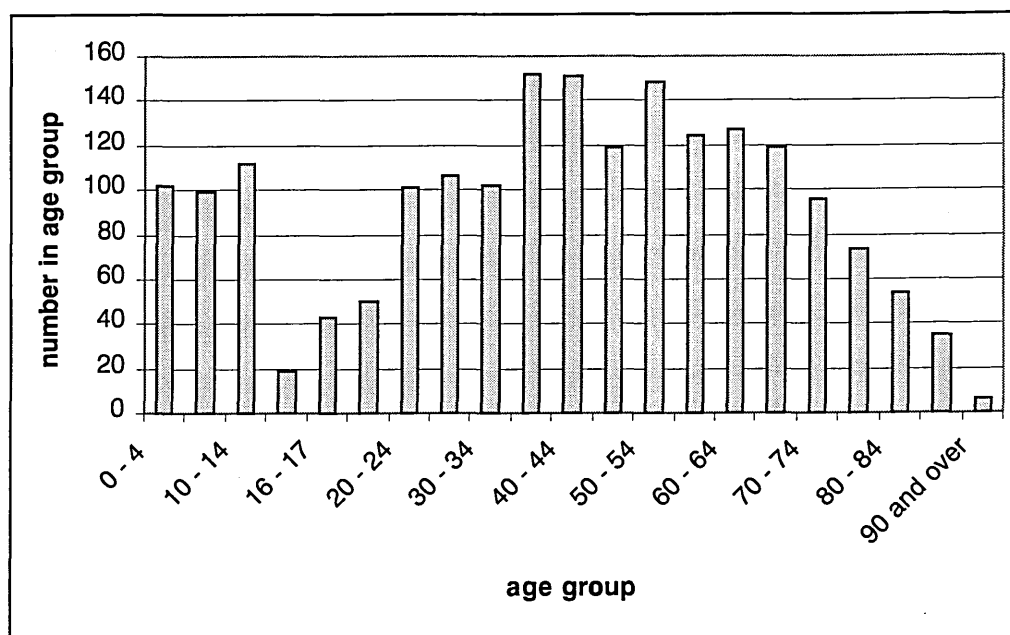
7.2 A Profile of the Single Tenure Estates

Two single tenure estates were selected, one predominantly owner occupied and the other predominantly social housing. In the section procedure each of the possible estates suitable for study were given a colour to protect their identity. From this point forward as the number has been reduced in size and for clarity they shall simply be referred to by their tenure categorization: owner occupied or social renting.

a) The Owner Occupied Estate

Figure 7.1, p. 172, shows the age distribution of the 1938 residents living on the owner occupied estate. It can be seen that the majority of residents are between the age of 20 and 75 with a large number of children under the age of 14. Residents are split roughly equally between males and females, although there are slightly more females than

Figure 7.1: Age Distribution of Residents on the Owner Occupied Estate



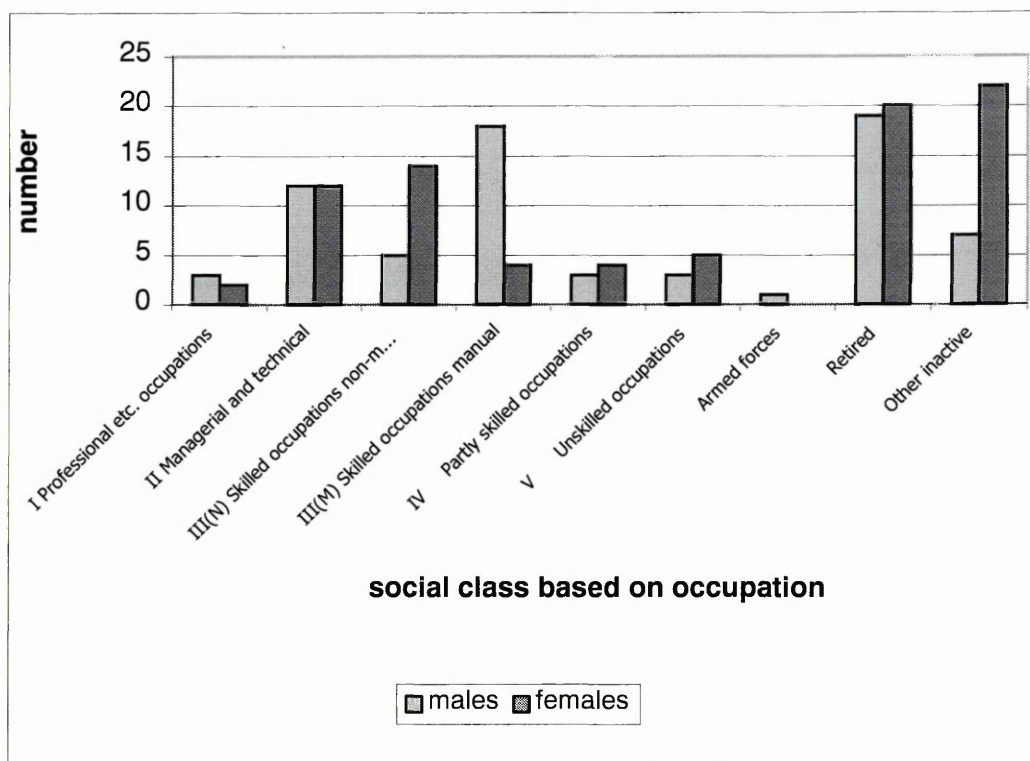
Source: 1991 Census: MIMAS

males. 99% of the residents are white, and of males aged over sixteen 70% were economically active and 22% retired. For females aged over sixteen 50% were economically active and 22% retired.

71% of all households on the estate had access to at least one car, with 32% having access to over two cars. Of residents aged 16 to 24, over 70% were employed, 11% were unemployed and none were lone parents. Out of 788 dwellings on the estate, 744 were semi-detached or terraced, another 15 were purpose built flats.

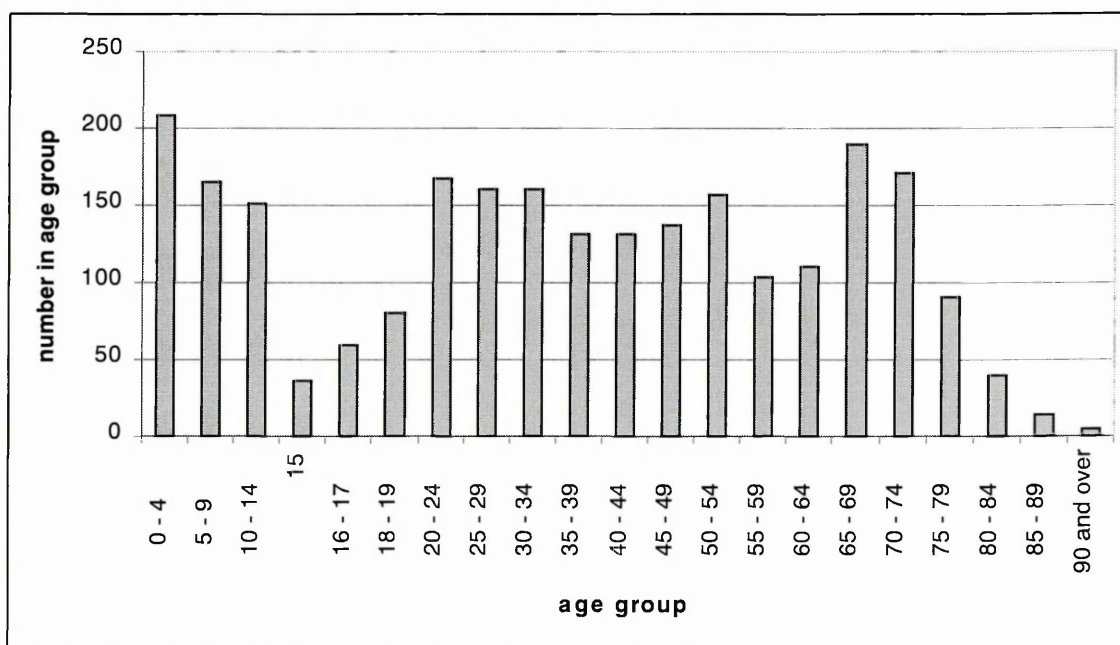
Looking at data from the 1991 Census in relation to social class based on occupation, see Figure 7.2, p. 173, it can be seen that those residents used in the 10% sample that are economically active are predominantly working in the managerial and technical, and skilled occupations.

The owner occupied estate is therefore, a fairly typical traditional middle class, semi-detached, relatively affluent residential area.

Figure 7.2: Social Class Distribution of Owner Occupied Residents (10% Sample)

Source: 1991 Census: MIMAS

b) The Socially Rented Estate

Figure 7.3: The Age Distribution of Residents on the Socially Rented Estate

Source: 1991 Census: MIMAS

Figure 7.3, p. 173, shows the age distribution of the residents living on the socially rented estate. It can be seen that, like the owner occupied estate, the majority of the population is between 20 and 74. There are, however, a larger number of children under 14 than on the owner occupied estate. There are 2428 residents living on the estate, roughly split between males and females. 98% of the residents are classified as white by the Census.

65% of all males aged over sixteen were economically active compared to 37% of females. 23% of males were retired compared to 29% of females. 37% of households on the estate had access to one or more car, with only 7% having access to two or more. When compared to levels of car ownership on the owner occupied estate, it could become an accurate indicator of affluence, as poorer households do not tend to be able to afford a car. Double the percentage of households on the owner occupied estate had access to at least one car, this would imply a greater degree of affluence on the owner occupied estate than found on the socially rented estate.

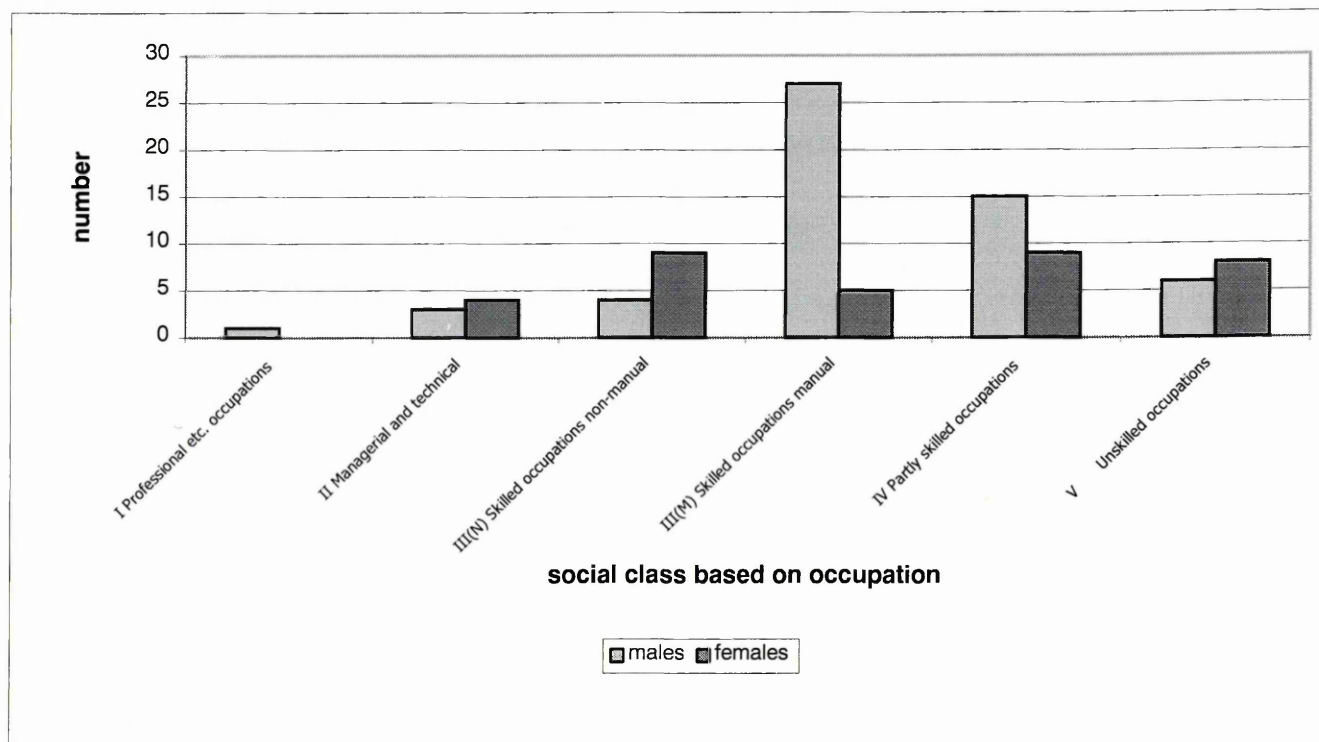
Of the 973 households found on the socially rented estate 884 were semi-detached or terraced and 61 were purpose built flats. Nearly a third of households claimed to have no central heating. When looking at residents aged 16 to 24, 71% were economically active. However 20% were unemployed, this compares to 11% on the owner occupied estate. This shows that fewer young people on the socially rented estate work than on the owner occupied estate. There were 17 lone mothers between the ages of 16 and 24, with children under the age of 5, 13 of which were over the age of 20. This compares to none on the owner occupied estate.

Figure 7.4, p. 175, shows the distribution of resident's social classes based on occupation. It can be seen that the majority of the 10% sampled are employed in skilled

manual, partly skilled or unskilled jobs. This is a direct contrast to the patterns seen in Figure 7.2, p.173, on the owner occupied estate.

The socially rented estate would appear to contain a population that is less affluent than that of the owner occupied estate. The jobs they are engaged in and their access to cars helps to demonstrate this.

Figure 7.4: Social Class Distribution of Socially Rented Residents (10% Sample)



Source: 1991 Census: MIMAS

7.3 Themes from the Single Tenure Focus Groups

The following section of the chapter will present the findings, organised around a series of themes, of the focus groups that were conducted on the single tenure estates.

a) Young People on the Estates

Views on young people in particular varied between estates. On one they were seen as a benefit to the community and on the other they were seen as a nuisance. Members of

the home owners group felt that children helped integration on the estate by mixing at school and playing in the street. The members of the social renters group, however, felt that children had no respect for other residents or their property: *"I have had no end of problems with the youngsters like. I had a dog and they used to shoot it with pellets, they used to wreck my car and be abusive all the time"* (social renter: male, 60+).

Young people were associated with crime and drugs of the socially rented estate. The group claimed that the police did nothing, even though in most cases they knew what the kids were up too. One social renter commented that *"it is a different breed of kid out there today"* and that he had two children of his own that he *"tried to keep inside because he was frightened of what will happen when they go outside"* (social renter: male, 19-39). Concern was expressed for younger people on the socially rented estate as the group felt that employers discriminated against people living on the estate. One group member stated *"today people just put their name, number of house, road city and postcode, whereas ten years ago everybody used to put ***** estate, they used to be proud"* (social renter: female, 60+).

From the above comments it can be seen that the presence of children on the estate varied. On the owner occupied estate children were seen as a way in which the community could be brought together. Having children of school age was seen as the best time for social interaction with other people on the estate (see also Kintrea & Atkinson, 1998). Children were also seen as a sign of stability in the community, a sign of its continuing life. This contrasts with the views of children and young people on the socially rented estate, where they are associated with crime, drugs and a lack of respect for other people. This could be a reflection of the age profile, i.e. the 'hollowing out' of

the middle aged from council housing, and the increased level of tension between older, elderly tenants and younger tenants (see also Forrest & Kearns, 1999).

b) Crime and the Fear of Crime on Estates

Crime was also a major issue for residents on both the single tenure estates. In most cases, it was crimes against property as opposed to crimes against the person that were discussed, namely burglary and car theft.

The differences between the estates became obvious when they discussed who was carrying out the crime in their area. The owner occupiers blamed a local authority estate not too far from where the estate was located. As one home owner stated “*they think we are an affluent area, and down there [on the council estate] where there is a lot of criminal activity they have tended to look on our estate as easy pickings*” (female, 19-39). This indicated a stereotyping of those living in the socially rented sector as ‘criminals’.

Those living on the socially rented estate, however, implied that the people carrying out the crimes had a local knowledge and knew whom to target. In the case of the socially rented estate attacks were often targeted towards the elderly or vulnerable. They felt, as can be seen in the previous section, that it was often younger residents on the estate that were involved in criminal activity. Therefore, stereotyping went on within the tenure as well as outside it.

c) Lone Parenting

Another example of stereotyping both within and outside housing tenures is the subject of lone parents. Single parents, especially lone mothers, were singled out as neighbours people would rather not have. This was particularly strong on the two single tenure estates. Single parents became the subject of discussion for the owner occupiers when

asked about their thoughts on multi-tenure housing estates. One respondent in an attempt to justify her opinions, stated that her and her husband had worked very hard for what they had got, struggling, whereas young women who had babies straight from school got everything. She implied that lone mothers have it easy, contrasting their situation with that of her mother-in-law who brought eleven children and never had help from the State. However, the women who currently lived next door to her mother-in-law was always asking to borrow things and getting hand outs from the council. She went on to say that *“although the woman was probably OK, her morals were very different”* (home owner: female, 19-39).

The social renters group were also highly critical of lone mothers living on their estate, as these statements demonstrate:

“They put a single parent in there [next door to their house] and she had more blokes turn up there than they did at Wednesday’s ground for a football match!” (social renter: male, 40-59).

“We had one with ‘em knocking all night on the door” (social renter: male, 60+) and *“ours ought to have had a red light above her door”* (social renter: male, 60+). Along with these statements about single parents, the group related a story about how they had ‘got rid’ of one single mother they didn’t like living next door to an elderly lady.

d) Problem Neighbours

Residents on the socially rented estate had real concerns over who the council might nominate to be their new neighbours should a neighbouring property become vacant. The group as a whole felt that the estate was deteriorating and that part of the reason for this was the introduction of new tenants. One group member stated *“all the old*

neighbours are great, it is all these new ones they are bringing on the estate, the one parent families, it has ruined it" (social renter: female, 60+). This sentiment could reflect the generation gap between older and newer tenants (see Forrest & Kearns, 1999).

People felt that the letting policies of the council are 'bringing the area down'. One socially rented group member stated that "*the person this side of me has bought her house and says I have to live forever because she is frightened of what they are going to put in next. They put rubbish families in so she says I have to live forever*" (social renter: female, 60+). On the owner occupied the discussion about nasty neighbours arose when they were asked about multi-tenure estates. Their fears about living on a multi-tenure estate stemmed from their fear of what neighbours they might acquire on such an estate. They all felt that although the majority of tenants kept their properties tidy and were themselves lovely, they wouldn't wish some of their neighbours on anybody! They wondered why at some point in the past 'problem tenants' were confined to certain areas, whereas today local authorities were concerned about integrating them. They felt this "*dragged an area and those living in it down*" rather than "*bringing them [the 'problem tenants'] up to the level of the surrounding area*" (home owner: female, 40-59).

The above four themes arising from the focus group discussions demonstrate a certain level of tenure (stereo)typing both *within* and *outside* the different housing tenures. Single parents especially lone mothers, were singled out by members of both focus groups, as undesirable neighbours should an adjacent property become vacant. There was also an implied antagonism within the socially rented estate between age groups, with younger people being held responsible for the decline of the estate and crime. The

owner occupiers were also biased towards the socially rented sector, blaming crime on their estate on the nearby council estate.

This tenure typing could imply that issues of concern to residents are not necessarily influenced by housing tenure. Age perhaps is a more important factor when considering social mixing, especially to those within the socially rented sector. The issues picked up in the focus groups could be said to reflect the changing nature of social housing as a tenure category, post 'Right-to-Buy'. Most concern is expressed over the social characteristics and habits of the tenants, as opposed to the fact that they are social housing tenants. These concerns could be seen to inhibit interaction on estates and have implications for the development of multi-tenure estates. Therefore, the chapter now turns to consider the findings of the focus groups concerning interaction on the single tenure estates.

e) Interaction on Estates

During the focus groups people were asked whether they felt people mixed on their estates. On the owner occupied estate the group members felt that people did mix, but not in a "social manner". People tended to get to know their neighbours names and knew the faces of other people living on the estate. They felt that the lifestyles adopted during the 1990s meant that less mixing went on as people were busy at work. The church and community association were considered to be sub-communities. The parish had a magazine with a grapevine section which gave details of what was happening in the local area (e.g. births, marriages, degrees).

The group felt that it was up to an individual as to whether they mixed or not, especially if you were new to the estate. As one group member put it *"if you are new to an area,*

an established area, it is up to you. If you don't want to mix then people won't mix with you" (home owner: male, 40-59).

Children were felt to aid mixing, as going to school and picking up your children helped you make contact with other people in the area (see Atkinson & Kintrea, 1998). The community centre also ran a series of social events and a youth club. The group members felt that people did not mix in their homes as they once used to. Some mixing did occur on the estate but especially by:

- Age – through children
- Church
- Community associations, e.g. youth club
- Social events – in the local community centre

This was, however, all dependent on whether people wanted to be involved.

The socially rented group felt that older people mixed much better on their estate, than younger people. One group member added that *"if you get a young family move on the estate nobody will tend to want to go to them"* (social renter: male, 40-59). The rest echoed this sentiment and justified it by claiming that the young people didn't want to know if you tried to do anything for them.

The older people mixed in the local church hall. Every Wednesday there was a coffee morning run by the resident's association, which attracts 60-70 people from the estate. There was also a Thursday club where people used the church hall for a drink and a chat. Group members also mentioned the pubs and bingo as ways in which people in the areas mixed with each other. Mixing occurred on the socially rented estate in the following ways:

- Age – older people

-
- Tenants association
 - Social activities – coffee morning, Thursday club, pubs and bingo.

Interaction on the two estates was obviously influenced by tenure due to their nature as predominantly single tenure developments.

f) Opinions of Multi-tenure Estates

The members of the focus group on the owner occupied estate were aware of the council's attempts to diversify areas by adopting a multi-tenure approach. One group member felt that *"Sheffield council have had a good go at it, but I don't think it has worked"* (home owner: female, 40-59). The owner occupiers, however, were against the idea due to their concerns about 'problem' tenants. They also couldn't see the sense in mixing together a group of people who were different.

On the socially rented estate, group members felt that money should be spent on improving their existing estate rather than building new estates using a multi-tenure approach. They felt something should be done about the existing houses to make them more attractive and prevent the high levels of vacant properties on the estate encouraging vandalism. They also felt that social mixing didn't work where age groups were also integrated. *"In the flats they are putting younguns in with the old people and they just don't mix, different ways of life"* (social renter: male, 60+).

On paper then there would appear to be a degree of 'tenure blindness' for residents of single tenure estates discussing the possibilities of multi-tenure estates. On the whole the groups felt that the estates would achieve integration between tenants and owner-occupiers. However, some cautionary notes were outlined by the members of the focus groups when discussing the right mix - for example, differences between age groups and income groups.

7.4 Themes from the Resident Survey on Single Tenure Estates

The themes arising from the focus groups were used to formulate the structure of the resident survey. Therefore, the following section of the chapter will in part compliment the findings of the focus groups, but also explore in more detail aspects of interaction and social networks on the estates, an area that the focus groups failed to provide much detail.

a) Age Mix on Estates

A question was asked in the resident survey about young people, as it had become central theme of focus group discussion in all groups, especially when linked to problems associated with older, elderly residents and younger tenants. Respondents were asked how far they agreed with the statement: 'young people mix well with each other on the estate'. Table 7.1, below shows the responses from the two estates.

Table 7.1: The Integration of Young People on Single Tenure Estates

| | Agree | No Opinion | Disagree | Total |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Owner Occupiers | 72.8% [134] | 22.8% [42] | 4.3% [8] | 100% [184] |
| Social Renters | 39.4% [43] | 36.7% [40] | 23.9% [26] | 100% [109] |

It can be seen that the majority of people responding to the survey agreed with the statement, although the number of people disagreeing with the statement on the socially rented estate was higher than that on the owner occupied estate. This could reflect the negative image of children and young people witnessed in the focus group and

highlighted by the following comment from the survey: *“This estate is run down . . . gangs of kids hang around, as young as 10 years old, till 11pm. At times at weekends youngsters turning out from pubs and community clubs scream and shout at each other and are very aggressive towards passers by, and in the past have been known to vandalize property and vehicles”* (social renter: male, 30-44).

The following comment further suggests antagonism between older and younger residents on the socially rented estate: *“this estate would be better if the old people realised that houses are for families and they once had children. Also because they have been here the longest they don’t own it”* (social renter: female, 30-44).

The group felt that the council should vet people before offering them a tenancy. One respondent to the survey felt that *“to facilitate healthier areas some sort of vetting for incoming tenants should be introduced thereby creating atmospheres more conducive to safer, happier localities”* (social renter: male, 60+). The evidence from both the focus groups and resident survey would suggest that the age mix of an estate could be thought of as more fundamental than its tenure mix when planning a balanced community. The absence of the middle aged in the council sector could be highlighting the differences between the lifestyles of the polarised age groups, instead of acting as buffer zone between them. The importance of age mix will be returned to in Chapter Eight and Nine.

b) Property Maintenance

Residents were asked as part of the survey how far they agreed with the following statement: ‘tenants would keep their properties as tidy as those people who own their own homes’. Table 7.2, p. 185, shows the results of the survey.

Table 7.2: Opinions on Property Maintenance

| | Agree | No Opinion | Disagree | Total |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Owner Occupiers | 44.8% [83] | 30.3% [56] | 24.8% [46] | 100% [185] |
| Social Renters | 60.1 [68] | 14.2% [16] | 25.7% [29] | 100% [113] |

It can be seen from the table above that the social renters agreed more with the statement than the owner occupiers, which suggests an element of tenure typing. As one respondent of the resident survey stated: *“People are different. People not owning their own house would not make the same effort to keep their house looking good. But there are a few exceptions. People buy their own homes because they want to spend on their house and make them look good and have pride in their homes”* (home owner: male, 45-59).

Those respondents of the survey living on the socially rented estate may have answered negatively due to their feeling about fellow tenants on their estate, or be considered a projection of low self-esteem. The following statement shows that some tenants feel that younger tenants do not look after their properties the way that older tenants do. *“It is the young parents of children who want to be cleaner with house and garden”* (social renter: female, 60+). Again, such a comment can be linked to the changing social composition of the council sector.

As before with the themes from the focus groups, the above two sections of the chapter can also be considered as reflecting a certain level of tenure (stereo)typing both *within* and *outside* tenure categories. This reflects more a stigmatisation of a subset of social housing tenants and their social characteristics and lifestyles, as opposed to the social

housing sector as a tenure group. It implies that tenure itself is not the most important consideration when planning a balanced community.

c) Housing Tenure and Friendship

Respondents to the resident survey were asked to answer questions about where their closest friends lived, either on the same road, on the same estate; elsewhere in Sheffield; or, outside of Sheffield. Table 7.3, below, shows the responses received on the two estates.

Table 7.3: The Geographical Proximity of Friends on Single Tenure Estates

| | | Friend 1 | Friend 2 | Friend 3 |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Owner Occupiers | On the same road | 18.1% [34] | 4.8% [9] | 8.2% [15] |
| | On the same estate | 17.6% [33] | 16.5% [20] | 10.9% [20] |
| | In Sheffield | 49.5% [93] | 60.1% [113] | 45.9% [84] |
| | Out of Sheffield | 14.9% [28] | 18.6% [35] | 35.0% [64] |
| | Total | 100% [188] | 100% [177] | 100% [183] |
| Social Renters | On the same road | 37.7% [43] | 19.6% [21] | 8.2% [8] |
| | On the same estate | 33.3% [38] | 27.1% [29] | 27.6% [27] |
| | In Sheffield | 21.9% [25] | 43.9% [47] | 44.9% [44] |
| | Out of Sheffield | 7.0% [8] | 9.3% [10] | 19.4% [19] |
| | Total | 100% [114] | 100% [107] | 100% [98] |

It can be seen from the above table that owner occupiers responded to the question in a different way to the social renters. When looking at their closest friend, over 70% of the social renters responding claimed that they lived within the boundaries of their estate. The owner occupiers, however, responded that their closest friend lived not on the estate, but elsewhere in Sheffield or not in Sheffield at all. A chi-squared analysis was carried out to test the hypothesis that housing tenure has no relationship to where your closest friends live.

When cross-tabulating housing tenure with each of the closest friend variables, relationships with a high level of confidence are demonstrated, see Table 7.4, p. 187, as

an example. The strength of these relationships, however, get weaker when testing the second or third closest friends. This can also be seen in table 7.3, p. 186.

Table 7.4: Chi-squared Analysis testing the Relationship Between Housing Tenure and the Location of a Resident's Closest Friend

| | On the same road | On the same estate | Elsewhere in Sheffield | Outside of Sheffield | Row Total |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| Social renting | 41 23.2 | 27 21.4 | 15 35.6 | 8 10.8 | 91 |
| Owner occupation | 36 53.8 | 44 49.6 | 103 82.4 | 28 25.2 | 211 |
| Column Total | 77 | 71 | 118 | 36 | 302 |

Chi-squared = 39.72298

p value = 0.00000

contingency coefficient = 0.34094

Respondents were also asked whether their friends on the estate were mostly tenants and home owners, and whether the majority of their friends lived on the estate. Table 7.5, below, shows their responses.

Table 7.5: Housing Tenure and Friendship on Single Tenure Estates

| | | Yes | No |
|------------------------|--|-------------|-------------|
| Owner Occupiers | Most of my friends live on the estate | 25.4% [45] | 74.6% [132] |
| | Most of my friends on the estate are tenants | 2.5% [4] | 97.5% [159] |
| | Most of my friends on the estate are owners | 93.8% [165] | 6.3% [11] |
| Social Renters | Most of my friends live on the estate | 55.8% [58] | 44.2% [46] |
| | Most of my friends on the estate are tenants | 74.3% [78] | 25.7% [27] |
| | Most of my friends on the estate are owners | 17.7% [17] | 82.3% [79] |

As expected home owners responded that the majority of their friends on the estate were home owners and social renters responded that most of their friends on the estate were renters also. The majority of home owners also claimed that the majority of friends did not live on the estate, which is a reflection of the analysis on closest friends. Social

renters on the other hand responded roughly equally that the majority of the friends did or did not live on the estate. This could reflect the dichotomy of ages on the estate, between the elderly, older tenants whose networks are estate based, and younger, newer tenants whose networks stretch beyond the estate boundaries.

As housing tenure would appear to exert great influence over the above analysis, a chi-squared analysis was carried out testing the relationships that housing tenure had no relationship with the tenure of friends on an estate. In each case, as above with the analysis concerning closest friends, highly significant relationships can be reported, all with 100% level of confidence. The strength of these relationships were particularly strong when testing the association between housing tenure and the tenure of friends on the estate.

Housing tenure, perhaps unsurprisingly, has a significant impact on resident's friendship networks on single tenure estates. Home owners are more likely to have close friends living outside of the estate boundaries, whereas social renters are more likely to have them living on the same estate. This could indicate that home-owners have geographically wider social networks than social renters whose social networks are confined by the estate on which they live. This relationship between housing tenure and social networks will be discussed further in Chapter Eight.

d) Satisfaction with Estate

Burrows & Rhodes (1998) looked at patterns of neighbourhood dissatisfaction in England. Using data from the *Survey of English Housing* they examined the socio-economic characteristics of those residents who expressed high levels of dissatisfaction with their neighbourhood. Looking at the total population 10% of households were dissatisfied with their neighbourhood, and this varied most according to housing tenure,

when compared with other variables. Respondents to the resident survey carried out on the estates in Sheffield were asked to state how far they agreed with certain statements about their estate. Table 7.6, below, shows the responses given by residents on the two estates.

Table 7.6: Resident's Views of Their Estate on Single Tenure Estates

| | Agree | | Disagree | |
|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Owner Occupiers | Social Renters | Owner Occupiers | Social Renters |
| The estate is a friendly place to live | 92.0% [172] | 66.7% [74] | 4.3% [5] | 18.0% [20] |
| People do not talk to each other | 6.5% [12] | 20.0% [21] | 88.0% [162] | 64.8% [68] |
| It has taken me a long time to get to know people | 20.2% [37] | 28.1% [30] | 69.4% [127] | 61.7% [66] |
| There is friction between people living on different parts of the estate | 9.8% [18] | 36.4% [39] | 66.1% [121] | 27.1% [29] |
| I would like to move in the next 2 years | 5.4% [10] | 25.7% [27] | 82.2% [152] | 59.0% [62] |
| I am happy living on the estate | 95.2% [178] | 73.4% [80] | 2.2% [4] | 15.6% [17] |
| There is not a community feeling on the estate | 15.0% [28] | 33.3 [36] | 71.5% [133] | 35.2% [38] |

It can be seen from table 7.6 that there is a high level of satisfaction amongst the residents of the owner occupied estate. These results are reinforced by the comments people wrote on the survey: *"I am very happy where I live, there is a good community spirit"* (home owner: female, 30-44). *"Everybody knows everybody else. Old and young mix together well. ***** is a very friendly place to live"* (home owner: female, 30-44). *"We have only lived here for a short time but already feel very welcome and at home. There is a very friendly community atmosphere"* (home owner: female, 18-29).

Responses from residents of the socially rented estate were on the whole positive, which contrasts with the findings of the focus group, but there are differences to those given by

residents of the owner occupied estate. Slightly fewer residents on the socially rented estate felt that the estate was a friendly place to live. More felt there was friction between different areas of the estate and that people didn't really talk to each other. A higher percentage of the social renters wanted to move within the next two years. More felt unhappy about where they were living and gave a more balanced view when asked about issues to do with a sense of community in the area. Some of the comments received on the surveys indicated that the absence of community facilities inhibited community development. For example one respondent wrote: "*Friends stick together but we do not mix well as there is nothing going on in the community to bring us together, for children or adults*" (social renter: female, 30-44).

Burrows & Rhodes (1998) note that 7% of owner occupiers and mortgagors are dissatisfied with their area, as opposed to 18% of those living in social housing. Therefore, perhaps it is unsurprising that when comparing these two estates the owner occupiers are on the whole more satisfied with the area in which they live.

As housing tenure would appear to be key in resident's appreciation of the area in which they live a chi-squared analysis was used to test the relationship between housing tenure and the opinions respondents had of their estates. The results of these analyses showed significant relationships between housing tenure and residents views of their estate, except in the case of how long it took them to get to know people on the estate. The strongest of these associations were between housing tenure and the extent to which people are friendly on estates, the level of friction between different areas and how happy people were living on estates.

The above two sections of the chapter aimed to assess levels of interaction between residents on the single tenure estates. It can be seen that those living on the socially

rented estates were more likely to be geographically confined to the estate, and hence its tenure composition. The results of the survey when considering interaction on the two estates noted ‘tenure constraint’ in terms of respondent’s networks, but this is unsurprising considering they live on predominantly single tenure estates. The notion of ‘tenure constraint’ on social networks will be considered again in Chapter Eight in relation to multi-tenure estates.

e) Opinions of Multi-tenure Estates

Table 7.7: Views of Multi-tenure Estates by Single Tenure Estate Residents

| | Agree | | Disagree | |
|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Owner Occupiers | Social Renters | Owner Occupiers | Social Renters |
| People who own their homes would not talk to tenants | 3.2% [6] | 9.1% [10] | 84.5% [158] | 74.6% [82] |
| The estate would be divided between those who own their homes and those who rented | 13.4% [25] | 19.2% [21] | 65.1% [121] | 58.7% [64] |
| Living together would enable tenants and owners to mix | 61.1% [113] | 64.2% [70] | 9.7% [18] | 10.1% [11] |
| Mixing tenants and home owners is not a good idea | 14.0% [26] | 15.6% [17] | 44.6% [83] | 60.6% [66] |

Looking at Table 7.7, above, it can be seen that on the whole the residents of both estates had similar responses. Most respondents felt that home owners would talk to tenants if they lived in a mixed community. Most felt that the estate would not be divided between the two tenure groups, and that living together would enable tenants and home owners to mix. The majority also felt that the idea of mixed residential areas was a good idea.

The above results would indicate a level of ‘tenure blindness’ when it comes to thinking about the idea of a multi-tenure community, as one home owner commented “*people who cannot afford to buy their own home are not a different species!*” (female, 30-44).

Others felt that other characteristics should be taken into account when thinking about a community, not just home ownership.

One respondent from the owner occupied estate had quite a strong view about multi-tenure estate and wrote the following:

“To promote a mixed estate, to ensure a ‘positive’ environment, demands effective liaison between local authority, home owners and tenants, as local authority tenancies have been mismanaged over the years with inconsiderate tenants being allowed to affect the estate environment in general. A small minority bringing down the ‘quality’ of the estate for the majority. Local authority services particularly the police and housing MUST be seen to be MANAGING these estate much more effectively than is the case at present...The quality of the estate is not a question of ownership, more a question of attitude and that attitude must be ‘managed’ by the local authority to bring all segment parts into a whole, which is known as civic pride/local pride. Failing in that objective results in a ‘ghetto’ environment” (home owner: male, 30-44).

The similarity between the responses of both owner-occupiers and social renters would support the finding of the focus groups that when discussing multi-tenure estates there is an element of ‘tenure blindness’ in the responses. This issue will be returned to when considering the findings of the multi-tenure focus groups and resident survey.

7.5 Conclusion

Chapter Seven has attempted to begin to explore the links between housing tenure and perceptions of social interaction on housing estates. It has done this by looking at the findings of focus groups and resident surveys on predominantly single tenure estates. It can be seen that owner-occupiers 'tenure type' social renters, usually matching common stereotypes about those who live in the social housing sector. However, certain subgroups of social housing tenants were also singled out and stereotyped *within* council housing. This tended to be associated with the age, behaviour and social characteristics of the subgroup, i.e. younger tenants and single parents.

Social interaction and friendship networks on the estates tended to be 'tenure bound' meaning that interaction was often restricted on the estates to those living with the same tenure as the respondent. Age was a common example of integration this was not however *between* age groups but *within* age groups, e.g. elderly attending local community centre, or children mixing at school, as would be expected.

Opinions of multi-tenure estates on the estates on the whole had views that were 'tenure blind'. Each group of respondents felt that the idea of multi-tenure estates was a good one in theory and felt that integration between tenants and home owners would take place if they were situated within one residential area. However group members of the focus groups on both estates added points which could promote antagonism.

Overall, then the issues of concern to residents living on single tenure estates reflected more the influence of housing policy, i.e. the Right to Buy, on council estates in changing the social characteristics of tenants and the removal of the middle age group which had led to a generation gap between existing and new tenants. The age mix of an estate would appear to be of more concern to residents than the potential tenure mix.

The themes arising from both the focus groups and resident survey on single tenure estates will now be discussed in Chapter Eight in relation to multi-tenure estates. It is hoped that Chapter Seven will serve as a basis of any comparisons that can be drawn between the experiences of the different groups of residents and a control against which to note the effect of tenure diversification on the social networks of estate residents. This in turn, it is hoped, will lead to some tentative conclusions as to the applicability of housing tenure as a basis for balanced communities.

Chapter Eight continues Part Four of the thesis by presenting evidence from the focus groups and resident survey conducted on multi-tenure estates. Using Chapter Seven as a foundation it hopes to compare and contrast the views and opinions of residents living on both single and multi-tenure estates.

The chapter finds the following points of interest to the focus of the thesis:

- *'tenure typing' exists between tenures on multi-tenure estates in Sheffield as on the single tenure estates. However, it is not as marked within tenure groups as on single tenure estates*
- *social interaction on multi-tenure estates in Sheffield is 'tenure bound' as on the single tenure estates. Owners demonstrate similar social patterns as owners on the private estates and tenants acted similarly to those on the council estate on the estates studied*
- *both tenants and home owners are happy living on the planned multi-tenure estates, think it is a friendly environment and that the mixing of tenants and home owners is a good idea*

8.1 Introduction

Chapter Eight explores the views of residents from multi-tenure estates in Sheffield. It continues the discussions begun in Chapter Seven, by comparing the views of residents living on multi-tenure estates with those on single tenure estates. It is hoped that in doing this comparisons and contrasts will be highlighted between the different estate tenure compositions. Chapter Eight follows a similar format to the previous chapter in beginning with a brief description of the two estates studied.

The first estate was coded the 'green estate' during the selection process and is an unplanned multi-tenure estate, in that a road divides home owners from a council development. However, RTB sales have also introduced owner occupation within the council stock. The second estate was coded the 'blue estate' in Chapter Three. This estate is a planned multi-tenure estate, close to the city centre. Focus groups were carried out on both estates. However a resident survey was only conducted on the planned, multi-tenure estate due to the pressures of time when conducting Phase Four of the fieldwork.

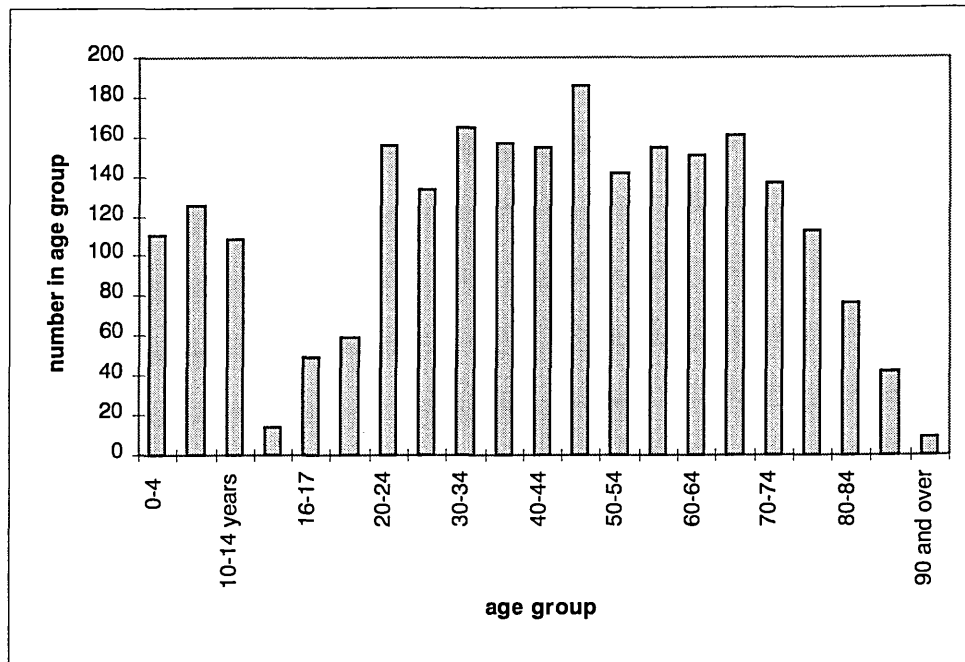
After this brief description of the estates the chapter will move on to present the findings of the focus groups based around a series of themes, and then complement these findings with those gained via the resident survey. In conclusion the chapter will draw together the findings of both Chapters Seven and Eight and consider there implications for the development of socially balanced communities.

8.2 A Profile of the Multi-tenure Estates

Two multi-tenure estates were selected during Phase Three: one unintentional estate and the other planned. This section aims to provide background information on the estates using 1991 Census data for the unintentional estate and data gained from the residential survey as the planned multi-tenure estate, as it did not exist as a residential area at the time of the 1991 Census. The two estates will henceforth be known as 'unplanned' and 'planned' multi-tenure estates.

a) The Unplanned Multi-tenure Estate

Figure 8.1: Age Distribution of Residents on Unplanned Estate



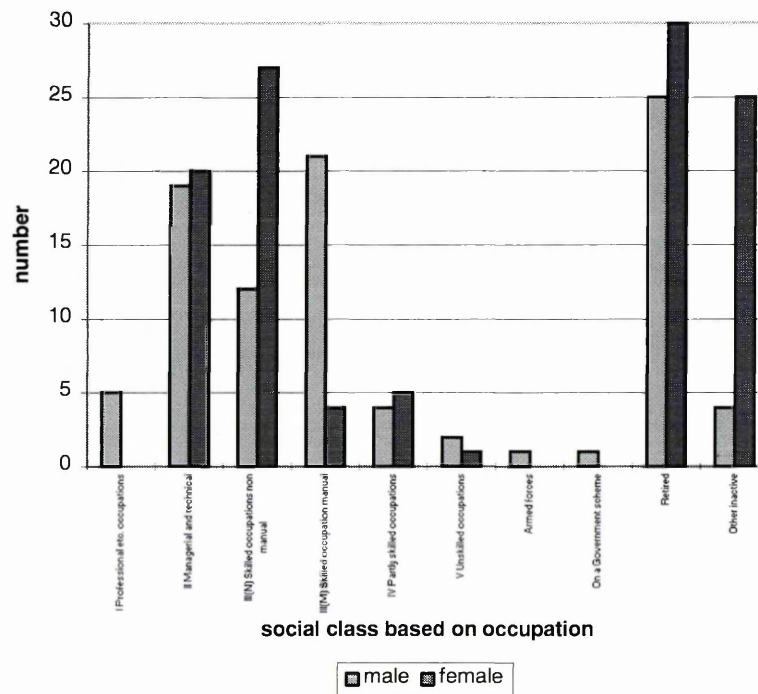
Source: 1991 Census: MIMAS

Figure 8.1, above, shows the age distribution of the 2407 residents living on the unplanned multi-tenure estate. It can be seen that the majority of residents are between 20 and 74, with a high number of children in the 0-14 years categories. Residents are split roughly equally between males and females, although there are slightly more females than males. 98% of the residents are white, and of males aged over sixteen 68% were economically active and 24% retired. For females aged over sixteen 50% were economically active and 24% retired. These figures are similar to those on the owner occupied estate in Section 7.2, p. 171.

70% of households on the estate had access to at least one car, with 21% having access to over two cars. Of residents aged 16 to 24, 77% were employed, 5% unemployed and there were no lone parents with children under the age of five. Out of 1039 dwellings on the estate, 982 were semi-detached or terraced, another 47 were purpose built flats.

Looking at data from the 1991 Census presented in Figure 8.2, below, it can be seen that of those residents economically active, the majority have occupations in the Managerial and technical, Skilled occupations non-manual and Skilled occupations manual categories.

Figure 8.2: Social Class Distribution of Unplanned Estate (10% Sample)



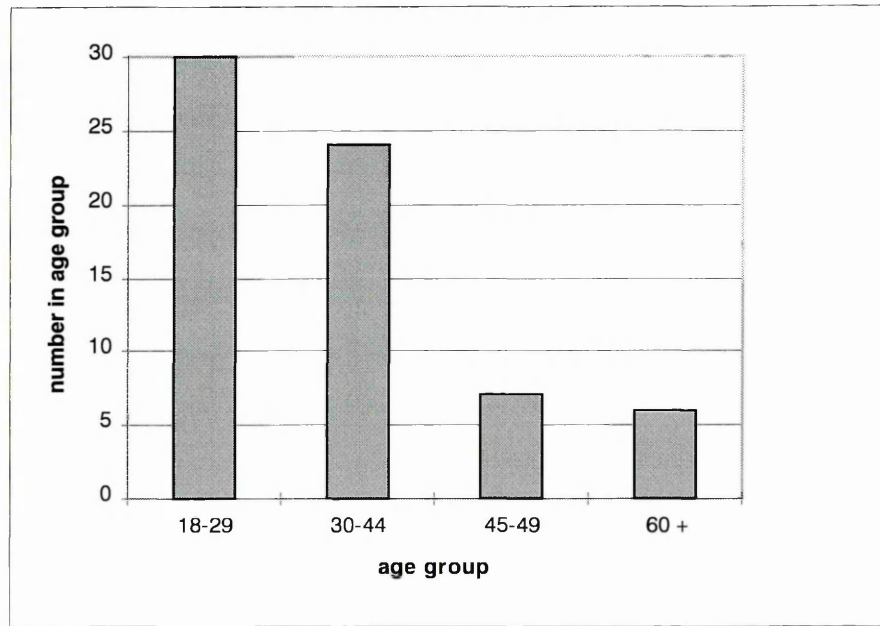
Source: 1991 Census: MIMAS

b) The Planned Multi-tenure Estate

As mentioned previously the planned multi-tenure estate was not completed, and therefore, not enumerated during the last Census in April 1991. Therefore, the background information on the estate is not as detailed as that given for the previous three estates as it is based on data gained from the residential survey. In an attempt to present a profile of the estate the thesis uses information collected via the drop-through-door questionnaire/resident survey.

Twice as many females as males responded to the questionnaire. However, this can not be taken to mean that there are more women on the estate, it would appear to be a trend replicated on other estates, whereby more women respond to questionnaires than men. Figure 8.3, below, shows the age distribution of the respondents to the questionnaire.

Figure 8.3: Age Distribution of Planned Multi-tenure Respondents



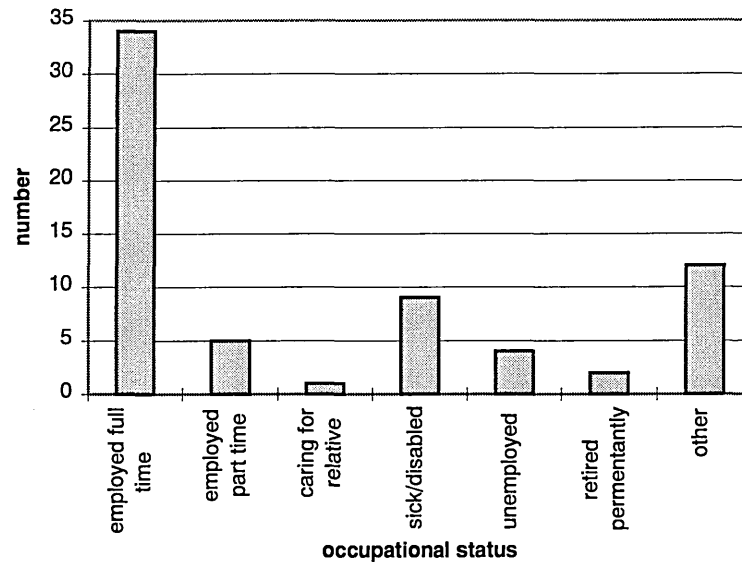
Source: Drop-through-door questionnaires

It can be seen that the majority of respondents were young adults. This is perhaps a reflection of the estate's location near to the city centre and the nature of the dwelling stock. The estate is predominantly flatted, which is particularly suited to younger, single people or couples. Interestingly, only 10 out of 67 responses were households with children.

Figure 8.4, p. 200, shows occupational status of respondents. It can be seen that they are predominantly employed full time, this could be a reflection of the fact that more owner occupiers responded to the questionnaire than housing association tenants, and it would expected that they would be employed in order to gain a mortgage. Finally, Figure 8.5, p. 200, shows the length of time respondents had been resident on the estate. The respondents were fairly evenly distributed across the length of time the estate has

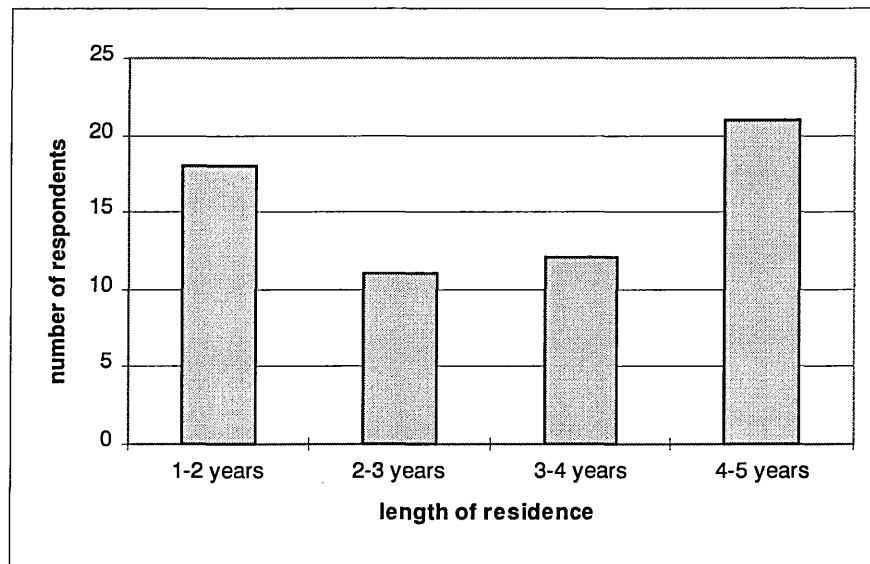
been lived on. The largest group responding to the questionnaire were those who had lived on the estate over 5 years, which will hopefully enable better answers to questions concerning life on the estate.

Figure 8.4: Occupational Status of Planned Multi-tenure Estate Respondents



Source: Drop-through-door questionnaires

Figure 8.5: Length of Residence on the Planned Estate



Source: Drop-through-door questionnaires

The planned estate would appear to have a younger population than the other estates used in Phases Three and Four of the fieldwork. This could be due to its geographical

location and stock composition of predominantly flats which are more suited younger, single people or couples.

With the introduction to the multi-tenure estates now complete, the chapter will turn towards presenting evidence from the focus groups and resident survey with regard to multi-tenure estates, as well as comparing and contrasting the experiences of such estates with the single tenure estates described in Chapter Seven.

8.3 Themes from the Multi-tenure Focus Groups

The following section of the chapter will present the findings, organised around a series of themes, of the focus groups that were conducted on the two multi-tenure estates in Sheffield. As in Chapter seven, this section begins by looking at young people, but in relation to multi-tenure estates.

a) Young People on the Estates

Just as views about young people varied between owner occupiers and social renters (see section 7.3, p. 175), so did they between the two focus groups conducted on the multi-tenure estates. Members of the planned group felt that children were a key element around interaction of the estate took place. One group member stated "*my bedroom window looks out onto ***** Walk and there is a green there and the children play football. It is nice to see thing getting on together*" (home owner: female, 18-39).

The other group members thought the children helped interaction as the school provided a place of parents to meet as well (see also Atkinson & Kintrea, 1998).

On the unplanned estate, however, children were accused of being one of the factors behind the decline of the estate. "*The estate has declined with the kids, the language and behaviour*" (RTB: female, 40-59). Children were seen as having no respect for other people or their property, and seen as "*just hanging around on street corners*"

(RTB: male 40-59). Once more they were associated with crime on the estate, but this was blamed on a lack of parental attention, the television and general bad influences.

The difference in the way in which children were perceived on the estates could be once more associated with the age structure of the estates, and the generation gap. Focus group members on the unplanned multi-tenure estate were older, more established tenants who did not agree with the lifestyles of newer tenants with children, as will be seen later in the chapter. On the planned multi-tenure estate, the focus group members were themselves younger and more tolerant of children's behaviour on the estate.

b) Crime and Fear of Crime on Estates

Burrows & Rhodes (1998) cited crime as the number one cause of dissatisfaction with a neighbourhood for residents of the area, and crime certainly featured heavily in the focus group discussions on the single tenure estates (see section 7.3, p. 175). Interestingly, crime was not mentioned once during the focus group discussion with planned multi-tenure estate residents. It was, however, a central theme of the discussion, on the unplanned multi-tenure estate. Burglary was claimed to be a big problem and that crimes against property had progressively got worse as time had moved on. One respondent used his car and garage as an example:

*"I mean when I came to ***** if I had had a car, and I didn't have one, I wouldn't have had to lock the car. And up until 15 years ago I wouldn't have had to lock the car. Three weeks ago I accidentally left the garage door open, I had locked the car but they still took my tool box when they couldn't get the car"*

(RTB: male, 40-59).

This story had a happy ending, however, in that another member of the focus group asked him what it was like, so he described it, and she replied that it had been dumped in her friend's back garden with the tools still in it!

The group felt that those committing the crimes had a personal knowledge of the area, just as they had on the socially rented estate. One member told how she has thrown a party for relatives who were about to emigrate to Australia at her house. The whole family got together and whilst they were inside, someone had 'keyed' all the unfamiliar cars, but left the group member's alone (RTB: female, 40-59), thus implying an expert knowledge of car ownership along the road in which she lived.

From the above two sections it can be seen that the tenure (stereo)typing of young people both *between* and *within* tenures was not as strong as that found on the single tenure estates in Chapter Seven. Young people were, however, associated with a local 'criminal' element during the unplanned multi-tenure estate focus group. Crime was not mentioned as a concern during the planned multi-tenure estate discussion. However, these differences between perceived levels of crime could be the result of a whole host of factors, and not necessarily be the result of tenure diversification.

Discussions concerning lone parents did not take place in either of the multi-tenure estate focus groups. This could be in part due to the fact there were fewer lone parents on the unplanned estate, as mentioned in section 8.2, p.194, there were no lone mothers enumerated during the 1991 Census, rather than an increased level of tolerance of lone parents on a mixed tenure estate.

c) Problem Neighbours

Residents on the unplanned multi-tenure estate had similar concerns to those expressed by older, more established residents on the socially rented estate. Their concern, however, was heightened by the fact that many of them had bought their homes under the 'Right-to-Buy' initiative. The focus group discussion provided plenty of evidence that newer tenants to the area were a cause for concern, as one group member put it "*people are dying and they are bringing in rough*" (RTB: female, 40-59). Another

member of the group stated that the people living next door to her were frightened she was going to move from her house, as she had been widowed, and that they would get a problem family move in next door (council tenant: female, 60+).

There was a very real fear about gaining new neighbours, and newer tenants were blamed, along with children, for the decline of the estate: *"it is the riff raff who are coming onto the estate which are bringing it down"* (RTB: female, 40-59).

There would appear to be differences between the single tenure and multi-tenure estates in the way in which they 'type' new neighbours. Residents on the unplanned multi-tenure estate and those on the owner occupied and socially rented estates expressed similar opinions. However, the issue of neighbours 'bring the area down' was not a main theme of the planned estate.

d) Property Maintenance

A subject that did indicate a degree of tenure (stereo)typing on multi-tenure estates was when discussing the maintenance of property. One member of the unplanned multi-tenure group stated: *"they are bringing people into a nice area and they don't appreciate what they have got. For one thing they pay a certain amount of money out and if they don't get what they want they abuse the property. They ignore the garden straight away which makes the place look shabby and they have to have a dog, if they haven't got one they go out and buy one"* (council tenant: female, 60+). These sentiments were shared by other group members and this stereotyping was aimed at younger, newer tenants to the estate. They felt that younger people did not know how to look after a property with a garden which in turn was leading to a deterioration of standards all over.

The discussion concerning property maintenance and newer tenants was summed up by the following two statements during the unplanned multi-tenure focus group and express the attitudes of older tenants and RTB owners in relation to this topic.

"You'd think that if they moved in besides someone who has their house really nice then it would force them to make an effort" (council tenant: female, 60+)

But

"no it always forces them the other way, you know, the worse characteristic always take over. There aren't as many people today who have respect for what they have got and what other people have, there is a lack of respect" (RTB: male, 40-59).

From the evidence of the focus groups it would appear that the residents of the unplanned multi-tenure group tenure (stereo)typed certain subgroups of the socially rented sector in a similar way to those residents in the socially rented group. This may well be explained by the similarity of the age structure of the two groups and represent more the different values and opinions of a particular age group, as opposed to a differentiation of individuals by tenure. The issues did not arise to the same extent in the planned multi-tenure estate discussion. However, the group members were younger and were more aware of differences in life styles amongst residents.

e) Interaction on Estates

As mentioned in the previous chapter people were asked during the focus group whether they felt people mixed on their estate. The group members on the unplanned multi-tenure estate felt that people's methods of interacting had changed so that people didn't mix the way they used to.

The local tenants association on the estate held a meeting once a month and organised a weekly social event and both were considered well attended. This was about all that went on, on the estate, according to the focus group members. The building that had been used in the past for various social activities, i.e. dancing, bingo, aerobics, had been

closed by the council. The group stated that going to the old people's home, before it was closed *"was social and everybody from the estate mixed together"* (council tenant: female, 60+). They felt the closure of this building had stopped people mixing on the estate.

The significance of local 'community' facilities would appear to be of key importance when attempting to promote interaction between local residents. The local facilities on the two single tenure estates were all well attended by local residents and the old people's home appeared to have been an important focal point to the community on the unplanned multi-tenure estate. The lack of facilities was commented on during the planned multi-tenure estate discussion. *"There is no focal point to the estate, like a shop or a pub. It feels very distinct to the ones across the road on ***** *** which I thought were connected to ***** *****"* (owner: female, 18-29). However, these problems appear to be being considered by a local forum: *"there has been a forum established with residents and local businesses to look at improving the area, including providing areas for younger residents to go"* (owner: female, 18-29).

Community facilities could be viewed as playing an important role in promoting interaction between residents whether on single or multi-tenure estates (see also Forrest & Kearns, 1999).

Children, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, were seen to play a key role in the interaction of residents on the estate. They played together using small areas of grass to organise football matches, and the daily school-run enabled parents to interact with one another in the playground.

Interaction on the planned multi-tenure estate was hindered, however, by the way in which it had been designed, both in the use of flats and the segregation of different tenures. One group member said that he was very friendly with his neighbour and said

'hello' to the other people in his building, but that he "*was restricted to his building and not the next, only the building he lived in which was six flats. There is mixing, but only with the people in this building*" (tenant: male, 30-44). Another respondent to the survey commented that "*living in a flat inhibits you from getting to know your neighbours*" (owner: female, 19-29). The composition of the dwelling stock it would seem is very important influence on the nature of social interaction on the planned estate. Interaction occurs, but normally within the block of flats in which you live which is also often predominantly single tenure. Therefore, binding residents to interaction with people of similar characteristics.

Following on from the ways in which the composition of the dwelling stock can influence integration, the way in which the estate is designed is also important. Different tenure groups occupy different plots of land within the estate, often separated from each other with a barrier such as a road. One group member stated that even though private dwellings were right opposite his house "*I haven't a chance of mixing with them*" (tenant: male, 30-44). The way in which the estate has been designed, along with the stock composition, has had a serious impact on levels of integration between residents of different tenure groups. The way in which a multi-tenure estate was designed was a key issue of conflict between private developers and social housing providers (see Chapter Six), but the above statement from the focus group highlights the importance of Page's (1993) recommendations (see section 6.2, pp. 152-154).

Finally, another significant influence on interaction between tenants on the planned multi-tenure estate was the presence of a large number of residents who were members of an ethnic minority. This group appeared 'more united' than the other residents and integrated more with each other than they did with other residents. This behaviour was noted as being 'insular' by one respondent to the survey (owner: male, 18-29), and others

felt that it was a mistake to allocate them all to one area (owner: female, 18-29). They outnumbered tenants of other ethnic origins, therefore formed a significant sub-community on the estate.

Interaction did occur between residents of the planned multi-tenure estate via:

- Children - children mixed at the local school and by playing together in the evenings. This interaction took place regardless of ethnic origin
- Ethnicity - the ethnic community formed a significant sub-community on the estate, and rarely integrated with other residents, except as mentioned above in the case of children
- Dwellings - the predominance of small blocks of flats inhibited integration except within the blocks themselves
- Tenure - the design of the estate was such that residents from different tenure groups rarely mixed with each other.

The above section would appear to indicate that just because diverse groups of people are living on one site, social contact does not naturally follow (Dixon, 1998:13).

f) Opinions of Multi-tenure Estates

Members of the planned multi-tenure focus group said they were surprised to find out they lived on a multi-tenure estate when they moved in. The unplanned multi-tenure group felt they could see the benefits of a planned multi-tenure community, namely the encouragement of tenants to maintain their properties the way that those who owned their homes did (RTB: female, 40-59). However, there was some opposition namely when considering the risk involved in buying a house and living next to tenants who did not maintain their property, thus lowering the value of the mortgaged house.

The attitudes of residents living on multi-tenure estates would appear to be similar to those of residents living on single tenure estates. An element of 'tenure blindness' exists

when asked questions about living in a mixed community, even though 'tenure typing' and the stigmatisation of social housing and sub-groups of tenants is strong on both single and multi-tenure estates. The focus groups on the multi-tenure estate also suggested that just as with the single tenure estates, issues surrounding the social characteristics and age profile of the estates are in some ways more important than whether a resident owns their home or rents it.

8.4 Themes from the Resident Survey on the Multi-tenure Estates

The following section of the chapter compliments the previous section by following up some of the issues raised with the findings of the resident survey. However, it also explores more thoroughly the notion of interaction of the estates, an area which was not sufficiently covered in the focus groups. This section of the chapter only reports findings from the planned multi-tenure estate, as due to time constraints the unplanned multi-tenure estate was not surveyed.

a) Age Mix on the Estates

Table 8.1, below, shows the responses, gained through the residential survey on the multi-tenure estate but broken down into the different tenure components, when residents were asked to state how far they agreed with the statement: 'young people mix will with each other on the estate'.

Table 8.1: The Integration of Young People on the Planned Estate

| | Agree | No Opinion | Disagree | Total |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Owner Occupiers | 29.3% [12] | 56.1%[23] | 14.7% [6] | 100% [41] |
| Tenants | 54.6% [12] | 18.2% [4] | 27.3% [6] | 100% [22] |

It can be seen from the above table that opinions on whether young people did in fact mix well together on the planned estate varied between the different tenure groups on the estate. Most tenants agreed with the statement, whereas most owners on the estate ventured no opinion. This could reflect the fact that more children lived within the rented section of the estate, therefore, tenants noted their interaction more frequently than the owners; or that tenants had lower expectations concerning interaction than owner-occupiers. This contrasts with the results found on the owner occupied estate where most owners commented favourably about the interaction of young people on the estate. The socially rented residents on the other hand held a more mixed view about the interaction of young people when compared to the tenants questioned above.

b) Problem Neighbours

On the planned multi-tenure estate the main concern about neighbours came from within the owner occupied sector where some owners were leasing their flats to students attending the nearby University. *"We have numerous problems with people renting flats in our block (most of us are home owners). I don't see why tenants [meaning private renters] and home owners should live in the same block of flats, as tenants do not seem to afford us the same courtesies as home owners"* (owner: female, 19-39). This could indicate, however a clash between owning and renting in general not just between owning and social renting.

c) Property Maintenance

Table 8.2, p. 211, shows the results of the survey, for the different tenure groups, on the planned estate when residents were asked to state how far they agreed with the statement: 'tenants keep their properties as tidy as those who own their own home'.

Table 8.2: Opinions on Property Maintenance by Planned Estate Residents

| | Agree | No Opinion | Disagree | Total |
|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------------|
| Owner Occupiers | 29.2% [12] | 36.6% [15] | 34.1% [14] | 100% [41] |
| Tenants | 59.1% [13] | 27.3% [6] | 13.6% [3] | 100% [22] |

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the majority of tenants felt that they kept their properties as tidy as the owners living on the estate, whereas more owners didn't comment or disagreed with the statement than agreed with it. This contrasts with the picture seen in Chapter Seven when asking single tenure residents whether they thought tenants would keep their properties as tidy as home owners (see section 7.4, p. 183). This could be a reflection of the fact that direct experience of living on the same estate as tenants causes owner-occupiers to lower their opinions about property maintenance in relation to tenants, or that those not living with tenants are prone to rosier views.

Using cross-tabulation it is possible to test the relationship between the tenure of the survey respondent and the results presented in the above table. The relationship is significant with a 95% level of confidence but it concluded that there was a weak relationship between the two variables.

The results presented in Table 8.2, above, are verified by some of the comments received on the surveys themselves from owners which demonstrate a level of 'tenure typing' of tenants: *"Tenants' properties are very untidy and there is no control over tenants who do not maintain their homes"* (owner: female, 19-29). *"Tenants have less pride in the upkeep of their accommodation. Tenants are untidy and dump litter and unwanted furniture into the street"* (owner: male, 19-29).

The above comments and the results shown in table 8.2, show that owner-occupiers tend to tenure type tenants as being more untidy and not maintaining their properties to the same standards of the home owners. However, this stereotyping could be the result of actual contact between the two tenure groups, as findings on the single tenure estates suggested that home owners would not be so biased toward tenants.

d) Housing Tenure and Friendship

Table 8.3, below, shows the responses different tenure groups gave when asked to identify where their three closest friends lived.

Table 8.3: The Geographical Proximity of Friends on the Planned Estate

| | | Friend 1 | Friend 2 | Friend 3 |
|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Owner Occupiers | One the same road | 2.4% [1] | 2.4% [1] | 2.4% [1] |
| | On the same estate | 4.9% [2] | 4.9% [2] | 2.4% [1] |
| | In Sheffield | 53.7% [22] | 39.0% [16] | 48.8% [20] |
| | Out of Sheffield | 39.0% [16] | 53.7% [22] | 46.3% [41] |
| | Total | 100% [41] | 100% [41] | 100% [41] |
| Social Renters | One the same road | 12.0% [3] | 4.8% [1] | 4.8% [1] |
| | On the same estate | 20.0% [5] | 4.8% [1] | 14.3% [3] |
| | In Sheffield | 56.0% [14] | 85.7% [18] | 57.1% [12] |
| | Out of Sheffield | 12.0% [3] | 4.8% [1] | 23.8% [5] |
| | Total | 100% [25] | 100% [21] | 100% [21] |

When looking at Table 8.3 it can be seen that although both tenants and owners had similar percentages stating that their closest friend (friend 1) lived elsewhere in Sheffield, differences occurred when looking at the other categories. More tenants than owners stated that their closest friend lived within the boundary of the estate as opposed to outside of Sheffield. Owners on the other hand had a higher percentage responding that their closest friend lived outside of Sheffield. These patterns are similar to those seen on the single tenure estates (see section 7.4, p. 183), where owners states their closest friends lived outside the boundaries of the estate on which they lived, whereas social renters stated that their closest friends lived within the confines of the estate. The

fact that roughly equal proportions responded that their closest friend lived elsewhere in Sheffield could be a result of the short period of time they have been resident on the planned estate.

Housing tenure therefore could be seen to influence on the location of a resident's closest friend looking at the results presented in Table 8.3. Chi-squared analysis of the two variables showed that there was a significant relationship between tenure and the location of resident's two closest friends. The relationships were positive and of moderate strength, indicating other influences, such as length of residence, as well as the limitations of the sample size.

Respondents were also asked whether most of their friends lived on the estate, and of the friends they had living on the estate were they predominantly owners or tenants. It was hoped that this would give some indication as to the integration of different tenure groups on the estate. Table 8.4 shows the results of the survey.

Table 8.4: Housing Tenure and Friendship on the Planned Estate

| | | Yes | No |
|------------------------|--|------------|------------|
| Owner Occupiers | Most of my friends live on the estate | 2.5% [1] | 97.5% [39] |
| | Most of my friends on the estate are tenants | 10.8% [4] | 89.2% [33] |
| | Most of my friends on the estate are owners | 64.9% [24] | 35.1% [13] |
| Social Renters | Most of my friends live on the estate | 20.8% [5] | 79.2% [19] |
| | Most of my friends on the estate are tenants | 60.0% [15] | 40.0% [10] |
| | Most of my friends on the estate are owners | 4.0% [1] | 96.0% [24] |

The results seen in Table 8.4 are remarkably similar to those seen on single tenure estates, with owners responding that the majority of their friends on the estate were also owners and the tenants responding that the majority of their friends on the estate were also tenants. This would imply interaction *within* tenure groups but not *between* tenure

groups, with could be of importance to those planning and implementing a multi-tenure approach to housing developments. As one of the major aims of these developments is to promote interaction *between* tenures and the evidence of the resident survey in Sheffield suggests that this is not occurring.

The only difference to the results from the single tenure estates would be that both groups stated that the majority of their friends did not live on the estate, whereas on the single tenure estates this was the case for the owner occupiers, but not the social renters.

The lack of interaction implied in the above tables is further evident in the following quote written on the back of a survey: *"Divided feelings between home owners and tenants. . . . No communication between housing association tenants and private residents"* (owner: female, 18-29).

The chi-squared analysis of these questions and the influence of housing tenure, perhaps unsurprisingly showed a significant relationship between housing tenure and the tenure group of your friends on the estate. This would imply that friendship networks of owners and tenants are still 'tenure bound' even when living in close proximity to one another on a multi-tenure estate. The different tenure groups maintain similar friendship networks as residents living on single tenure estates. This could be seen as an indication of the creation of 'mini single tenure estates' within the greater multi-tenure estates.

e) Satisfaction with Estate

As mentioned in section 7.4, p. 183, Burrows & Rhodes (1998) not that there are strong links between tenure and resident satisfaction with a neighbourhood. Table 8.5, p. 215, shows the responses of the different tenure groups to the following statements asking them about their estate.

Table 8.5: Resident's Views of Their Estate on Multi-tenure Estates

| | Agree | | Disagree | |
|--|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------|
| | Owner Occupiers | Social Renters | Owner Occupiers | Social Renters |
| The estate is a friendly place to live | 60.9% [25] | 70.9% [17] | 14.7% [6] | 20.8% [5] |
| People do not talk to each other | 39.6% [16] | 21.7% [5] | 41.4% [17] | 56.5% [13] |
| It has taken me a long time to get to know people | 48.8% [20] | 18.1% [4] | 14.6% [6] | 50.0% [11] |
| There is friction between people living on different parts of the estate | 17.1% [7] | 36.3% [8] | 41.4% [17] | 18.2% [4] |
| I would like to move in the next two years | 51.2% [21] | 42.3% [11] | 39.0% [16] | 30.8% [8] |
| I am happy living on the estate | 85.3% [35] | 66.7% [16] | 0.0% [0] | 16.6% [4] |
| There is not a community feeling on the estate | 56.1% [23] | 41.7% [10] | 14.7% [6] | 29.2% [7] |

Looking at Table 8.5, it can be seen that both owners and tenants feel that the estate is a friendly place to live and that they are happy living on the estate. They also agree that there is a lack of community feeling on the estate. Comments were received on the survey from both tenants and owners about the lack of community, e.g. "*there seems little community spirit*" (owner: male, 19-29) and "*it is a fact that nobody bothers at all with anyone else...it is a shame but that is how it is*" (tenant: female, 18-29). In contradiction to this both groups felt that people did talk to each on the estate. 50% of the owners stated that they would like to move from the estate in the next 2 years. This could however, be influenced by their age, life stage and the predominance of flats in the dwelling stock, as much as a dissatisfaction with the estate.

f) Sociability on the Planned Multi-tenure Estate

Residents were asked questions in the survey about how well they knew their neighbours and the people living opposite them. Table 8.6, p. 216, shows the results of the survey by tenure group.

Table 8.6: Knowledge of Neighbours on the Planned Estate

| | | Neighbour Left | Neighbour Right | Neighbour Opposite |
|----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Owner Occupiers | Very well | 6.5% [2] | 2.6% [1] | 2.6% [1] |
| | Quite well | 19.4% [6] | 7.7% [3] | 7.7% [3] |
| | Just to say hello to | 51.6% [16] | 20.5% [8] | 20.5% [8] |
| | Hardly at all | 22.5% [7] | 69.2% [27] | 69.2% [27] |
| Social Renters | Very well | 37.5% [9] | 26.3% [5] | 15.4% [4] |
| | Quite well | 16.7% [4] | 10.5% [2] | 7.7% [2] |
| | Just to say hello to | 29.1% [7] | 42.1% [8] | 50.0% [13] |
| | Hardly at all | 16.7% [4] | 21.1% [4] | 26.9% [7] |

From Table 8.6 it can be seen that tenants are more familiar with their neighbours than owners. This would indicate that there was more interaction between housing association tenants than owners on the estate. This would also reflect the different answers given in Table 8.5, p. 207, where a higher percentage of owners responded that it had taken them a long time to get to know people on the estate as opposed to tenants. Is this yet another example of 'tenure bound' interaction?

g) Opinions of Multi-tenure Estates

Table 8.7 shows the responses (excluding those who expressed no opinion), broken down by tenure group, of the residents of the planned multi-tenure estate to statements concerning their estate.

Table 8.7: Views of the Planned Estate by its Residents

| | Agree | | Disagree | |
|---|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| | Owner Occupiers | Social Renters | Owner Occupiers | Social Renters |
| People who own their own homes do not talk to tenants | 12.5% [5] | 28.0% [7] | 57.5% [23] | 24.0% [6] |
| The estate is divided between those who own their homes and those who don't | 24.4% [10] | 36.3% [8] | 34.1% [14] | 27.3% [6] |
| Living together has enabled tenants and owners to mix | 29.3% [12] | 18.2% [4] | 12.2% [5] | 18.1% [3] |
| Mixing tenants and home owners is not a good idea | 22.5% [9] | 17.4% [4] | 42.5% [17] | 47.5% [10] |

Looking at the above table it can be seen that slightly more tenants agree with the statement about home owners not talking to tenants than disagree, however a large majority state no opinion at all. Unsurprisingly, owners responded that they do talk to tenants on the estate, whereas tenants are more inclined to think of the estate as divided between the two tenure groups. However, the majority of both groups stated that they had no opinion over whether living on the estate has enabled tenants and home owners to mix, which may suggest that other factors other than tenure are important.

Perhaps most importantly for social balance considerations and aspirations, residents living on the estate disagree with the statement that 'mixing tenants and home owners is not a good idea', regardless of their tenure grouping. This would imply that both home owners and social renters on the estate felt that the multi-tenure estate was a good idea. However, this, as with the other observations, should be interpreted with caution considering the exploratory nature of the work and the low response rates achieved by the survey.

8.5 Implications for Social Balance

The findings of both Phases Three and Four of the fieldwork presented in Part Four of the thesis can offer some tentative conclusions as to the applicability of the use of multi-tenure estates as a mechanism for achieving social balance.

a) Age and Social Balance

The notion of social balance aims to integrate different elements of society within a residential area. Perhaps one of the strongest themes arising from both the focus group discussions and resident survey is the issue of age. Children were seen to integrate with each other, through school and after school activities, e.g. football. The 'school run' also enabled parents of younger children to meet each other in the playground in the mornings and afternoons, and form acquaintances with other adults in the area. These

findings are similar to those reported by Atkinson & Kintrea (1998) who also found that the local school was a focus point of interaction between both the children and their parents.

The elderly on estates also seemed to integrate well with one another, normally through weekly meetings at a local community centre or church hall. Problems arose when different age groups were mixed together, especially the elderly and younger tenants. Friction between the two groups was frequently mentioned. These findings compliment those discussed by Forrest & Kearns (1999) where they noted that age polarisation on estates was a major factor in community division due to the different attitudes and lifestyles of the older, elderly residents on the one hand and younger, newer tenants on the other.

b) Ethnicity and Social Balance

Ethnic communities often live together due to cultural preferences (Smith, 1996:311) and housing associations house a larger proportion of black and ethnic minority households compared to the aggregate for all tenures - social and private (Rhoden, 1998:116). The results of the research on the planned estate show that the ethnic community housed by the housing association have formed an 'insular' sub-community within the estate, which rarely integrates with other residents.

c) Estate Design and Dwelling Stock Composition

The design of the planned estate and the predominance of flats meant that social interaction was limited both *between* and *within* tenure groups. There is a reluctance towards pepper potting (see section 6.3) by those responsible for estate development, but smaller plots of land with similar tenure characteristics as opposed to the development of mini single tenure estates, may aid integration and social balance.

d) The Need for a Community Focus and Development

Interaction between residents was more marked on estates where community facilities were available. The residents of the planned estate mentioned that their area lacked a focal point around which the community could gather and interact, such as a set of shops or a 'local' (pub). The results of questions asking people's opinions on the community feeling of the estate demonstrated that residents of the planned estate didn't feel that one existed. Page & Broughton (1997:32) suggested that this could indicate the need for community development, an element of the partnership procedure that is lacking when multi-tenure developments are planned (source: Newham Interview 1).

e) The Applicability of Housing Tenure

Chapters Seven and Eight have attempted to assess whether or not housing tenure an applicable tool around which to attempt the creation of socially balanced communities. It would appear that differences within the social rented sector, in terms of age and lifestyles, are in some senses greater than those that exist between different tenures. The stereotyping and stigma attached to social housing tends to be focussed on subgroups of social housing tenants, e.g. lone parents or younger tenants, not necessarily towards the tenure as a whole. Therefore, it may be more appropriate to focus upon addressing the imbalance of social groups within social housing, for example using estate profiling techniques (see Cole et al, 1998; 1999).

From the evidence gained via the resident survey on the planned multi-tenure estate, tenure diversification would not appear to have changed significantly the social networks of members of different tenures. Interaction is still largely confined to individual tenures and resulted almost in the creation of mini estates within the larger area. The absence of interaction, however, maybe in part considered a result of the way in which estates are planned to accommodate the wishes of the private developers

involved and the way in which the housing partnerships responsible for multi-tenure estates are development focussed as opposed to community-development focussed.

Based on the limited response to the resident survey and in exploring only the one Sheffield estates, the applicability of housing tenure as a tool for the creation of socially balanced communities could be questioned.

8.6 Conclusion

The previous two chapters have attempted to highlight some of the impacts of multi-tenure estates on residents' opinions about the area in which they live and their social networks and interaction with other residents. It can be seen that owners and tenants on both single and multi-tenure estates share some similar qualities when discussing other groups. However, the 'tenure typing' that exists on single tenure estates is not as strong on multi-tenure estates as it is on single tenure estates.

The friendship networks and interaction with other residents on the estates is very much confined to the tenure in which the resident lives, whether they live on a single or multi-tenure estate. This was influenced however, in part by estate design on the planned estate. Nevertheless, social integration with residents on all estates surveyed was 'tenure bound' - an issue that will need to be addressed in the future by developing partnerships and allocations systems.

Residents on all four estates researched in the final phases of the fieldwork held similar views on the development of multi-tenure estates. Those living on single tenure estates felt that the idea of mixing tenants and home owners was a good one, as did those living on the planned estate. The residents of the planned estate feel that the estate is a friendly place to live and are happy living there. This could be taken as a indicator for the success of the scheme in providing a nice environment to live, even if social balance objectives would appear not to be achieved.

Chapter Eight concludes Part Four of the thesis and the presentation of the results of the four phases of fieldwork. The thesis now moves on into its fifth and final part in Chapter Nine which summaries the findings of the thesis and demonstrates how it has attempted to meet its aims and objectives.

Part Five: Conclusions

Chapter Nine provides a summary and overview of the whole thesis, demonstrating how the four phases of fieldwork have attempted to meet the aims and objectives outlined in Chapter Three. It also discusses areas for future consideration and development.

9.1 Introduction

From the discussions in Part One of the thesis it was seen that during the 1990s the British Government has continued to explore the possibility of using housing, and in particular housing tenure, as a method for achieving diversity within neighbourhoods. One mechanism suggested was the multi-tenure estate, as originally advocated by David Page in his 1993 publication for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation *Building for Communities: A study of new housing association estates*. These estates contain a mixture of both public and private housing, usually social renting, home ownership and shared ownership. It was hoped that through the diversification of housing tenure a socially balanced neighbourhood with a collective community spirit could be engineered. This approach has subsequently gathered popularity and been promoted by planning regulations, not least in the form of PPG 3, and features in the recent report by the Urban Task Force (1999). Yet, there has been surprisingly little research conducted into the impact of existing multi-tenure estates in achieving such goals on social relations. Therefore the foundations on which the promotion of multi-tenure estates has been based need to be open to scrutiny.

I suggest that the concept of a multi-tenure estate builds upon at least four other attempts to use planned residential communities as a vehicle to achieve social balance over the last 150 years. However, multi-tenure estates differed from the previous attempts in that they do not seek to create balanced communities built around a

resident's relationship to the mode of production, or social class, but rather around his or her relationship with the means of consumption, or housing tenure. I suggest that this reflects the changing nature of social divisions in the UK.

The use of housing tenure, via multi-tenure estates, as a mechanism for achieving change at the neighbourhood level reflects the concern surrounding social division, social exclusion and the creation of isolated 'ghetto' neighbourhoods in the UK.

There have been few attempts to test the underlying assumption that socially balanced communities can be generated through mixing housing tenure. A limited amount of evaluation of existing mixed estates has been conducted in the last two years reaching fairly skeptical conclusions.

Through a variety of methods this thesis has aimed to address this deficiency in current knowledge according to the following seven aims:

1. to determine which local authorities and housing associations (in terms of geographical location and size) were developing multi-tenure estates
2. to determine when multi-tenure estates were constructed by local authorities and housing associations
3. to determine how multi-tenure estates were constructed, in terms of the various parties involved in the development/refurbishment process
4. to determine why local authorities, housing associations and any other developing agencies were involved in multi-tenure estate development
5. to assess whether or not multi-tenure estates were meeting the objectives of the policymakers and planners involved in their construction
6. to assess multi-tenure estates from the perspective of residents on both single and multi-tenure estates

7. to evaluate whether housing tenure is an appropriate tool to use when creating balanced communities

a) The Origins of Multi-tenure Estates

The results of the postal questionnaire survey showed that 32% of all local authority dwellings completed between 1980 and 1995 were incorporated within mixed tenure developments compared to 64% of housing association dwellings. Local authorities and housing associations often work with each other on developments, and with other agencies, such as local health authorities and social services. However, the most common third parties in multi-tenure estate development were private developers.

Local authorities have been involved in the development of multi-tenure estates longer than housing associations. However, housing association involvement has increased significantly since the early 1990s. Multi-tenure developments existed in all of the five local authority case study areas before 1980 and as early as the 1960s in the case of Sheffield and Norwich. The increased involvement of housing associations came at the time when their role changed from that of specialist housing needs providers to general need providers and became the key developers of social housing.

The desire to avoid recreating large scale, single tenure estates by using a multi-tenure approach was outlined by housing associations and local authorities in four out of the five case study areas. For housing associations in particular the influence of Page's (1993) *Building for Communities* could be seen as an impetus for the alteration in the way in which they approached development and the addition of social balance objectives.

Meeting local housing need and the provision of affordable homes for local people were seen as the central consideration for social housing providers. Therefore, although social balance was an objective of housing organisations when developing the estates it was often not of primary importance. The adoption of a multi-tenure approach is an attempt to *avoid* the problems associated with single tenure, social housing estates and to *create* a socially balanced community.

The aims of private developers differed from those of the social housing organisations, in that they were more concerned with maintaining their share of the market and profits. They also recognised the need to be involved in such estates to maintain activity.

The local authority, reflecting its enabling role in housing provision in the local area often led these partnerships. Responsibility for the site shifted during different phases of its development from organisation to organisation. During construction, the private developer(s) are in charge of the site, the allocation and sale of properties on the estate often, however involves all partners. Once residents are on site, the local authority and private developer(s) are involved minimally, with the housing association(s) responsible for management issues.

b) Regional Variation in the Development of Multi-tenure Estates

However the dynamics between these partners varied considerably. Local authorities have been involved in multi-tenure estate development in an early format before the 1980s. The estates are developed with the intention of meeting local housing need and providing affordable homes for the local community. However, they often also involve social balance objectives. Table 9.1, p. 227, summarizes these regional differences.

From Table 9.1 it can be seen that the region in which organisations operate is important in determining the scale of their involvement, the tenure composition of the estates and

partnerships arrangements, and could have significant implications for the implementation of a nationwide policy. In London, home ownership was found to be a key priority for developing organisations, reflecting the local need for affordable home

Table 9.1: The Effect of Regional Housing Markets on the Implementation of Multi-tenure Estates

| Region | Local Authorities | Housing Associations |
|----------------------|--|---|
| <i>London</i> | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration over management of estates • Development of home-ownership |
| <i>West Midlands</i> | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration over a socio-economic strategy for estates |
| <i>East</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The below market sale of land | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The level of housing association involvement in multi-tenure developments |
| <i>South East</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partnerships with private developers • Collaboration over physical development strategies for estates | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land swap agreements |
| <i>South West</i> | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working with other housing associations |
| <i>North Eastern</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working with housing associations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working with the local authority |
| <i>North West</i> | | |
| <i>Merseyside</i> | | |

ownership properties. The relationships found in the East region could also reflect the need for affordable housing in the local market where housing associations were found to be highly involved in developments as were local authorities working with private developers. These relationships could indicate the need for social renting and low cost home ownership in the region.

In the South East region, local authorities demonstrated a relationship of working with private developers and their involvement with physical development strategies, for

example the development of brownfield sites in the region. Housing associations seemed to be involved in land swap agreements, possibly reflecting the use of land as a mechanism for securing their involvement. Housing associations in the South West seemed more likely to be working in partnership with other associations where the below market sale of land featured heavily in terms of securing their involvement in schemes.

In the North Eastern region there would appear a significant relationship between housing associations and local authorities working in partnership with one another, and the development of social housing. This may reflect the long history of collaboration between these partners in the region, and demonstrate that multi-tenure developments in the North East built upon existing networks and partnerships, compared to other areas where it might have taken partners longer to develop a level of trust and co-operation.

c) Multi-tenure Estates and Social Balance

Evidence from the local authority area case studies where respondents were viewed overall as a success demonstrated that there was concern expressed about the estates ability to achieve social balance, an increasingly more important objective, alongside tenure balance. Several factors were highlighted as possible obstacles to the achievement of social balance:

- (i) dwelling size and type mix
- (ii) tenure mix and estate design
- (iii) allocations and sales policy.

(i) dwelling size and type mix

On most of the estates developed in the local authority area case studies, predominantly family housing has been developed. However, Page (1993) suggested that dwelling size

and mix was important in avoiding the overconcentration of subsets of social housing tenants.

(ii) tenure mix and estate design

The achievement of tenure mix was relatively straightforward on estates, however social interaction between tenants and the achievement of balance was considered more difficult. This was partly a result of the way in which estates were planned and designed. In all of the local authority area case studies, estates were designed so that different tenure groups occupied distinct plots of land. Tenures were, therefore, not integrated in such a way that neighbours were of different tenure groups.

Private developers were opposed to ‘pepper potting’ on the grounds that they felt it would be harder to sell their open market sale properties if the estate was to be developed in such a way. The desire to ensure a mixture of tenures in an area left the social housing organisations with little choice but to agree with their proposals. Estates were often designed so that the private housing was distinct from the social housing, often on the edge of a development, in the prime location and sometimes ‘buffered’ from the social housing by a development of shared ownership which private developers did not mind next to their properties, as shared *ownership* was viewed as home ownership as opposed to social renting even though it is a mixture of the two tenures.

(iii) allocations and sales policy

Allocation policies on multi-tenure estates rarely differed from those used on single tenure, social housing estates and were based on some notion of housing need. Most respondents felt that these policies did not aid the development of a socially balanced community on the estates, even though they felt it was desirable.

Many of those interviewed felt that allocations policies on estates aided the creation of 'mini ghettos' as well as 'mini single tenure estates'. This was a recognised side effect of the conflicting issues of housing need, on the one hand, and social balance, on the other. This dilemma is discussed further in Cole *et al* (1998, 1999).

Residents of single tenure estates were found to interact with other residents of the same tenure group on their estate. This in itself is unsurprising, but members of different tenure groups on a planned multi-tenure estate showed similar 'tenure bound' levels of interaction. Dwelling size and type were found to inhibit interaction between residents in the socially rented properties on the planned multi-tenure estate. One member of the focus group commented that he only knew a few people on the estate, and they were confined to the block of flats in which he lived. Members of the focus group and respondents to the resident survey on the planned multi-tenure estate also noted that the estate had been designed in such a way as to prevent interaction between residents. There is also the absence of any community facilities to provide a meeting point for people on the estate. Yet there is no way of determining if residents from different tenures would have used them equally given the different salience of 'the neighbourhood' to different tenure groups.

Both members of the focus groups and respondents to the survey were asked for their opinion on the development of multi-tenure estates. Despite, 'tenure typing' and the 'tenure bound' nature of social interaction on estates of different tenure compositions, residents on the whole felt that the mixing of tenants and home owners was a good idea in principle. There are problems associated with social balance, such as the antagonism

between younger and older tenants, the cultural preference of minority ethnic groups to form a sub-community within residential areas, and the way in which estates are designed and their dwelling stock profile. Therefore, there are other more important influences on residents' social networks and behaviour than their housing tenure.

Despite this, the majority of residents, from both housing tenures, on the planned estate said they were happy living on the estate and felt it was a friendly place to live. However, they did state that the estate lacked a sense of community, which could reflect the lack of interaction between tenures.

d) Lessons for the Implementation of Multi-tenure Estates

In light of the above there are lessons that can be learned from the thesis that could improve both policymakers and planners understanding of how these estates could be used to combat social exclusion. Therefore, based on the evidence of this thesis, there are several indicators for success associated with the development of multi-tenure estates:

- there should be tenure balance, i.e. a 50/50 split between those socially renting and owning their homes;
- there should be tenure integration, i.e. social housing and owner occupation should be pepper-potted to prevent the development of mini-ghettos/estates within the estate boundary;
- there should be a variety of housing within the estate, i.e. 2-4 bedroom houses, flats, and bungalows catering for a wide range of households. This would help to ensure that:
- there is a wide age range living on the estate, including those households headed by middle-aged persons. This would alleviate the problems found on existing estates

where the younger residents are conflicting with older residents due the absence of this middle aged group.

- there should be a period of community development by the partnerships, and a local community facility, e.g. community centre or shopping precinct, to aid interaction between residents.

Finally, instead of operating general allocation policies local authorities and housing associations should consider adopting a profiling technique (see Cole *et al*, 1998, 1999) to ensure that the socially rented properties contain a mix of tenants.

e) The Success of Multi-Tenure Estates

Multi-tenure estates have, therefore, met some of the local authority's housing need objectives, but do not appear to be meeting any social balance objectives as multi-tenure estates have tended to be constructed with different tenures occupying specific, separate sites within the estate. This potentially inhibits interaction between residents from different tenures, defeating any social balance objectives. In fact one of the conclusions reached by Jupp (1999:80) is the advocacy of integrating tenures within streets rather than segregating the tenures into different streets in order to promote increased levels of interaction. Despite this, both housing professionals and residents think that multi-tenure estates are a good idea in principle.

The final aim of the thesis was to assess whether the theoretical assumptions about the use of housing tenure as a mode of social division can be seen at a local level, i.e. within an estate, and whether it is an appropriate tool to be using. Stereotyping was often attached to social housing tenants by those in the owner occupied sector. Interestingly, however, stereotyping also existed *within* the social housing sector on the socially rented estate, as well as *between* tenures. Stereotyping within social housing was often

attached to newer tenants by older, more established residents. Stereotyping within social housing did not exist on the planned mixed estate, but it did *between* tenure groups, especially with regard to the maintenance of property.

Differences exist between the two areas of the estate occupied by different tenure groups. These differences in property maintenance were often associated with the increased level of pride and respect for property was assumed to be linked to home ownership.

There are, therefore, identifiable differences between social housing tenants and owners. This is also seen in the way in which housing professionals were concerned about the creation of 'mini ghettos' in terms of the socially rented properties, but demonstrated no real concern over the composition of the owner occupied sector of the estate, even if they were to be low income owners, who Lee & Murie (1997) state can be just as likely to suffer from marginalisation as social housing tenants.

9.2: Implications of the Research

Housing tenure does represent a plane of division within British contemporary society, but how far is it an acceptable tool to use in the creation of socially balanced communities? The tenure stereotyping discussed above is a significant barrier to the development of multi-tenure estates. How do you convince people to buy a property on an estate where their neighbours are social housing tenants? The location of different tenure groups in close proximity on an estate in Sheffield, did not alter the perceptions of owners towards tenants on the estate, and had not significantly altered their patterns of social interaction with fellow residents or friendship networks in general. Owners on the planned estate demonstrated similar patterns of behaviour to owners on the owner occupied estate and tenants showed similar patterns to tenants on the socially rented

estate. However, this does not mean that the integration of tenure groups on other estates is the same, but is the case on the estates used as part of this study. This would suggest that the estate is not an appropriate level at which to be creating balance and by default that housing may not be the most appropriate tool to use. Therefore, it would appear that there are other divisive factors between owners and social renters, not just geographical distance. For example, the stigmatisation of social renting by those outside the tenure and the prejudices of home-owners may inhibit interaction or willingness to buy a property on such a development.

Therefore, the stereotyping of social housing would appear not to be overcome by the geographical proximity of different housing tenures. Geographical differences are then highly significant and important to potential home-owners. Locating too close to social housing can be viewed as a significant risk. Financially, close association to social housing could be detrimental to the price of owner occupied properties, especially due to the tenacity of stigmatisation to an area of social housing. There is also the fear of property crime originating from within the estate in socially rented properties, as demonstrated by the research, which can also be costly in terms of insurance premiums. Proximity does not necessarily breed harmony but could lead to even further contempt for the tenants of social housing. This would suggest that the theoretical concepts outlined by Saunders (1978, 1979) arguing that housing tenure is socially divisive could still be considered relevant to the current British housing market.

It can be seen that in terms of the evolution of multi-tenure estates in the British housing system, local authorities, housing associations and private developers were developing the estates pragmatically (see also Dixon, 1997). In other words, they were opportunists building estates of this nature in order to gain the financial resources to meet their local

housing need objectives. There were nominal references to social balance objectives in each of the five local authority case study areas, but these were often a demonstration that they were aware of current trends in policymaking.

The estates that had been built in the five areas were viewed as a success, as they were considered an improvement on large single tenure, council estates that were perceived as problem areas. However, although such estates brought together residents from different housing tenures, namely owner-occupiers and social housing tenants, the design of the estates and dwelling size and mix did not appear to encourage interaction. This lack of interaction – a key goal of social balance and the policymakers' desire – was further highlighted by the research conducted with residents in the thesis.

In evaluating and outlining the evolution of multi-tenure estates in the British housing system, this thesis has contributed to current knowledge by exposing their inception and development to closer scrutiny, which had previously remained unattempted. It has built upon and added to the literature on planned residential communities and social balance, as well as those on housing tenure and social division.

The findings demonstrate a concern with the way in which people consume and use space in terms of their social networks and the ability of housing tenure to achieve social balance. Doubt was cast earlier in the thesis about the ability of multi-tenure estates to achieve social balance. My own research suggests that *both* the reliance on tenure as a plane of social division, *and* the concept of the 'neighbourhood' as a crucible for social interaction have been overemphasized. It oversimplifies market changes – owner-occupation is now such a broad and diverse tenure that it contains within it as much social and economic variation as is found by looking across tenure for social and economic differences. Similarly many poorer neighbourhoods that were council estates

now have ‘unplanned’ mixed tenure as a result of ‘right-to-buy’, or the involvement of registered social landlords (RSLs). In these cases, the material differences between home-owners, private tenants and social tenants may be relatively small – what marks them out is the differences in perception towards each other, with council housing being seen as the tenure of failure and of social dislocation. Crude linkages between class and tenure, which may have been applicable in the mid-twentieth century, can also no longer be applied. Owner-occupiers on multi-tenure estates are more likely to be those at the lower, more marginal end of the home owning spectrum than the highly paid middle classes. Therefore if social mixing was ever achievable it is even more unlikely to have been successful in the 1990s sense, through the use of housing tenure. Thus there is a need for a more calibrated approach between geographical scale and social mixing in the planning phase.

Secondly, doubts arose over the ability of such estates to foster social interaction and inclusion, as the way in which people consume space is also different to when previous attempts at social balance had been implemented. People do not necessarily invest time in getting to know their neighbours, use local shopping centres (especially as they are on the decline) and send their children to the same local schools as everyone else on the estate. As Jupp suggests

“our main message is therefore fairly simple:

- today’s new mixed tenure developments are unlikely to have an enormous impact on people’s lives or create a very inclusive community, but most appear to have avoided a downward spiral into deprivation” (Jupp, 1999:82).

The above quote supports the evidence presented in this thesis that multi-tenure estates are likely to have a limited impact on social interaction. Furthermore, my research

suggests that the salience of 'neighbourhood' as a factor in social relationships is differentially distributed between tenure groups – it is more important territory to tenants. This has echoes of Elizabeth Bott's (1957) distinction between extended and restricted social networks. What is less clear is the extent to which this is a function of tenure per se, or other aspects of economic marginalisation. Therefore, future research may need to take this into consideration.

It is important to conceive of social mix operating at different geographical scales (Gans, 1961:176) and to have a more sophisticated understanding of the locus of social relationships, changes in local housing markets and other indicators of social difference than tenure - such as age, ethnicity, or family networks.

The social goals of 'mixed tenure' schemes are therefore perhaps best seen as a response to a housing market which might have existed twenty years ago. They rest on relatively untested assumptions about social cohesion and neighbourhood change. The economic marginalisation of different groups of the population, which can transcend tenure, and which may be either geographically dispersed or geographically concentrated, therefore comes to the fore – along with the widespread unpopularity of council housing as a tenure. The very fact that home ownership is sited close to social housing will effect its popularity.

Multi-tenure estates do not necessarily produce a heightened level of social cohesion, as quite clearly a resident's behaviour is not confined within the boundaries of the estate (or neighbourhood). Social interaction does not obey the small-scale geographical boundaries that policymakers wish to impose. This is therefore a severe limitation on the ability of multi-tenure estates to achieve social balance. However, this does not

mean that social balance is not achievable – just not perhaps at the neighbourhood or estate level. This then calls into question the current level of interest on the ‘neighbourhood’ as a unit and focus for regeneration and renewal as advocated by the SEU in *Bringing Britain Together: a national strategy for neighbourhood renewal*, and for tackling social exclusion.

Indeed in light of these findings, future research should perhaps be directed towards a larger programme investigating the way in which space is used by different sections of society. Housing, and the development of multi-tenure estates, should be viewed as but one element of any neighbourhood social inclusion strategy. With the election of Labour in 1997 and their call for Joined-up Government we should be working towards policy solutions which embrace employment, education and housing. Where people work is just as important influence on their social networks as where they live. Therefore, attention should perhaps be turned towards linking policy developments in these two areas together? The local school has been seen, in this research, to be an important focus for both parents and children in local areas in terms of developing networks with potential neighbours. It is important therefore that catchment areas cover the whole of these small estates not divide them.

If policy making adopted this approach, then policymakers might begin to better understand the spheres in which interaction between different groups could be manipulated.

Although the findings of this thesis, and Jupp (1999), paint an unfavourable portrait of current multi-tenure estates, it is easy to see why they were attractive to policymakers. Tenure diversification *can* be achieved, regardless of whether it promotes interaction between the residents of different housing tenures. However, perhaps too much

emphasis has been placed on multi-tenure estates and maybe they have been asked to shoulder too much responsibility for solving polarisation?

The Housing Green Paper *Quality and Choice: A Decent Home For All* published in April 2000 foresees stock transfers in terms of 200000 a year so that the RSL sector will be larger than the local authority sector by 2004. This raises key questions about mixed tenure – how far the negative attitudes of council housing will be transferred along with stock, the views of lenders towards mixed tenure, the implications for processes of exclusion and turnover within the sector. It may also weaken the leverage local authorities will have over patterns of new development or renewal in specific neighbourhoods.

The Green Paper also raises the possibility of a single mixed social housing tenure, following up the ideas developed by the Chartered Institute of Housing. The evidence of this research suggests that it is unlikely to change the prospects for local neighbourhood social mix, where economic processes, shifting patterns of housing demand and wider fragmentation of urban areas are likely to have more impact.

It is clear from the above paragraphs that the development of multi-tenure estates does not operate in isolation and that there are other forces changing the face of housing in the UK at the end of the twentieth century. Alongside the stock transfers envisaged in the Green Paper there is increasing concern expressed about the problem of low or declining demand for housing, especially in the North of England, and the consequences for social cohesion and community well-being (Cole *et al*, 1999:13). Patterns of mobility, economic prosperity in the South of England, and the reputation of social housing are responsible for the declining demand. Younger households are also using the social rented sector in a different way, ‘dwelling hopping’ rather than staying put

(Cole *et al*, 1999:18). All of these trends are going to have an impact on the stage on which multi-tenure estates perform and their impact is difficult to foresee.

For multi-tenure estates then, this research could be the final nail in the coffin of success. Indeed it has highlighted that they were developed on shaky theoretical assumptions with little empirical evidence of success in previous incarnations, such as the New Towns.

Multi-tenure estates should be perceived as a less feasible strategy by planners and policymakers, than is currently the case. They are perhaps dealing in the wrong currency when attempting to manipulate people behaviour through the use of housing tenure and the confines of a small geographical area.

To conclude, it would seem that modifying housing tenure at a neighbourhood level would appear *not* to be the most appropriate tool around which the Government should found its efforts towards social inclusion, interaction and the alleviation of inequality as we enters the twenty first century.

Appendices

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING DEPARTMENTS ABOUT DWELLING STOCK AND MULTI-TENURE HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS.

This questionnaire is designed to discover information about the nature of your dwelling stock. All answers will be treated as strictly confidential and will not be passed on to any other party. Please complete all relevant sections.

Section One: The Dwelling Stock and Construction Programme.

This section of questions focuses on the composition of your dwelling stock and your construction programme since 1980. Please circle all relevant answers.

(1) How many units does your local authority own?

(2) Has your local authority completed any dwellings since 1980?

| | | |
|-----|---|----------------------|
| Yes | 1 | Go to (3) |
| No | 2 | Go to Section Three. |

(3) Did your local authority complete any dwellings for (i) rent; (ii) sale or (iii) shared ownership during a) 1980 - 1988 and b) 1989 - 1995?

Please place a tick all the boxes in the table to indicate when dwellings have been completed.

| | Rent | Sale | Shared Ownership |
|----------------|------|------|---------------------|
| a) 1980 - 1988 | | | |
| b) 1989 - 1995 | | | |

(4) Were any of these dwellings incorporated within an intended mixed tenure estate development?

| | | |
|-----|---|---------------------|
| Yes | 1 | Go to (5) |
| No | 2 | Go to Section Three |

-
- (5) In which year did your local authority complete its first dwelling on an intended multi-tenure estate?
-

- (6) Were any of those dwellings started during these periods part of a partnership scheme with other organisations?

| | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------|
| Yes | 1 | <i>Go to Section Two</i> |
| No | 2 | <i>Go to Section Three</i> |

Section Two: Multi-Tenure Developments.

This section of questions focuses on the multi-tenure developments your organisation is involved in. Please circle all relevant answers.

- (7) What is the nature of the other organisations you are involved with in these intended multi-tenure developments?

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Other Local Authority | 1 |
| Housing Association | 1 |
| Private Developer | 1 |
| Other <i>please specify</i> | 1 |

- (8) What do they involve collaboration over?

a) Strategic Estate Development:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Physical Development Strategy | 1 |
| Socio-economic Development | 1 |

b) Site Specific:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Below Market Sale of Land | 1 |
| Land Swap Exchange | 1 |
| Management | 1 |
| Rent Levels | 1 |
| Nomination Rights | 1 |
| Allocations | 1 |
| Other <i>please specify</i> | 1 |

(9) What tenures are included on the intended mixed tenure schemes?

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Home Ownership | 1 |
| Local Authority Renting | 1 |
| Housing Association Renting | 1 |
| Private Renting | 1 |
| Shared Ownership | 1 |

(10) How many intended multi-tenure estates is your authority involved in?

(11) What percentage of your authority's stock are located on intended multi-tenure developments?

(12) What factors influenced your authority's decision to plan and develop intentional multi-tenure estates?

(13) What is authority's view on the development of intended multi-tenure estates?

(14) What plans, if any, does your authority have for the development of intentional multi-tenure estates?

Section Three: About Yourself.

Name of Respondent

Position in Organisation

Contact Number

Would you be prepared to take part in further stages of this research?

Yes 1

No 2

Would you like to receive a copy of the summary of the analysis?

Yes 1

No 2

Thank you very much for your time whilst completing this questionnaire. Your answers will be much appreciated.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS ABOUT DWELLING STOCK AND MULTI-TENURE HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS.

This questionnaire is designed to discover information about the nature of your organisation and your dwelling stock. All answers will be treated as strictly confidential and will not be passed on to any other party. Please complete all relevant sections.

Section One: Nature of the Organisation.

This section asks questions about your housing association. Please circle all relevant answers.

- (1) In which Housing Corporation regions in the UK does your association own stock?

| | |
|---------------|---|
| London Region | 1 |
| West Midlands | 1 |
| East | 1 |
| South East | 1 |
| South West | 1 |
| North Eastern | 1 |
| North West | 1 |
| Merseyside | 1 |

- (2) What percentage of your housing stock falls into the following categories?

| | Percentage of Stock |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|
| London Boroughs | |
| Metropolitan Districts | |
| Towns of 10, 000 population or more | |
| Other | |

Section Two: The Dwelling Stock and Construction Programme.

This section of questions focuses on the composition of your dwelling stock and your construction programme since 1980. Please circle all relevant answers.

- (3) How many units does your housing association own?

- (4) Has your organisation completed any dwellings since 1980?

Yes 1 *Go to (5)*
No 2 *Go to Section Four.*

- (5) Did your organisation complete any dwellings for (i) rent; (ii) sale or (iii) shared ownership during a) 1980 - 1988 and b) 1989 - 1995?

Please place a tick all the boxes in the table to indicate when dwellings have been completed.

| | Rent | Sale | Shared Ownership |
|----------------|------|------|---------------------|
| a) 1980 - 1988 | | | |
| b) 1989 - 1995 | | | |

- (6) Were any of these dwellings incorporated within an intended mixed tenure estate development?

Yes 1 *Go to (7)*
No 2 *Go to Section Four*

- (7) In which year did your organisation complete its first dwelling on an intended multi-tenure estate?

- (8) Were any of those dwellings started during these periods part of a partnership scheme with other organisations?

Yes 1 *Go to Section Three*
No 2 *Go to Section Four*

Section Three: Multi-Tenure Developments.

This section of questions focuses on the multi-tenure developments your organisation is involved in. Please circle all relevant answers.

- (9) What is the nature of the other organisations you are involved with in these intended multi-tenure developments?

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Local Authority | 1 |
| Other Housing Association | 1 |
| Private Developer | 1 |
| Other <i>please specify</i> | 1 |

- (10) What do they involve collaboration over?

a) Strategic Estate Development:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Physical Development Strategy | 1 |
| Socio-economic Development | 1 |

b) Site Specific:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Below Market Sale of Land | 1 |
| Land Swap Exchange | 1 |
| Management | 1 |
| Rent Levels | 1 |
| Nomination Rights | 1 |
| Allocations | 1 |
| Other <i>please specify</i> | 1 |

- (11) What tenures are included on the intended mixed tenure schemes?

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Home Ownership | 1 |
| Local Authority Renting | 1 |
| Housing Association Renting | 1 |
| Private Renting | 1 |
| Shared Ownership | 1 |

(12) How many intended multi-tenure estates is your organisation involved in?

(13) What percentage of your organisation's stock are located on intended multi-tenure developments?

(14) What factors influenced your organisation's decision to plan and develop intentional multi-tenure estates?

(15) What is organisation's view on the development of intended multi-tenure estates?

(16) What plans, if any, does your organisation have for the development of intentional multi-tenure estates?

Section Four: About Yourself.

Name of Respondent

Position in Organisation

Contact Number

Would you be prepared to take part in further stages of this research?

| | |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

Would you like to receive a copy of the summary of the analysis?

| | |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

Thank you very much for your time whilst completing this questionnaire. Your answers will be much appreciated.

<Name>
<Address1>
<Address2>
<Address3>
<Address4>
<Address5>

<Date>

Dear <Name>,

I am a PhD student studying at Sheffield Hallam University looking at tenure divisions on intended multi-tenure housing estates. This has become a crucial issue in the light of public debate about social exclusion and housing in Great Britain. In order to discover the locations of such developments I have compiled the enclosed, short questionnaire which asks questions about your dwelling stock and your construction programme since 1980.

I would be most grateful if you could spare the time to fill in the relevant sections of the document and return it in the pre-paid envelope enclosed. You might find it appropriate to pass this on to one of your senior colleagues involved in housing developments. The questionnaire will not take long to complete and all the information received will be treated in a confidential manner and will not be passed on to any other party. It would also be much appreciated if you could also enclose with the completed questionnaire a copy of your organisation's housing strategy statement or a document of a similar nature. I realise that you are very busy, but this will be extremely helpful to my research.

A summary of the analysis from these questionnaires will be available on request should you like to receive them. This can be indicated on the questionnaire.

Please do not hesitate to contact me should you have any further questions about the research. which is being supervised by Ian Cole at Sheffield Hallam and Tony Crook at the University of Sheffield, I can be contacted by telephone on 0114 253 3562, or by fax on 0114 253 2197, or my e-mail address is l.a.dixon@shu.ac.uk. Thank you in advance for taking the time to complete the questionnaire and I look forward to receiving your reply in the near future,

Yours sincerely,

Laura Dixon

ABOUT THE SURVEY.

The British housing market is shaped to an unusual degree by divisions between tenures. Compared to many EU countries, for example, it is striking to note the extent to which residential areas have been developed traditionally on a single tenure basis. This has led to discussions about the processes of polarisation and residualisation, especially in the poorer suburbs of urban centres. It has been claimed that such neighbourhoods are becoming increasingly detached from wider social and community processes.

In an attempt to diversify the social and economic profiles of many residential areas, several local authorities, housing associations and private developers have launched initiatives to build more mixed estates. These developments contain different tenures from the outset, including shared ownership schemes to cut directly across the distinction between renting and owning. It is these intentional mixed tenure estates that this questionnaire is concerned with, not those that have arisen from the selling of council housing since 1980. Very little is known about these and I hope that the results of this questionnaire will enable me to map the development of such estates in England and provide information about the extent of their development. This will provide the foundation of my subsequent research. Should you wish for any further information, I can be contacted during the day on 0114 253 3562, or my e-mail address is l.a.dixon@shu.ac.uk.

Thank you once again for your co-operation.

Laura Dixon.
Housing Research Student.

<Name>
<Address1>
<Address2>
<Address3>
<Address4>
<Address5>

<Date>

Dear <Name>,

MULTI-TENURE HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

I recently sent you a copy of a questionnaire looking into the development of multi-tenure housing estates. This is a preliminary stage in my PhD research. If you have already completed the questionnaire and returned it to me, please ignore this reminder. However, if you have not completed the questionnaire I would be most grateful if you could do so as soon as possible. I understand the pressures on your time, however the questionnaire does not take long to complete and your co-operation would be much appreciated.

If you have any queries regarding the questionnaire, or require another copy, please do not hesitate to contact me at the above address, by telephone on 0114 253 3562, by fax on 0114 253 2197 or my e-mail address is l.a.dixon@shu.ac.uk. Thank you in advance for taking the time to complete the questionnaire and I look forward to receiving your reply in the near future,

Yours sincerely,

Laura Dixon.

Table A6.1, below, shows the regional distribution of the local authorities responding to the national postal questionnaire survey.

**Table A6.1: The Response Rates of Local Authorities by Housing Corporation
Region**

| Region | Respondents [Number] | Non-respondents [Number] | Response Rate |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| London Region | 10 | 23 | 30.3% |
| South East Region | 45 | 24 | 65.2% |
| South West Region | 28 | 14 | 66.6% |
| East region | 59 | 29 | 67.0% |
| West Midlands | 24 | 12 | 66.6% |
| North Eastern Region | 34 | 15 | 69.4% |
| North West Region | 19 | 15 | 55.9% |
| Merseyside | 9 | 0 | 100.0% |

From this table it can be seen that significantly lower response rates were achieved in the London Region and North West Region. This could have implications for the results of the national postal questionnaire, especially with regard to London. The London housing market is considered distinctly different to other regional housing markets in the country. Therefore, its under-representation in this sample could leave noticeable gaps in the discussion about multi-tenure estates and the rationale behind their development.

Of those local authorities not responding to the questionnaire, the majority could be considered rural districts. However, there were some other larger urban areas that were missed by the survey. These included Barnsley, Macclesfield, Middlesbrough, Doncaster, Oldham, Stockport and Trafford. The whole of Northamptonshire also failed to respond. These omissions mean that the results of the survey could be considered skewed. However, the reasonable response rate of 67.3% overall is considered very good for postal surveys (as discussed in Chapter Three).

Table A6.2, below, shows the number of non-responding housing associations in the top 200 (in terms of the number of dwellings the association managed).

Table A6.2: The Response Rates of Housing Associations in the National Postal Questionnaire Survey

| | Non-Respondents [Number] | Response Rate |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Top 1 – 50 housing associations | 19 | 62.0% |
| Top 51 – 100 housing associations | 18 | 64.0% |
| Top 101 – 150 housing associations | 20 | 60.0% |
| Top 151 – 200 Housing associations | 20 | 60.0% |

It can be seen from the table for each grouping of housing associations that similar response rates were achieved, with perhaps a slight, but insignificant, under-representation amongst smaller housing associations. This possibly could be to their lack of involvement in estates of this nature. However, this should not effect the results of the national questionnaire in relation to the housing associations.

LOCAL AUTHORITY:

CONTACT:

Where are the multi-tenure estates in x?

What are the compositions of these estates?

Were any of these completed before 1994? if so, which ones?

Why do you think multi-tenure estates were developed within x?

Which people from which agencies were involved?

Who at of these would be the best people to talk to after the 19th February?

Which documents would also provide information on the multi tenure estates in x?

Other information:

Interview Guide: Local Authorities and Housing Associations

Good morning/afternoon, thank you for agreeing to see me about my research concerning multi-tenure housing estates. I am interested in speaking to you about the development of such estates as my PhD is looking into issues surrounding social balance and integration on estates of this nature. I would like to start by asking you a few questions about yourself and the reasons why your organisation became involved in the development of multi-tenure estates.

1. Can I confirm what organisation it is you work for and what your current job title is?

2. How long have you worked for this organisation?

If less than ten years, ask them who they have worked for in the last ten years and what their job titles were?

3. How long have you had responsibility for multi-tenure policy?

If less than ten years, ask them what their previous position in the organisations was?

Aims/Outcomes

Thinking back to when multi-tenure first became part of the agenda:

4. Where did the idea originate from?

5. Who was responsible for bringing it on to the agenda?

6. Why was it first proposed that the organisation become involved in the development of multi-tenure estates?

7. What were the main aims to your organisation when considering the development of multi-tenure estates?

If social factors are mentioned:

a) What did you mean by x?

b) *How have you tried to achieve this?*

c) *What do you think the chances of success are?*

d) *Where do you think the mixing of tenures can help with this?*

Before we start to look at the development process, can we first look at the partnerships with which you were involved when developing the estates?

Partnerships

8. Can you define what you would mean by the word partnership?
9. What was the partnership about when it started? Was there a plan, objectives or vision?
10. Was it a formal or informal partnership?
11. Can you explain for me how the partnership worked?
12. Who were the most prominent of the partners?
13. What role did your organisation play within the partnership?
14. Do you think that all partners had an equal share of responsibility?
15. Were there any organisations which you think were left out of the process which could have strengthened the partnership?
16. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the partnership?

I would now like to talk about the development of the multi-tenure estates in the x authority area?

Development

17. Were the sites your organisation was involved in developing new build, infill sites or the refurbishment of existing properties?
18. What was specified in the development brief? What was built? How many units? *Probe: size/type of dwellings*

In the case of infill sites: what percentage of the total stock was new?

- 20. Who was involved in the brief?
- 21. What was the cost of the developments?
- 22. Were there any funding problems?
- 23. How were the issues of where to locate different tenures resolved? *For example, how was the location of home ownership decided upon?*
- 24. How did the shared ownership schemes operate?
- 25. Was the risk underwritten by the local authority?
- 26. Were there any other problems relating to the development side of the process? *e.g. technical, financial, environmental, planning, etc.*

I would now like to move on and talk about your organisation's allocation policy with regard to these estates.

Allocations

- 27. Was there a letting policy decided by the partnership or was it left to individual organisations?
- 28. Can you describe to me how the organisation has dealt with allocating its properties on the estates? *e.g. nominations*
- 29. Who formulated this policy?
- 30. Did you develop this policy to aid social balance?
- 31. Is this policy the same on all your estates or does that implemented on multi-tenure estates differ from your usual policy?

If it differs: how does it differ and why?

- 32. Were there any problems with the allocations policy? *What were they and how were they overcome?*
- 33. Can you tell me who you have let too over the last twelve months?

I would now like to talk about the outcomes of the developments and any evaluation which might have taken place.

Evaluation

34. Have the estates been subject to any official evaluation? *If yes: what did the evaluation consist of? If no: are there any plans to evaluate the estates?*

35. Do you think the estates are a success or failure? *In what terms and why? On what basis do you make these judgements?*

36. Do you think there is social balance on these estates? *How do you know?*

37. What do you think of the public image of the estates? Is it positive or negative?

38. What has the organisation learnt from its involvement in multi-tenure estates?

39. Have these lessons been put into practice?

40. Would the organisation do it again if it had the opportunity? *If no: why not?*

41. Would the objectives remain the same or would they be different? *If different: what would be different and why?*

42. Do you think in the future mixed tenure estates will become the norm rather than the exception? *If yes: why?*

43. Finally if you had one piece of advice for another organisation considering developing multi-tenure estates what would it be?

Thank you very much for your time and answers. Do you think there is anyone else that I should speak to in your organisation with regard to my research?

Interview Guide: Private Developers

Good morning/afternoon, thank you for agreeing to see me about my research concerning multi-tenure housing estates. I am interested in speaking to you about the development of such estates as my PhD is looking into issues surrounding social balance and integration on estates of this nature. I would like to start by asking you a few questions about yourself and the reasons why your organisation became involved in the development of multi-tenure estates.

1. Can I confirm what organisation it is you work for and what your current job title is?

2. How long have you worked for this organisation?

If less than ten years, ask them who they have worked for in the last ten years and what their job titles were?

3. How long have you had responsibility for multi-tenure policy?

If less than ten years, ask them what their previous position in the organisations was?

Aims/Outcomes

Thinking back to when multi-tenure first became part of the agenda:

4. Where did the idea originate from?

5. Who was responsible for bringing it on to the agenda?

6. Why was it first proposed that the organisation become involved in the development of multi-tenure estates?

7. What were the aims of your organisation when considering the development of multi-tenure estates?

If social factors are mentioned:

a) What did you mean by x?

b) How have you tried to achieve this?

c) What do you think the chances of success are?

d) Where do you think the mixing of tenures can help with this?

Before we start to look at the development process, can we first look at the partnerships with which you were involved when developing the estates?

Partnerships

8. Can you define what you would mean by the word partnership?
9. What was the partnership about when it started? Was there a plan, objectives or vision?
10. Was it a formal or informal partnership?
11. Can you explain for me how the partnership worked?
12. Who were the most prominent of the partners?
13. What role did your organisation play within the partnership?
14. Do you think that all partners had an equal share of responsibility?
15. Were there any organisations which you think were left out of the process which could have strengthened the partnership?
16. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the partnership?

I would now like to talk about the development of the multi-tenure estates in the x authority area?

Development

17. Were the sites your organisation was involved in developing new build, infill sites or the refurbishment of existing properties?
18. What was specified in the development brief? What was built? How many units? *Probe: size/type of dwellings*

In the case of infill sites: what percentage of the total stock was new?

19. Who was involved in the brief?
20. What was the cost of the developments?
21. Were there any funding problems?
22. How were the issues of where to locate different tenures resolved? *For example, how was the location of home ownership decided upon?*
23. How did the shared ownership schemes operate?
24. Was the risk underwritten by the local authority?
25. Were there any other problems relating to the development side of the process? *e.g. technical, financial, planning, inter-organisational, environmental*

I would now like to move on and talk about your organisation's sales policy with regard to these estates.

Sales Policy

26. Was a sales policy decided by the partnership or was it left to you as an organisation?
27. Can you describe to me how the organisation dealt with selling properties on these estates? *i.e. who did you target? Were they from the local area? etc.*
28. Who formulated this policy?
29. Is this policy the same on all estates on which you develop or is it particular to multi-tenure estates?

If it differs: how and why?
30. What was the size and price mix of properties on the estates?
31. Were there any affordability issues with the properties? *e.g. Section 106 agreements?*

32. Were there any problems selling properties on these estates? *What were they and how were they overcome?*

I would now like to talk about the outcomes of the developments and any evaluation which might have taken place.

Evaluation

33. Do you think the estates are a success or failure? *In what terms and why? On what basis do you make these judgements?*

34. Do you think there is social balance on these estates? *How do you know?*

35. What has the organisation learnt from its involvement in multi-tenure estates?

36. Have these lessons been put into practice?

37. Would the organisation do it again if it had the opportunity? *If no: why not?*

*If it hasn't been mentioned ask: What effect did the multi-tenure nature of the estate have on the price of the properties?
How do they know this?*

38. Would the objectives remain the same or would they be different? *If different: what would be different and why?*

39. Finally if you had one piece of advice for another organisation considering developing multi-tenure estates what would it be?

Thank you very much for your time and answers. Do you think there is anyone else that I should speak to in your organisation with regard to my research?



Please complete the following questions:

1. Are you ☐ male ☐ female

2. How old are you? ☐ Under 18 ☐ 19 - 39
☐ 40 - 59 ☐ 60 +

3. How many people do you live with:

a) who are over 18? ☐ number
 b) who are under 18? ☐ number

4. What kind of property do you live in?

☐ a) house
☐ b) flat
☐ c) maisonette
☐ d) bungalow
☐ e) other *please state:* _____

5. How long have you lived in this property? ☐ years

6. Who owns the property? ☐ yourself ☐ housing association
☐ local authority

7. All in all, how satisfied are you with the neighbourhood in which you live?

☐ very satisfied
☐ satisfied
☐ neither
☐ dissatisfied
☐ very dissatisfied

8. Would you be able to take part in a short group discussion in a few weeks time to talk about your views about this area with other people who live locally?

☐ yes
☐ no

Please return in the attached envelope with the following details:

Name:

Address:

Postcode:

Tel:

Thank you very much for spending time to fill in this questionnaire, and for your help with my research.

Focus Group Statements.

1. How has your area changed in recent years?
2. Do you think people mix with each other in your area?
3. How do people mix together?
Is it by age, gender, race, neighbours?
4. Where do people mix with each other?
Is it in their homes, community centre, at work, etc.?
5. Do you think people outside your area have certain views about
 - a) council tenants?
 - b) housing association tenants?
 - c) home owners?
6. What kind of people do you think live in
 - a) council housing
 - b) housing association housing
 - c) own their own home?
7. How has this changed since you have lived on the estate?
8. If estates of this size were built again, do you think they should be built so that tenants and home owners live together or should they be built for just one of these groups?
Why?

TO FINISH WITH?

- a) can you think of the three best and worst things about the estate on which you live?
- b) Can you agree as a group about these?

If they mention crime - is it on the estate or off the estate?

If they talk about image and reputation - where does it come from? Is it justified?



The survey is being carried out as part of research being conducted by Sheffield Hallam University looking at patterns of friendship and social networks on housing estates. Please complete all sections of the survey and all answers will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Section One: Background Information.

Tick relevant boxes in each question

1. Are you ☐ male ☐ female

2. How old are you? ☐ 18-29 ☐ 30-44
☐ 45-59 ☐ 60+

3. Are you ☐ employed full time
☐ employed part time
☐ looking after the house
☐ caring for a relative
☐ sick/disabled
☐ unemployed
☐ retired permanently
☐ other

4. Please state how many people there are living in your accommodation who are
Put number ☐ 16 and over
☐ under 16

5. How long have you lived in your present accommodation?
Put number of years ☐ years

6. Who owns the property? ☐ local authority
☐ housing association
☐ yourself
☐ private landlord

Section Two: Friendship Networks.

The following questions are designed to discover where your three closest friends live and how well you know other people living on your estate.

7. Where do your three closest friends live? *Please tick*

| | Friend 1 | Friend 2 | Friend 3 |
|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| on the same road | | | |
| on the estate | | | |
| elsewhere in Sheffield | | | |
| outside of Sheffield | | | |

8. If there was an emergency in your home would you turn to someone *Please tick*

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| living on your road | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| living on your estate | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| living elsewhere in Sheffield | <input type="checkbox"/> |

9. How well do you know the people living *Please tick*

| | next door on the left | next door on the right |
|----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| very well | | |
| quite well | | |
| just to say hello to | | |
| hardly at all | | |

10. How well do you know the people living opposite your property? *Please tick*

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| very well | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| quite well | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| just to say hello too | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| hardly at all | <input type="checkbox"/> |

11. Please answer yes or no to the following statements? *Please tick*

| | Yes | No |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) most of my friends live <u>on the estate</u> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) most of my friends <u>on the estate</u> are tenants | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) most of my friends <u>on the estate</u> are home owners | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

12. Please state how often you would go out socially with the following groups of people? *Circle answer*

| | frequently | sometime | seldom | never | not applicable |
|--|------------|----------|--------|-------|----------------|
| a) with friends from the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) with friends from another estate in Sheffield | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) with friends from work | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) with friends who do not live in Sheffield | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Section Three: Social Activities.

13. Which of the following did you do last week? *Tick all relevant boxes*

invite friends/relatives to your house
visit a friend's/relative's house on the estate
visit a friend's/relative's house off the estate
visit the local community centre

| |
|--|
| |
| |
| |
| |

| | strongly agree | agree | no opinion | disagree | strongly disagree |
|--|-------------------|-------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| a) I spend <i>most</i> of my leisure time with friends <u>living on the estate</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I spend <i>some</i> of my leisure time with friends <u>living on the estate</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I spend <i>most</i> of my leisure time <u>on the estate</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) I spend <i>none</i> of my leisure time <u>on the estate</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Section Four: About Your Estate.

The following questions are designed to discover your opinion about living on Broom Spring.

15. How far do you agree/disagree with the following statements about your estate?

| | strongly agree | agree | no opinion | disagree | strongly disagree |
|---|-------------------|-------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| a) the estate is a friendly place to live | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) younger people mix well with each other on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) adults do not mix well on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) people do not talk to each other on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) it has taken me a long time to get to know people on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f) there is friction between people living on different parts of the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| g) I would like to move from the estate in the next two year | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| h) I am happy living on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| i) there is not a community feeling on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

The following question is designed to find out how safe you would feel on the estate at various times of the day.

16. How far do you agree/disagree about the following statements concerning safety on your estate?

| | strongly agree | agree | no opinion | disagree | strongly disagree |
|--|-------------------|-------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| a) I feel safe walking by myself <u>during the day</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I would not feel safe walking with a friend <u>during the day</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I would feel safe walking by myself <u>at night</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) I would not feel safe walking with a friend <u>at night</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

*The following question is designed to find out what you think about home owners and tenants living together on *****.*

17. Please indicate how far you agree/disagree with the following statements?

| | strongly agree | agree | no opinion | disagree | strongly disagree |
|---|-------------------|-------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| a) people who own their home do not speak to tenants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) the estate is divided between those people who own their home and those who rent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) tenants keep their properties as tidy as those people who own their home | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) living together has enabled tenants and home owners to mix | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) mixing tenants and home owners has not been a good idea | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

18. Is there anything else you would like to add about living on your estate?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey and help me with my research.



The survey is being carried out as part of research being conducted by both Sheffield Hallam University and the University of Sheffield looking at patterns of friendship and social networks on housing estates. Please complete all sections of the survey and all answers will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Section One: Background Information.

Tick relevant boxes in each question

1. Are you ☐ male ☐ female

2. How old are you? ☐ 18-29 ☐ 30-44
☐ 45-59 ☐ 60+

3. Are you ☐ employed full time
☐ employed part time
☐ looking after the house
☐ caring for a relative
☐ sick/disabled
☐ unemployed
☐ retired permanently
☐ other

4. Please state how many people there are living in your accommodation are
Put number ☐ 16 and over
☐ under 16

5. How long have you lived in your home?
Put number of years ☐ years

6. Who owns the property? ☐ local authority
☐ housing association
☐ yourself
☐ private landlord

Section Two: Friendship Networks.

These questions are designed to discover where your three closest friends live and how well you know other people living on your estate.

7. Where do your three closest friends live? *Please tick*

| | Friend 1 | Friend 2 | Friend 3 |
|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| on the same road | | | |
| on the estate | | | |
| elsewhere in Sheffield | | | |
| outside of Sheffield | | | |

8. If there was an emergency in your home would you turn to someone *Please tick*

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| living on your road | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| living on your estate | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| living elsewhere in Sheffield | <input type="checkbox"/> |

9. How well do you know the people living *Please tick*

| | next door on the left | next door on the right |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| very well | | |
| quite well | | |
| just to say hello to | | |
| hardly at all | | |

10. How well do you know the people living opposite your property? *Please tick*

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| very well | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| quite well | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| just to say hello too | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| hardly at all | <input type="checkbox"/> |

11. Please answer yes or no to the following statements? *Please tick*

| | Yes | No |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| a) most of my friends live on the estate | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) most of my friends <u>on the estate</u> are tenants | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) most of my friends <u>on the estate</u> are home owners | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

12. Please state how often you would go out socially with the following groups of people? *Circle answer*

| | frequently | sometime s | seldom | never | not applicable |
|--|------------|---------------|--------|-------|-------------------|
| a) with friends from the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) with friends from another estate in Sheffield | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) with friends from work | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) with friends who do not live in Sheffield | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Section Three: Social Activities.

13. Which of the following did you do last week? *Tick all relevant boxes*

invite friends to your house
visit a friends house on the estate
visit a friends house off the estate
visit the local community centre

| |
|--|
| |
| |
| |
| |

14. Please state how far you would agree/disagree with the following *Circle answer*

| | strongly agree | agree | no opinion | disagree | strongly disagree |
|--|-------------------|-------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| a) I spend <i>most</i> of my leisure time with friends <u>living on the estate</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I spend <i>some</i> of my leisure time with friends <u>living on the estate</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I spend <i>most</i> of my leisure time <u>on the estate</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) I spend <i>none</i> of my leisure time <u>on the estate</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

Section Four: About Your Estate.

The following questions are designed to discover your opinion about living in

*****.

15. How far do you agree/disagree with the following statements about your estate?

| | strongly agree | agree | no opinion | disagree | strongly disagree |
|---|-------------------|-------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| a) the estate is a friendly place to live | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) younger people mix well with each other on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) adults do not mix well on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) people do not talk to each other on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) it has taken me a long time to get to know people on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| f) there is friction between people living on different parts of the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| g) I would like to move from the estate in the next two year | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| h) I am happy living on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| i) there is not a community feeling on the estate | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

The following question is designed to find out how safe you would feel on the estate at various times of the day.

16. How far do you agree/disagree about the following statements concerning safety on your estate?

| | strongly agree | agree | no opinion | disagree | strongly disagree |
|--|-------------------|-------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| a) I feel safe walking by myself <u>during the day</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) I would not feel safe walking with a friend <u>during the day</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) I would feel safe walking by myself <u>at night</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) I would not feel safe walking with a friend <u>at night</u> | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

The following question is designed to find out what you think would happen if tenants and home owners lived together on a new estate.

17. Please indicate how far you agree/disagree with the following statements?

| | strongly agree | agree | no opinion | disagree | strongly disagree |
|---|-------------------|-------|---------------|----------|----------------------|
| a) people who own their home would not speak to tenants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| b) the estate would be divided between those people who owned their home and those who rented | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| c) tenants would keep their properties as tidy as those people who owned their home | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| d) living together would enable tenants and home owners to mix | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| e) mixing tenants and home owners is not a good idea | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

18. Is there anything else you would like to add about living on your estate?

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey and help me with my research.

Dear Occupant

Re: Resident Survey

I am a research student at Sheffield Hallam University and the University of Sheffield, conducting some fieldwork for my studies in your area. I have enclosed a resident survey which I would be most grateful if you could complete and return to me using the pre-paid envelope.

This research is being conducted with the consent of the local authority and housing associations in your area, but be assured that the information is for my own personal use and will in no way be passed onto to any third party.

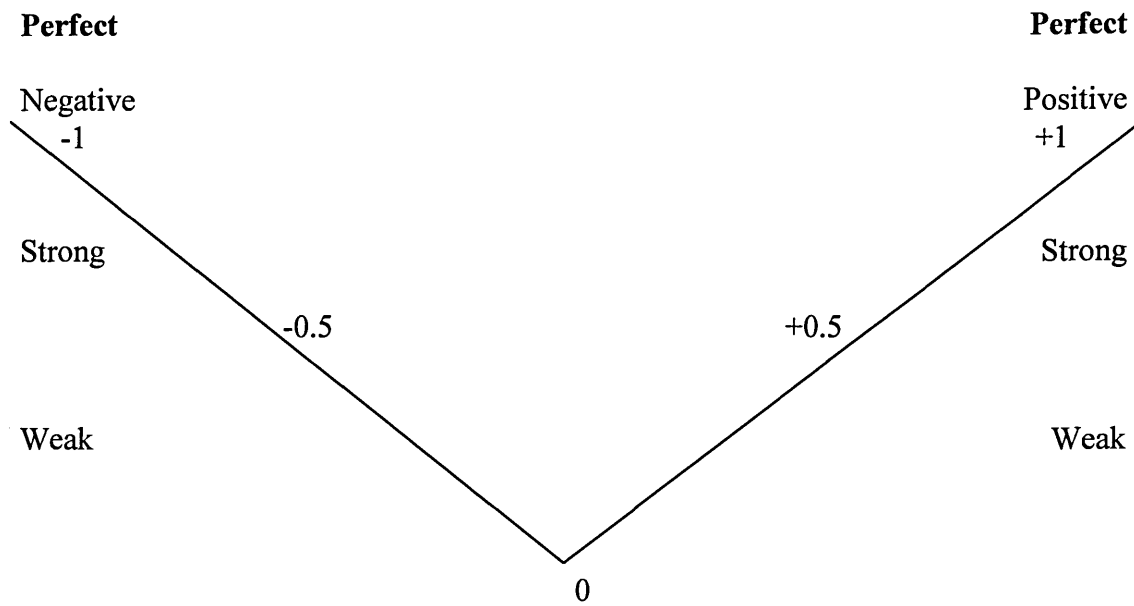
If you have any questions concerning the survey please do not hesitate to contact me at the above address or on (0114) 225 4525.

Thank you very much for your help with my work

Yours faithfully

Laura Dixon

Rule of Thumb Guide for Interpreting Coefficients (Rowntree, 1981)



London Region

All London Boroughs

South East Region

Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, East Sussex, Hampshire, Isle of Wight, Kent, Oxfordshire, Surrey, West Sussex

South West Region

Avon, Cornwall & Isles of Scilly, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire

East Region

Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Derbyshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Suffolk

West Midlands

Hereford & Worcester, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, West Midlands

North Eastern Region

Cleveland, Durham, Humberside, Northumberland, North Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, Tyne & Wear, West Yorkshire

North West Region

Cheshire (except Ellesmere Port & Neston, Halton and Warrington), Cumbria, Lancashire (except West Lancashire), Greater Manchester

Merseyside

Merseyside, Cheshire (Ellesmere Port & Neston, Halton and Warrington only), Lancashire (West Lancashire only)

(source: *Corporation News supplement* #14, June 1994)

Sheffield

Sheffield Interview 1 - Local Authority
Sheffield Interview 2 - South Yorkshire Housing Association
Sheffield Interview 3 - North British Housing Association
Sheffield Interview 4 - Northern Counties
Sheffield Interview 5 - Yorkshire Metropolitan Housing Association
Sheffield Interview 6 - Haslam Homes
Sheffield Interview 7 - Ackroyd & Abbot

Norwich

Norwich Interview 1 - Local Authority
Norwich Interview 2 - Broadland Housing Association

Birmingham

Birmingham Interview 1 - Local Authority
Birmingham Interview 2 - Bromford Carinthia Housing Association
Birmingham Interview 3 - Focus Housing Group

London Borough of Newham

Newham Interview 1 - Local Authority
Newham Interview 2 - Samuel Lewis Housing Association
Newham Interview 3 - East Thames Housing Group
Newham Interview 4 - London & Quadrant Housing Association

Thamesdown

Thamesdown Interview 1 - Local Authority
Thamesdown Interview 2 - Knightstone Housing Association
Thamesdown Interview 3 - Lovells
Thamesdown Interview 4 - Crest

Bibliography

-
- Abrahamson, P. (1998) Combating poverty and social exclusion in Europe IN Beck, W., van der Maesen, L. & Walker, A. (eds.) *The Social Quality of Europe*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Atkinson, R. & Kintrea, K. (1998) Reconnecting Excluded Communities: The neighbourhood impacts of owner occupation, Scottish Homes Research Report #61.
- Balchin, P (1996) *Housing Policy in Europe*, London: Routledge.
- Barclay, P. (1995) *Joseph Rowntree Foundation inquiry into income and wealth*, vol. 1, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Barlow, J. & Duncan, S. (1988) The Use and Abuse of Housing Tenure, *Housing Studies* 3, pp. 219-231.
- Bell, G. & Tyrwhitt, J. (1972) *Human Identity in the Urban Environment*, London: Penguin.
- Berry, M. (1986) Housing Provision and Class Relations Under Capitalism: Some Implications of Recent Marxist Class Analysis, *Housing Studies* 1(2), pp. 109-121.
- Bhalla, A. & Lapeyre, F. (1997) Social Exclusion: Towards and Analytical and Operational Framework, *Development and Change* 28(3), pp. 413-433.
- Birmingham City Council (1995) *Housing Investment Programme*, Birmingham: Research Section Housing Department.
- Booth, P. & Crook, A.D.H. (1986) *Low Cost Home Ownership*, Aldershot, Gower.
- Botts, E. (1957) *The Family and Social Networks*, London, Tavistock.
- Broady, M. (1961) *Planning for People*, London: NCSS.
- Buck, N. (1996) Social and Economic Change in Contemporary Britain: The emergence of a urban underclass? IN Mingione, E. (ed.) *Urban Poverty and the Underclass*, Oxford: Blackwells.
- Burrow, R. & Rhodes, D. (1998) *Unpopular Places? Area disadvantage and the geography of misery in England*, Bristol, Policy Press.
- Byrne, D. (1986) Housing and Class in the Inner City IN Malpass, P. (ed.) *The Housing Crisis*, London: Croom Helm.
- Cairncross, L., Clapham, D. & Goodlad, R. (1993) The Social Bases of Tenant Organisation, *Housing Studies* 8(3), pp. 179-193.

-
- Cameron, S. (1992) Housing Gentrification and Urban Regeneration Policies, *Urban Studies* 20(1), pp. 3-14.
- Chartered Institute of Housing (1996) *Yearbook and Membership Directory - 1996*, Walsall: VM Print Ltd.
- Crook, A. D. H., Darke, R. & Disson, J. (1996) *A New Lease of Life? Housing association investment on local authority estates*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Cole, I. & Crook, A.D.H. (1995) *Joint University Scholarship Proposal*, Sheffield: Sheffield Hallam University & the University of Sheffield.
- Cole, I., Dixon, L., Holbey, J. & Reid, B. (1998) *Estate Profiling and Community Balance*, Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam University.
- Cole, I., Dixon, L. & Reid, B. (1999) *Estate Profiling: A pathway to mixed communities?*, Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam University.
- Cole, I. Kane, S. & Robinson, D. (1999) *Changing Demand, Changing Neighbourhoods: The Response of Social Landlords*, Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam University.
- Cole, I. & Shayer, S. (1998a) Housing and Urban Regeneration: The Housing Dimension in JISER's Evaluation of Sheffield's First Two Rounds of the Single Regeneration Budget, Presented to the ENHR Conference, University of Wales, Cardiff September 1998.
- Cole, I. & Shayer, S. in association with the NCHA (1998b) *Beyond Housing Investment: regeneration, sustainability and the role of housing associations*, Sheffield, Sheffield Hallam University.
- Cousins, C. (1998) Social Exclusion in Europe, *Policy and Politics* 26(2), pp. 127-146.
- Deakin, N. & Edwards, J. (1993) *The Enterprise Culture and the Inner City*, London: Routledge.
- Department of the Environment (1977) *Policy for the Inner City*, London: HMSO.
- Derbyshire, A. (1967) New Towns: a critical review, *Royal Institute of British Architects Journal* (Oct.), pp. 430-440.
- DETR (2000) *Quality and Choice: A Decent Home for All*, HMSO, London.
- de Vaus, D. A. (1991) *Surveys in Social Research*, London: UCL Press.
- Dixon, L. (1997) Love Thy Neighbour? Social Interaction on Mixed Estates, Paper to ENHR/YHR Seminar on European Housing in Transition, Geographical Research Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest August 28th to September 2nd 1997.
-

Dixon, L. (1998) Multi-tenure Estates: tackling exclusion in Sheffield, *Yorkshire & Humberside Regional Review* 8(3), p. 13.

Dunleavy, P. (1979) The Urban Bases of Political Alignment, *British Journal of Political Science* 9, pp. 409-443.

Edel, M. (1982) Home Ownership and Working Class Unity, *International Journal of Urban & Regional Research* 6, pp. 205-221.

Ermisch, J. (1991) An Aging Population, Household Formation and Housing, *Housing Studies* 6(4), pp. 230-239.

Etherington, W. (1976) The idea of Social Mix: a critical bibliography, *Urban Studies* 13, pp. 231-246.

Evans, A. (1976) Economic Influences on Social Mix, *Urban Studies* 13, pp. 247-260.

Evans, R. (1998) *Housing Plus and Urban Regeneration: What Works, How, Why and Where*, London, European Institute of Urban Affairs/Housing Corporation.

Field, F. (1990) Britain's Underclass: Countering the Growth IN Murray, C. (ed.) *The Emerging British Underclass*, Lancing: IEA Health and Welfare Unit.

Form, W. H. (1945) Status Stratification in a planned community, *American Sociological Review* 10, pp. 605-613.

Forrest, R. & Murie, A. (1983) Residualisation and Council Housing: Aspects of the Changing Social Relations of Housing Tenure, *Journal of Social Policy* 12(4), pp. 453-468.

Forrest, R. & Murie, A. (1986) Marginalisation and subsidized individualism: the sale of council houses in the restructuring of the British welfare state, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 10(1), pp. 46-65.

Forrest, R. & Murie, A. (1988) *Selling the Welfare State*, London: Routledge.

Forrest, R. & Murie, A. (1990) residualisation and Council Housing: A Statistical Update, University of Bristol, School for Advanced Urban Studies Working Paper #91.

Forrest, R. & Kearns, A. (1999) *Joined-Up Places? Social cohesion and neighbourhood regeneration*, York, York Publishing Services.

Frey, J. H. & Fontana, A. (1989) The group interview in social research, *Social Science Journal* 28, pp. 175-187.

Gans, H. J. (1961) The Balanced Community: homogeneity or heterogeneity, *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 27, pp. 176-184.

Gershuny, J. (1993) The psychological consequences of unemployment: an assessment of the Jahoda thesis IN Gallie, D., Marsh, C. & Vogler (eds.) *Social Change and the Experience of Unemployment*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gilbert, N. (1993) *Researching Social Life*, London: Sage.

Ginsburg, N. (1997) Housing IN Walker, A. & Walker, C. (eds.) *Britain divided: The growth of social exclusion in the 1980s and 1990s*, London: OPAG Ltd.

Goodwin, M. (1997) Housing IN Pacione, M. (ed.) *Britain's cities: geographies of division in urban Britain*, London: Routledge.

Goss, J. & Leinbach, T. (1996) Focus groups as an alternative research practice: experience with transmigrants in Indonesia, *Area* 28(2), pp. 115-123.

Gray, F. (1982) Owner-occupation and social relations IN Merrett, S. With Gray, F. (eds.) *Owner-occupation in Britain*, London: Keegan Routledge Paul.

Gregg, P. (1993) Jobs and Justice IN Balls, E. & Gregg, P. (eds.) *Work and Welfare: Tackling the jobs deficit*, London: Institute for Public Policy Research.

Hamnett, C. (1984) Housing the Two Nations: Socio-Tenorial Polarization in England and Wales, 1961-81, *Urban Studies* 43, pp. 389-405.

Hamnett, C (1989) Consumption and Class in Contemporary Britain IN Hamnett, C, McDowell, L. & Sarre, P. (eds.) *The Changing Social Structure*, London: Sage.

Haddon, R. (1970) A Minority Welfare State Society: Location of West Indians in the London housing market, *New Atlantis* 2, pp. 80-133.

Harloe, M. Pickvance, C. & Urry, J (1990) *Place, Policy and Politics: Do localities matter?* Andover: Tavistock Publications.

Harre, L. & Zipfel, T. (1995) *Too many cooks...? a review of policy and practice on multi-landlord estates*, London, NFHA.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Post-modernity*, Oxford: Blackwells.

Heather, P. & Stone, S. (1991) *Questionnaire Design: The CRUZ Guide*.

Heraud, B. J. (1968) Social Class and the New Towns, *Urban Studies* 5, pp. 33-58.

Hills, J. (1995) *Joseph Rowntree Foundation inquiry into income and wealth*, vol. 2, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Housing Yearbook 1996, London: Pitman Publishing.

Hutton, W. (1995) *The State We're In*, London: Vintage.

-
- Jupp, B. (1999) *Living together: Community life on mixed tenure estates*, London, DEMOS.
- Kalton, G. & Schuman, H. (1982) The effect of question on survey responses: a review, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 145(1), pp. 42-73.
- Kempson, E., Ford, J. & Quilgars, D. (1999) *Unsafe safety-nets*, York: University of York.
- Kennett, P. (1994a) Exclusion, post-Fordism and the "New Europe" IN Brown, P. & Crompton, R. (eds.) *Economic Restructuring and Social Exclusion*, London: UCL Press.
- Kennett, P. (1994b) Modes of Regulation and the Urban Poor, *Urban Studies* 31(7), pp. 1017-1031.
- Khan, M. E. & Manderson, L. (1992) Focus groups in tropical diseases, *Health Policy and Planning* 7, pp. 56-66.
- Krueger, R. A. (1994) *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*, London, Sage.
- Krupak, E. (1985) *People in Cities*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Joseph Rowntree Foundation (1995) *Mixed and Flexible Tenure in practice*, York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Lash, S. (1994) The Making of an Underclass: neo-liberalism versus corporatism IN Brown, P. & Crompton, R. (eds.) *Economic Restructuring and Social Exclusion*, London: UCL Press.
- Lawless, P. & Smith, Y. (1998) Poverty, Inequality and Exclusion in the Contemporary City IN Lawless, P., Martin, R. & Hardy, S. (eds.) *Unemployment and Social Exclusion: Landscapes of Labour Inequality*, London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Lee, P., Murie, A., Marsh, A. & Riseborough, M. (1995) *The price of social exclusion*, London, NFHA.
- Lee, P. & Murie, A. (1997) *Poverty, housing tenure and social exclusion*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Lee, P. (1998) Housing Policy, Citizenship and Social Exclusion IN Marsh, A. & Mullins, D. (eds.) *Housing and Public Policy: Citizenship, Choice and Control*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Llewelyn-Davies, R. (1968) Town Design, *Town Planning Review* 37, pp. 157-172.
- McGregor, A. & McConnachie, M. (1995) Social Exclusion, Urban regeneration and Economic Reintegration, *Urban Studies* 32(10), pp. 1587-1600.
-

-
- McQuarrie, E. F. (1996) *The Market Research Toolbox: a concise guide for beginners*, Thousand Oaks, C.A.: Sage.
- MacGregor, S. & Pimlott, B. (1990) *Tackling the Inner Cities*, Oxford, Claredon Press.
- Malpass, P. (1983) Residualisation and the Restructuring of Housing Tenure, *Housing Review* 32, pp. 44-45.
- Malpass, P. (1990) *Reshaping Housing Policy: Subsidies, Rents and Residualisation*, London: Routledge.
- Mann, P. (1954) The concept of Neighbourliness, *The American Journal of Sociology* 60, pp. 163-168.
- Marsh, A. & Mullins, D. (1998) The Social Exclusion Perspective and Housing Studies: Origins, Applications and Limitations, *Housing Studies* Vol 13(6), pp. 749-760.
- Mitchell, J. & Oakley, A. (1976) *The Rights and Wrongs of Women*, London: Penguin.
- Morgan, D. L. (1996) Focus Groups IN Hagan, J. & Cook, K. S. (eds.) *Annual Review of Sociology* 22, pp. 129-152.
- Morgan, D. L. (1997) *Focus Groups As Qualitative Research: second edition*, London: Sage.
- Morris, L (1996) Dangerous Classes: Neglected Aspects of the Underclass Debate IN Mingione, E (ed.) *Urban Poverty and the Underclass*, Oxford: Blackwells.
- Morris, J. & Winn, M. (1990) *Housing and Social Inequality*, London, Hilary Shipman Ltd.
- Mosser, C. & Kalton, G. (1971) *Survey Methods in Social Investigation*, London: Heinmann Educational Books.
- Murie, A. (1984) Housing and Class in Britain: the debate continues, *Social Policy and Administration* 18(2), pp. 168-171.
- Murray, C. (1990) *The Emerging British Underclass*, Lancing: IEA Health and Welfare Unit.
- Murray, C. (1994) *Underclass: The Crisis Deepens*, London, IEA Health and Welfare Unit.
- National Federation of Housing Associations (1992) *Housing Associations Directory & Yearbook 1992*, London: NFHA.
- Newham Council (1996a) *Housing Strategy Statement/Summary*, London: Newham Housing Department.
-

-
- Newham Council (1996b) *Housing Strategy Statement/Needs*, London: Newham Housing Department.
- Newham Council (1996c) *Capital Programme Bid 1997/1998*, London: Newham Housing Department.
- Norwich City Council (1996) *The Housing Strategy for Norwich*, Norwich: Norwich Housing Department.
- Offe, C. (1984) *Contradictions of the welfare state*, London: Hutchinson.
- Page, D. (1993) *Building for Communities: A study of new housing association estates*, York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Page, D. (1994) *Developing Communities*, London: Sutton Hastoe Housing Association.
- Page, D. & Broughton, R. (1997) *Mixed Tenure Housing Estates*, London: Notting Hill Home Ownership.
- Perri 6 (1997) *Escaping Poverty: From safety nets to networks of opportunity*, London: Demos.
- Pratt, G. (1981) Class Analysis and Urban Domestic Property: a critical examination, *International Journal of urban and Regional research* 10(1), pp. 481-501.
- Prescott-Clarke, P., Clemens, S. & Park, A. (1994) *Routes into Local Authority Housing*, London: HMSO.
- Rex, J. & Moore, R. (1967) *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparbrook*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Rhoden, M. (1998) Equal Opportunities and Housing IN Balchin, P. & Rhoden, M. (eds) *Housing: the Essential Foundations*, London, Routledge.
- Room, G. (1990) *New Poverty in the European Community*, London: Macmillan.
- Room, G. (1993) *Agencies, institutions and programmes: Their interrelationships and coordination in efforts to combat social exclusion*, Luxembourg: European Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion, Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Room, G. (1995a) Poverty in Europe: competing paradigms of analysis, *Policy and Politics* 23(2), pp. 103-113.
- Room, G. (1995b) *beyond the Threshold: The Measurement and Analysis of Social Exclusion*, Bristol: Policy Press.
- Rowntree, D (1981) *Statistics Without Tears: A primer for non-mathematicians*, London: Penguin.
-

-
- Saraceno, C. (1998) The importance of social exclusion (commentary on Chapter 10) IN Beck, W., van der Maesen, L. & Walker, A. (eds.) *The Social Quality of Europe*, Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Sarkissian, W. (1976) The Idea of Social Mix in Town Planning: a historical review, *Urban Studies* 13, pp. 231-246.
- Saunders, P. (1978) Domestic Property and Social Class, *International Journal of Urban and Social Research* 2, pp. 233-251.
- Saunders, P. (1979) *Urban Politics: a sociological interpretation*, London, Hutchinson.
- Saunders, P. (1983) *Urban Politics: a sociological interpretation (second edition)*, London: Hutchinson
- Saunders, P. (1984) Beyond Housing Classes: the sociological significance of private property rights in means of consumption, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 8, pp. 202-225.
- Schmitter Heisler, B. (1996) Institutional dimensions of social exclusion in the welfare state: an assessment of trends in the Netherlands and Germany 1985-92, *Journal of European Public Policy* 3(2), pp. 168-191.
- Silver, H. (1994) Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms, *International Labour Review* 133(5-6), pp. 531-578.
- Smith, S. (1996) Society, Space and Citizenship: A Human Geography for the New Times IN Hamnett, C. (ed) *Social Geography: a Reader*, London, Arnold.
- Social Exclusion Unit (1998) *Bringing Britain Together: a national strategy for neighbourhood renewal* see <http://www.cabinet-office.gov.uk/seu/1998/bbt>
- Somerville, P. (1986) Housing Tenure Polarisation, *Housing Review* 35(6), pp. 190-193.
- Somerville, P. (1998) Explanations of Social Exclusion: Where Does Housing Fit in? *Housing Studies* 13(6), pp. 761-780.
- Stewart, D.W. & Shamdasani, P.N. (1990) *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice*, Newbury Park, CA., Sage.
- Sudman, S. (1980) Reducing response errors in surveys, *The Statistician* 29(4), pp. 237-273.
- Thamesdown Borough Council (1996) *Housing 2000: housing strategy review*, Swindon: Thamesdown Housing Services.
- Urban Task Force (1998) *Urban Task Force Prospectus July 1998*, see <http://www.regeneration.detr.gov.uk/urbantask98/utf01.htm>
-

Urban Task Force (1999) *Towards an Urban Renaissance: The Report of the Urban Taskforce Executive Summary*, London, HMSO.

Williams, N., Sewel, J. & Twine, F. (1987) Council House Sales and the Electorate: voting behaviour and implications, *Housing Studies* 2, pp. 274-285.

Wilmott, P. & Murie, A. (1988) *Polarisation and Social Housing: The British and French Experience*, London: Policy Studies Institute.

Winchester & White (1988) The location of marginalised groups in the inner city, *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space* 6, pp. 37-54

Yin, R. (1994) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, London: Sage.

Young, M. & Lemos, G. (1997) *The Communities We Have Lost and Can Regain*, London: Lemos & Crane.