

Making deprived areas better places to live: Evidence  
from the New Deal for Communities Programme

**The New Deal for Communities National Evaluation:  
Final Report – Volume 3**



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Final Report – Volume 3**

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The findings and recommendations in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Department for Communities and Local Government.

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## Contents

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Executive summary</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Chapter 2 Improving places: rationale, policy context, strategies, spend and interventions</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>Chapter 3 Improving place-related outcomes: change across the NDC Programme</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Chapter 4 Changing places: crime and community safety; community; and housing and the physical environment</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>Chapter 5 Issues and tensions</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>Chapter 6 Conclusions and key policy implications</b>	<b>83</b>

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# Executive summary

## Chapter 1. Introduction

The New Deal for Communities (NDC) Programme is one of the most important, and well resourced, area-based initiatives (ABIs) ever launched in England. Its primary purpose is to reduce the gaps between the poorest neighbourhoods and the rest of the country. The 'NDC model' is based on some key underlying principles: the holistic regeneration of areas over a 10 year period, dedicated neighbourhood-based partnerships, community engagement, a partnership approach, and learning and innovation. Thirty-nine NDC areas have each received about £50m over 10 years.

In 2001 a consortium led by the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University was commissioned to undertake a comprehensive evaluation of the Programme. This is the third of seven volumes in the final evaluation report.

## Chapter 2. Improving places: rationale, policy context, strategies, spend and interventions

### Rationale and context

The NDC Programme was expected to improve deprived neighbourhoods, through both place-, and people-, related interventions. This focus reflected a belief that improving the quality of place might impact on social capital and social cohesion, enhance economic vitality, and increase the possibility of sustaining improvements. Across a range of policy arenas 'neighbourhood' is increasingly seen as the focus for boosting economic development, improving service delivery and reinvigorating local democratic debate. These rationales have also affected NDC partnerships' operating environment across their three place-related outcomes: reducing crime, improving housing and the physical environment (HPE), and strengthening local communities. In all three areas, national policy has complemented and supported NDC partnerships' aims.

### Strategies

All NDC partnerships accepted the need for holistic renewal, requiring interventions to improve both the 'place' and also the lives of local residents. Many NDC partnerships tried to ensure immediate, physical improvements to their neighbourhoods, an emphasis reflected in their spending patterns. Up to March 2008, three-fifths of all non-management and administration spend was on place-related interventions: 31 per cent on HPE; 18 per cent on the community and 10 per cent on tackling crime.

## Spend and interventions

### *Crime and community safety*

NDC partnerships spent some £139m on crime-related interventions, with £65m levered in from other (largely public) sources. The biggest areas of crime spend related to physical crime prevention and safety measures, Neighbourhood Wardens and other neighbourhood policing. Tackling crime against property and vehicles and introducing improvements to the physical environment and public space have been designed both to deliver a more pleasant public realm, and help 'design out' crime and anti-social behaviour (ASB).

Environmental improvements provide tangible evidence to local residents of the benefits of a holistic programme: a 'cared for' environment is more likely to discourage ASB and criminal activity. Many local NDC programmes have adopted neighbourhood management arrangements to improve the visual appearance of the area. Interventions to reduce fear of crime have included reassurance measures, by providing extra police or neighbourhood wardens. Problems of youth offending and ASB characterised many areas at the outset of the Programme, and NDC partnerships have supported diversionary activities for young people. They have also recognised the importance of linkages between community safety and other outcome areas and have supported multi-agency partnerships including for instance social landlords, neighbourhood managers, and those responsible for housing maintenance. These sorts of arrangements have provided valuable intelligence as well as mechanisms for crime prevention and project implementation.

### *Community*

NDC partnerships spent £248m on community related interventions from 1999-00 to 2007-08, with £47m from other sources. £46m was spent on community facilities, £32m on general capacity building and £27m on community development workers. NDC partnerships have adopted a wide range of initiatives designed to engage with communities and to enhance capacity building, including resident representation on NDC boards (residents have been in the majority on most partnership boards); community involvement in sub-committees and appraisal panels; engaging the wider community through forums and meetings; a range of communications to keep people informed about plans and activities; community engagement or involvement teams; training for resident and agency representatives; and community-based small grants and loan schemes.

The evaluation highlights a number of factors in relation to 'what works' in the community theme: being realistic and consistent about the scale of objectives; having a range of structures for engagement; providing resources for engagement and capacity building; and using a variety of tools to reach different areas and communities (including having an 'on the ground' presence, as well as organising events and working with local agencies).

### ***Housing and the physical environment***

Of all the six outcomes, HPE has involved the most Programme-wide NDC expenditure. By 2007-08, £427m of NDC funds had been spent, with nearly £300m from other sources. The largest types of HPE spend went on land or asset acquisitions, demolitions and stock transfers, physical improvements to the environment and building or improving homes. Local approaches to improving HPE reflect contrasting challenges, but common themes include: modernising social housing; improving the residential environment; addressing poor living conditions in the private sector markets; and providing extra support to neighbourhoods with extreme problems, through community wardens, tenancy enforcement officers, and multi-agency teams.

The evaluation suggests HPE work *has* to be undertaken in partnership; there are tensions involved in balancing the aspirations of communities with the views of professionals; involving residents in the planning process is crucial; a degree of flexibility is required if programmes are to adapt to changing housing markets; skills in understanding, supporting and negotiating with private sector partners are essential; and HPE measures may not necessarily stabilise areas with high residential turnover.

## **Chapter 3. Improving place-related outcomes: change across the NDC Programme**

NDC areas as a whole saw statistically significant improvement in 16 of 18 core place-related indicators from 2002-2008. The biggest change was in the proportion of residents feeling that their local NDC programme had improved the area. Other improvements related to improved perceptions of lawlessness and dereliction, feeling the area had got better, satisfaction with the area as a place to live, and fear of crime. Improvements in some place outcomes were concentrated in the earlier years of the NDC Programme, perhaps reflecting the emphasis on quick wins to improve the environment, public space and security of NDC neighbourhoods.

For 11 indicators change was greater in NDC areas than in similarly deprived comparators areas. For six this difference was statistically significant: experiences of criminal damage and crime in general, perceptions around lawlessness and dereliction, satisfaction with the area, thinking the area had improved, and problems with the environment. Of the 10 core indicators for which national comparisons are available, in six instances NDC areas showed more improvement than the national benchmark.



## Chapter 4. Changing places: crime and community safety; community; and housing and the physical environment

### **Crime**

Across all NDC areas, NDC residents are less worried about crime than was the case in 2002. There are improvements in residents' concerns about crimes relating to vehicles and property, and in the number of residents worried about being mugged.

There has been more positive change in NDC areas than comparator areas for five out of six core crime indicators, the exception being overall fear of crime. Relationships between changes in crime rates, and reductions in fear of crime, are complex, and it is hard to explain why there has not been a more marked reduction in fear of crime. But perception of risk is a factor in fear of crime, and it may be that while investment in crime intervention has led to less crime, it has also alerted residents to the issue, thus accentuating fear of crime.

Crime activity has not generally been displaced from NDC neighbourhoods to surrounding areas. Where measurable change has occurred this has usually been associated with positive outcome change in surrounding areas.

### **Community**

NDC residents are increasingly recognising the activities and impact of NDC partnerships: more than three-quarters were aware of their activities by 2008. However, the proportion of people involved in activities organised or supported by NDC partnerships remains low.

Communities in areas selected for NDC programmes were typically characterised by low 'social capital', and NDC partnerships' objectives for community engagement aimed to develop community cohesion and build stronger communities. While there has been a significant increase in the numbers of NDC residents feeling that they are part of the local community, other social capital indicators have improved only marginally. Across all community indicators, changes in NDC areas were similar to those in comparator areas; however, people in NDC areas remained less likely to feel part of the community, think local people friendly, look out for each other and to know most/many people locally than counterparts in the comparator areas.

The government's objectives for community engagement included a concern to improve trust in public agencies, particularly in disadvantaged and disaffected communities. However, change in trust in public services in NDC areas was similar to that seen in comparator areas. Perhaps surprisingly, differences between the sense of empowerment experienced by NDC, and comparator, residents are not large.

### ***Housing and the physical environment***

Household survey indicators point to improvements in NDC residents' perceptions about environmental problems and satisfaction with the local area, but the gap between NDC residents' satisfaction with accommodation and the rest of the country closed only slightly, at a similar rate to that in comparator areas. At the same time, changes in levels of satisfaction with NDC areas as a place to live have been substantial. Area satisfaction is associated with a range of factors including feeling part of the community, fear of crime, environmental problems, problems with social relations and individual mental health.

The NDC evaluation has tracked residents' responses to a single measure of environmental problems, covering dog nuisance, litter and rubbish, road traffic, poor parks or open spaces and poor public transport. In 2002 more than one in five (21 per cent) NDC residents had a high score (10 or higher) on the index, but this had fallen to 11 per cent by 2008. This change was significantly more than that experienced in the comparator areas although the 2008 figure remained lower than the NDC equivalent. Despite improvements made between 2002 and 2008, the proportion of NDC residents indicating that they wanted to move remained stable, while there was a decline in the proportion wanting to move in comparator areas and nationally.

The evaluation has also reviewed evidence of factors which are associated with place-related change. This analysis is presented in full in Volume 5, which identifies associations between change in place outcomes and a number of partnership characteristics (including board size and composition, continuity in senior roles, and some relationships between change and spend); some neighbourhood characteristics such as the type of NDC neighbourhood and socio-demographic composition; and one characteristic of the local authority area: a decline in the proportion of social housing.

## **Chapter 5. Issues and tensions**

Early difficulties in planning 10-year holistic programmes included creating accurate baselines, agreeing plausible 10 year targets, the lack of an evidence base, pressure to spend and the distractions of establishing effective internal systems through which to agree and sign-off projects and strategies. Those agencies majoring on issues of place with which NDC partnerships have worked most closely, have longer term objectives which naturally fit those adopted by local NDC programmes. The police and local authority environmental departments have proved particularly helpful in most NDC areas.

The rationale for the Programme's 10 year time frame was that the physical, economic and social transformation of these areas would take many years. However, there are two reasons for suggesting that these timescales may need to be re-considered in future ABIs. First, although there was a rapid improvement in indicators relating to crime and the environment, the rate of change has declined through time and it is likely that significant improvements in these outcomes can be achieved in less than 10 years. Second, changes occurred to the institutional and policy landscape over this 10 year period; many of these have complemented the ethos of the NDC Programme, but they can also generate significant transaction costs. However, some interventions will take more than 10 years to come to fruition, particularly those which involve large-scale redevelopment.

Working closely with a broad range of partner agencies has been a fundamental element of the NDC approach. In relation to housing, effective partnership working has been critical in delivering improvements. Although relationships with partner agencies have generally worked well, there have been some problems: senior staff have become less involved over time, and agency priorities are not always aligned with those of NDC partnerships, with the result that the influence of NDC partnerships has not always been great.

Across the Programme, community engagement has helped design, implement and sustain projects. However, it has not proved possible to communicate with all groups equally, community engagement requires substantial time and resources, and there may be differences between community and professional views.

Sustaining interventions often depends on partner agencies' commitment to mainstream initiatives previously supported by local NDC programmes. Other aspects of succession strategies depend on physical assets: the transformation of the housing stock, or the provision of assets to support successor bodies. In many NDC areas, there is a pool of people who have gained experience through the NDC Programme who can lead and take things forward. However, maintaining place-related activity after the Programme ends will not be without problems: there are differences in how far partnerships have emphasised succession; there is not always consensus about the purpose of successor bodies; there is no guarantee that agencies will be able to maintain additional funding; and major housing refurbishment schemes are under pressure as a result of the market downturn.

## Chapter 6. Conclusions and key policy implications

NDC partnerships have presided over substantial change, and almost 60 per cent of the Programme's budget has been devoted to the three place-related outcomes. There is a strong sense of mutually beneficial inter-relationships across these interventions. NDC areas have improved relative to similarly deprived areas,

particularly with regard to indicators for crime and dereliction and area satisfaction. And there has too been a greater proportional change in the numbers of NDC residents thinking that their area has improved and expressing satisfaction with their area as a place to live than has been the case nationally. But there has been less positive change in some outcomes, particularly those relating to community and social capital, and no overall change in the numbers of NDC residents who wish to move.

For a series of outcomes relating to environmental and area improvements and satisfaction ratings, and also reductions in crime and ASB, the evidence from the NDC Programme is that in broad terms place-related regeneration achieves measurable outcomes: it works. Improvements are visible, links between intervention and outcome clear, and physical change is central to NDC partnerships' legacy. But regeneration schemes need to pay attention to the sequencing of interventions designed to improve places, and also, given the inevitably long lead in times for major housing refurbishment schemes, between capital and revenue schemes. Similarly, time frames and the spatial remit of programmes need to be driven by the nature of proposed regeneration. Most of those involved consider the existing spatial remit of the NDC Programme to be about right, though a few argue strongly for larger areas. Analysis of change across the 39 areas suggests that NDC areas containing larger populations see more change than do those with fewer people. But whatever the scale of regeneration areas, there is a consistent view that the boundaries of regeneration areas should wherever possible reflect those adopted by existing delivery agencies.

Despite a substantial commitment of resources to community outcomes, there is no evidence to suggest that the NDC Programme has resulted in stronger and more cohesive communities. Relative to their counterparts in similarly deprived comparator areas, NDC residents in general are not significantly more likely to feel involved in the community, feel that neighbours look out for each other, feel that their quality of life has improved, or feel more able to influence local decisions. The evidence developed throughout this report (and associated volumes) suggests that ABIs may have a limited impact on these sorts of community indicators. One implication of this may be the need for a more focused approach in future regeneration programmes: providing a range of opportunities for resident participation but perhaps thinking more strategically about the costs and benefits of the range of interventions associated with these broader community outcomes. The NDC Programme had grand, but perhaps unfocused, ambitions in relation to the community theme; in future a more limited, but perhaps more realistic, approach might be more appropriate.

Overall, however the NDC Programme has succeeded in making NDC areas better places to live. Sixty per cent of residents in NDC areas in 2008 thought that their NDC partnership had improved the area in the preceding two years, an increase of 27 percentage points since 2002: NDC residents recognise the role of the NDC Programme in improving local areas. And the proportion of residents thinking that their area has improved has increased more in NDC areas than nationally and in similarly deprived comparator areas (by 14 and 7 percentage points respectively). These outcomes are testament to the investment of NDC partnerships and agencies in interventions to improve housing and local environments, and to secure a range of new and improved facilities and services for NDC areas.

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

- 1.1 This report is one of a suite of seven volumes comprising the final evaluation of the New Deal for Communities (NDC) Programme. The NDC Programme has been evaluated between 2001 and 2010 by a consortium of organisations, led by the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University. The evaluation has the benefit of extensive data sources including biennial household surveys carried out between 2002 and 2008, administrative data and case studies.
- 1.2 Final reports culminating from this unique evaluation have been developed as follows:
  - Volume 1, ***The New Deal for Communities Programme: Achieving a neighbourhood focus for regeneration***, explores the institutional model underpinning the Programme, based on the creation of semi-autonomous partnerships, designed to achieve 10 year transformational strategies working in co-operation with existing delivery agencies such as the police and primary care trusts (PCTs).
  - Volume 2, ***Involving local people in regeneration: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme***, examines the rationale, operation and consequences of the Programme's aim of placing the community 'at its heart'.
  - Volume 3, this report, ***Making deprived areas better places to live: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme***, considers the nature, operation and successes of NDC interventions designed to improve the 39 NDC areas.
  - Volume 4, ***Improving outcomes for people in deprived neighbourhoods: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme***, considers the nature, operation and successes of NDC interventions designed to improve outcomes for residents living in the 39 NDC areas.
  - Volume 5, ***Exploring and explaining change in regeneration schemes: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme***, identifies factors which help explain why some areas, and some individuals, have seen better outcomes than have others.
  - Volume 6, ***The New Deal for Communities Programme: Assessing impact and VFM***, uses all of the evidence available to the evaluation in order to identify the impact of, and cost and benefits arising from, the NDC Programme.

- Volume 7, ***The New Deal for Communities experience: A final assessment***, considers the degree to which the Programme has achieved its original objectives and then sets out the implications of this evidence for policy.

- 1.3 Full details of data sources and methodological protocols will be contained in an accompanying Technical Report.<sup>1</sup>
- 1.4 The remainder of this chapter provides a brief introduction to the NDC Programme and the 39 NDC areas. It then sets out the contents of the remainder of the report.

## The NDC Programme

- 1.5 The NDC Programme is one of the most important area based initiatives (ABIs) ever launched in England. Announced in 1998 as part of the Government's National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal,<sup>2</sup> the Programme's primary purpose is to 'reduce the gaps between some of the poorest neighbourhoods and the rest of the country'.<sup>3</sup> Seventeen Round One partnerships were announced in 1998 and a further 22 Round Two schemes in 1999. In these 39 areas, which on average accommodate about 9,900 people, local NDC partnerships are coming to the end of implementing approved 10 year Delivery Plans, each of which has attracted approximately £50m of Government investment.
- 1.6 The NDC Programme is based on a number of key principles:
  - NDC partnerships have been established to carry out 10-year strategic programmes designed to transform these deprived neighbourhoods and to improve the lives of those living within them
  - decision-making falls within the remit of 39 partnership boards, consisting largely of community and agency representatives
  - communities are 'at the heart of the regeneration of their neighbourhoods'<sup>4</sup>
  - in order to achieve their outcomes, the 39 partnerships have worked closely with other delivery agencies such as the police and PCTs: the notion of working in partnership with other delivery agencies is central to the Programme

<sup>1</sup> CLG (forthcoming) The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Technical Report.

<sup>2</sup> SEU (1998) Bringing Britain Together: A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal.

<sup>3</sup> DETR (2001) New Deal for Communities: Financial Guidance.

<sup>4</sup> ODPM (2004) Transformation and sustainability: future support, management and monitoring of the New Deal for Communities programme, 11 (commonly known as Programme Note 25).

- partnerships are intended to close the gaps between these areas and the rest of the country in six realms:
  - three outcomes designed to improve NDC areas: incidence and fear of crime, housing and the physical environment (HPE), and strengthening local communities
  - and three outcomes intended to improve the lives of residents in the 39 areas: health, education and worklessness.

1.7 This is a well-funded ABI, (although NDC resources are minor when compared to the spending of mainstream agencies).<sup>5</sup> Between 1999-2000 and 2007-08 some £2.29bn (current prices) was spent on the 39 schemes, £1.56bn from the Programme and the rest from other sources, especially other public funds (£522m).<sup>6</sup> This compares with:

- over the six rounds of the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), it is estimated that £5.8bn of funding supported over 1,000 schemes across England<sup>7</sup>
- between 1992 and 1998 £1.14bn of City Challenge funding was spent by the 31 partnerships<sup>8</sup>
- £1.875bn of Neighbourhood Renewal Funding was spent between 2001 and 2006; the 2004 spend review committed a further £525m for each of the years 2006-07 and 2007-08; this gives a total funding figure of £2.925bn between 2001 and 2008<sup>9</sup> for the 88 most deprived local authority districts
- at its inception the Working Neighbourhoods Fund (WNF), which replaced the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, was to allocate £1.5bn in funding: this is made up of more than £450m in 2008-09, and over £500m in 2009-10 and 2010-11.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> CLG (2010) Assessing neighbourhood level regeneration and public expenditure. [www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/assessingneighbourhoodlevel](http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/assessingneighbourhoodlevel)

<sup>6</sup> CLG (2010) The New Deal for Communities Programme: Assessing Impact and VFM.

<sup>7</sup> Impact of RDA spending – national report- volume 1 – main report 2009 (p. 60). [www.yorkshire-forward.com/sites/default/files/documents/Impact%20of%20RDA%20spending%20-%20National%20Report%20-%20Volume%201.pdf](http://www.yorkshire-forward.com/sites/default/files/documents/Impact%20of%20RDA%20spending%20-%20National%20Report%20-%20Volume%201.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> City Challenge – Final National Evaluation. [www.communities.gov.uk/archived/general-content/citiesandregions/citychallengefinal/](http://www.communities.gov.uk/archived/general-content/citiesandregions/citychallengefinal/)

<sup>9</sup> Impacts and Outcomes of the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (para 1.12). [www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/nrfimpactsoutcomes](http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/nrfimpactsoutcomes)

<sup>10</sup> The Working Neighbourhoods Fund (para 38). [www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/workingneighbourhoods](http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/workingneighbourhoods)



## The 39 NDC areas

1.8 NDC partnerships were faced with an array of problems impacting on these 39 neighbourhoods. A few selected indicators provide a sense of how deprived these localities were in, and around, 2002. For instance:

- the level of deprivation in NDC areas is such that a combined rank<sup>11</sup> for all NDC areas would place them collectively in the most deprived decile on the 2004 indices of multiple deprivation
- the mean NDC house price in 2002 (£86,802) was just over 60 per cent of the national average house price (£139,575)
- 60 per cent of NDC residents were satisfied with their area as a place to live in 2002 compared with 86 per cent nationally
- 35 per cent of NDC residents in 2002 felt part of their local community; for England as a whole this figure was 51 per cent
- in 2002, 55 per cent of NDC residents felt 'a bit' or 'very' unsafe walking alone in their area after dark; this is 22 percentage points higher than the figure nationally (33 per cent).

1.9 It is important to realise the diverse range of issues faced by the 39 partnerships (Table 1.1):

- in Islington average house prices were over £300,000 in 2002, more than 16 times the equivalent for Manchester (£18,225)
- the proportion of residents satisfied with their area ranged from 42 per cent in Liverpool to 77 per cent in Fulham
- half of all Birmingham Aston NDC residents felt part of their local community in 2002, compared with only 24 per cent in Norwich
- in Islington 40 per cent of residents felt unsafe after dark, compared with 73 per cent in Nottingham
- satisfaction with accommodation ranged from 91 per cent in Derby to 65 per cent in Southwark.

<sup>11</sup> Based on computing a synthetic population-weighted ranking on the basis of all NDC Lower Super Output Areas (LSOAs)

**Table 1.1: Variations across NDC areas**

	2002 (per cent, unless otherwise indicated)			
	NDC min	NDC max	NDC	National
Mean house price (£)	18,225	306,809	86,802	139,575
Very/fairly satisfied with area	42	77	60	86
Feel part of the community a great deal/a fair amount	24	50	35	51
Feel a bit/very unsafe after dark	40	73	55	33
Very/fairly satisfied with accommodation	65	91	81	92

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC Household Survey 2002; SDRC

1.10 As other evidence from the evaluation points out, these are of course 39 distinct areas. Pen portraits of all 39 NDC areas are included in the associated Technical Report,<sup>12</sup> but to give a flavour of five areas as they appeared around 2001-02:

- Bradford NDC area comprises approximately one square mile on the outskirts of the city centre and is made up of three of the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods within Bradford: Little Horton, Marshfields and West Bowling; over 50 per cent of the population from these distinct communities are of South Asian heritage; housing stock dates from the Victorian and Edwardian areas but also includes newer properties and more than a third of residents live in social rented accommodation
- Birmingham Kings Norton NDC area is located in the southeast of the city, and consists of three estates built by the city council between the 1950s and 1970s; there are few local facilities or employers on the estates and the city centre is a couple of bus rides away; the population is predominantly white with a high proportion of homes in the social rented sector
- Haringey NDC area combines late 19th century terraced housing with a series of council estates, and contains Seven Sisters tube station, linking to Central London and, via Tottenham Hale, Stansted Airport; just over 50 per cent of households are in local authority accommodation, 30 per cent in owner occupation, and 11 per cent in private rented accommodation; although predominantly residential, the area includes a small industrial estate and run-down retail centres along Seven Sisters and St Ann's roads, and is above all characterised by its diversity

<sup>12</sup> CLG forthcoming The New Deal for Communities National Evaluation: Technical Report.

- Leicester NDC area encompasses the Braunstone estate located on the periphery of the city; housing in the south of the estate dates back to the 1930s, while that in the north was developed later for families evacuated from city slums; 63 per cent of homes are social housing; there are relatively few services and facilities on the estate and few employers are located within the NDC area, although several are located nearby; it is seen as a 'white' estate within a very ethnically diverse city
- Liverpool NDC area is sited in Kensington, a wedge-shaped inner city area immediately to the east of the city centre; the area had seen rapid economic and social decline in recent decades; it is primarily a residential area; housing is in mixed ownership, and was mainly developed between 1830 and 1914; over 80 per cent of the stock consists of terraced housing in dense blocks sandwiched between three arterial routes between the city centre and the motorway network; eighty per cent of the population is white, but some homes house asylum seekers and refugees.

1.11 Clearly NDC partnerships were facing problems specific to their localities. Some of the 39 areas could be seen as classic examples of 'inner-city' localities, others were faced with problems typical of edge-of city social housing estates, others were located in more varied local environments encompassing both pre-, and post-, 1945 housing, industrial estates, and small scale commercial/retail developments.

## The structure of this report

1.12 The remaining sections of this report are structured as follows:

- Chapter 2 explores the rationale and policy context for improving places, and outlines the strategies, spend and interventions adopted by NDC partnerships in relation to crime, the community and HPE
- Chapter 3 presents evidence in relation to Programme-wide change across core indicators which measure improvements in these three outcomes
- Chapter 4 looks at additional evidence of change in NDC neighbourhoods, including that contained in other volumes of the final evaluation reports
- Chapter 5 considers issues and tensions arising from the narrative surrounding place
- Chapter 6 presents conclusions and key policy implications.

# Chapter 2

## Improving places: rationale, policy context, strategies, spend and interventions

2.1 The previous chapter introduced the New Deal for Communities (NDC) Programme, the 39 NDC areas and the Programme evaluation. This chapter explores three themes in order to set out the context for interventions designed to improve NDC neighbourhoods and highlight what partnerships have done in relation to 'place':

- a brief outline of the national policy context and the rationale for improving places
- spend on the three broad outcomes of crime, community and housing and the physical environment (HPE)
- interventions in these three outcome areas.

2.2 It should be stressed here that evidence contained in this chapter is synthesised from other reports exploring each of these three key outcomes.<sup>13</sup> Those wanting to know more about NDC activity in relation to any one of these are advised to consult the relevant specific report.

### Rationale and policy context

2.3 From its outset,<sup>14</sup> it was assumed that the NDC Programme would improve the 39 NDC neighbourhoods, through initiatives designed to enhance housing standards and the quality of the physical environment and to reduce the incidence, and fear of, crime, as well as addressing issues such as health, jobs and educational standards. There are good reasons for establishing regeneration programmes to improve outcomes for both places and people. For instance:

<sup>13</sup> CLG (2008) Delivering Safer Neighbourhoods: Experiences from the New Deal for Communities Programme. [www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/deliveringsaferneighbourhoods](http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/deliveringsaferneighbourhoods)

CLG (2009) Improving outcomes? Engaging local communities in the NDC Programme. [www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/improvingoutcomesndcp](http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/improvingoutcomesndcp)

CLG (2010) Interventions in Housing and the Physical Environment in deprived neighbourhoods: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme [www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/interventionsinhousing](http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/interventionsinhousing)

<sup>14</sup> See for instance DETR (1998) NDC Phase 1 Proposals: guidance for Pathfinder applicants; ODPM 2003 New Deal for Communities: Annual Review 2001/02.

- all area-based initiatives (ABIs) are at least in part designed to address market failures apparent within disadvantaged neighbourhoods,<sup>15</sup> such failures typically encompass those impacting on weak inner-city land markets, as well those affecting labour and training markets; market failures embrace issues of place, as well as those impacting on people
- improvements to the quality and availability of housing, and more attractive local environments, might help to encourage relatively better-off individuals and households to stay within, or even move to, regeneration areas,<sup>16</sup> thus making it relatively easier in time to achieve outcomes in education, health and employment
- ultimately the distinction between changes in outcomes for places and people can be seen as artificial: both are needed in order to improve the circumstances and opportunities of those living in deprived communities and to<sup>17</sup> help address issues of social exclusion.<sup>18</sup>

2.4 There are a number of reasons why ABIs such as the NDC Programme might therefore seek to achieve improvements to deprived places. First, an emphasis on improving places might create institutional benefits. Evaluations of other ABIs such as street wardens,<sup>19</sup> neighbourhood wardens,<sup>20</sup> and neighbourhood management pathfinders,<sup>21</sup> point to advantages which can arise when delivery agencies focus on particular neighbourhoods. These include increasing opportunities for community engagement and for influencing service delivery. This can be especially important because services into deprived areas may need to be particularly effective in order to compensate fully for the sheer scale of need in poorer neighbourhoods.<sup>22</sup>

2.5 Second, in recent years there has been increasing national interest in improving places in order to make 'Britain a safer, healthier, prosperous, more inclusive and sustainable place'.<sup>23</sup> This sentiment has in part been driven by the premise that the effective 'shaping' of neighbourhoods can bring in its wake additional spin-off benefits in the way of improved health standards, diminishing rates of fear of crime, additional jobs, and so on.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>15</sup> DETR (2001) A Review of the evidence base for regeneration policy and practice.

<sup>16</sup> Tunstall, R. and Coulter, A. (2006) Twenty-five years on twenty estates: turning the tide? Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

<sup>17</sup> HM Government (2009) New Opportunities: fair chances for the future. (Cm 7533).

<sup>18</sup> Cabinet Office (2006) Reaching out: an action plan on social exclusion.

<sup>19</sup> CLG/NRU (2006) National evaluation of the street Wardens Programme, Research Report 24.

<sup>20</sup> ODPM/NRU (2004) Neighbourhood wardens scheme evaluation Research Report 8.

<sup>21</sup> CLG (2008) Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders: final evaluation report: people, places, public services: making the connections.

<sup>22</sup> A Hastings 2009 Neighbourhood environmental services and neighbourhood 'effects': exploring the role of urban services in intensifying neighbourhood problems, Housing Studies 24, 503-524.

<sup>23</sup> CLG (2009) World class places: The Government's strategy for improving quality of place, Part 2.

<sup>24</sup> Barton, H., Grant, M. & Guise, R. (2003) Shaping neighbourhoods: a guide for health, sustainability and vitality, Spon Press.

- 2.6 Third, there has been considerable policy,<sup>25</sup> and academic,<sup>26</sup> interest in the idea that improving the quality of place, might impact on social capital and social cohesion. Research shows that people want to be able to influence local decisions that are important to them,<sup>27</sup> and that initiatives such as neighbourhood management schemes have the capacity to create more powerful community networks, to help residents work more fruitfully with service providers, and to instil pride in local neighbourhoods.<sup>28</sup>
- 2.7 Fourth, focussing activity within defined places increases the possibility of sustaining activity after regeneration schemes finish. For instance physical assets acquired as part of regeneration programmes can provide a base for community organisations and mainstream delivery agencies, and also secure longer-term rental income.<sup>29</sup>
- 2.8 Fifth, there has been considerable interest in the notion that place has a role in enhancing economic vitality.<sup>30</sup> For example, 'creating places that are attractive, prosperous, safe and sustainable with a good mix of facilities, services and opportunities, a strong sense of identity, ample green space, a lively public realm and good community life are central to achieving improved economic outcomes over the longer term'.<sup>31</sup> Improving places might hence have a direct role in achieving and sustaining economic activity within particular localities.
- 2.9 These rationales underpinning the improvement of deprived places have been reflected in policy. There has for example been considerable recent interest in the degree to which 'place-related' interventions might enhance, say, economic development (as in the 'Transforming places' agenda),<sup>32</sup> and a vision for local government driven by 'strong and prosperous communities'.<sup>33</sup> Across a range of policy arenas, there has been growing interest in the idea that the 'neighbourhood' represents an important locale within which to boost economic development, improve the delivery of services, and reinvigorate local democratic debate.

<sup>25</sup> ODPM/NRU (2004) Environmental Exclusion Review: Research Report 11.

<sup>26</sup> Forrest, F. & Kearns, A. (2001) Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood. *Urban Studies*, 38, 2125-2143; Meegan, R. & Mitchell, A. (2001) 'It's not community round here, it's neighbourhood' Neighbourhood change and cohesion in urban regeneration policies. *Urban Studies*, 38, 2167-2194; Middleton, A., Murie, A. & Groves, R. (2005) Social capital and neighbourhoods that work. *Urban Studies*, 42, 1711-1738.

<sup>27</sup> CLG (2008) Feeling able to influence decision making: understanding, barriers, facilitators and strategies for increasing empowerment.

<sup>28</sup> CLG (2007) Neighbourhood Management and Social Capital Research Report 35.

<sup>29</sup> CLG (2009) Empowering communities to influence local decision making: a systematic review of the evidence.

<sup>30</sup> CLG (2008) Why place matters and implications for the role of central, regional and local government: Economic paper 2; CLG (2009) Transforming place changing lives: taking forward the regeneration framework.

<sup>31</sup> CLG (2009) Transforming place changing lives: taking forward the regeneration framework, p.16.

<sup>32</sup> CLG (2008) Transforming places, changing lives: a framework for regeneration.

<sup>33</sup> CLG (2006) Strong and prosperous communities: The Local Government White Paper (Cm 6939-1).

- 2.10 Rationales supporting the improvement of places have also impacted on the wider environment within which NDC partnerships have implemented interventions across the Programme's three place-related outcomes. With regard to crime, a key theme is the extent to which a neighbourhood focus has increasingly been incorporated into the work of the police. Policy statements such as the Flanagan Review<sup>34</sup> and *Policing our communities together*<sup>35</sup> have stressed the role which neighbourhood policing can have on a wide range of outcome measures. The government has in turn committed to the rollout of neighbourhood policing across England, based on dedicated police teams working in neighbourhoods, an increased emphasis on community participation, and the use of spatially focused information through the National Intelligence Model to inform the targeting of resources and activities.
- 2.11 In relation to the community dimension, the government's objectives for community empowerment, have been set out in, amongst other policy documents, the local government white paper, *Strong and prosperous communities*,<sup>36</sup> *Governance of Britain*,<sup>37</sup> and *Communities in control: real people, real power*.<sup>38</sup> Proposals developed in these statements argue for a range of initiatives such as increasing opportunities for communities to take on the management and ownership of local assets and facilities such as under-used community centres or empty schools; encouraging local charters between communities and service providers which set out what local people can expect from their services; and the possibility of a new provision for local communities to apply for devolved or delegated budgets to fund local projects. Underpinning all of these proposals is the assumption that greater involvement of the local community is one route through which to improve the responsiveness and effectiveness of public services, extend civic and democratic participation, and contribute to the establishment of more cohesive neighbourhoods and sustainable communities.
- 2.12 Finally, in HPE national policy developments in this complex and evolving policy arena have included:
- the Decent Homes programme, introduced in 2001, which has helped improve over one million properties to bring them up to the government's 'decency' standard; given the high proportion of social housing tenants in NDC areas, especially in London, this programme is likely to have had a major impact on the condition of the dwelling stock in these communities

<sup>34</sup> Home Office (2008) The Review of Policing by Sir Ronnie Flanagan: Final Report. [http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/police-reform/Review\\_of\\_policing\\_final\\_report/flanagan-final-report?view=Binary](http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/police-reform/Review_of_policing_final_report/flanagan-final-report?view=Binary)  
Home Office (2009) Findings from the second year of the national Neighbourhood Policing Programme evaluation Research report 14.

<sup>35</sup> Home Office (2008) From the neighbourhood to the national: policing our communities together. [http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/police-reform/Policing\\_GP/](http://police.homeoffice.gov.uk/publications/police-reform/Policing_GP/)

<sup>36</sup> CLG (2006) Strong and prosperous communities: The Local Government White Paper.

<sup>37</sup> Ministry of Justice (2007) The Governance of Britain.

<sup>38</sup> CLG (2008) Communities in control: real people, real power.



- the six Housing Action Trusts<sup>39</sup> established in 1988 with the objective of improving the physical condition of housing stock whilst also reviving the economical, social and environmental situation of the target areas, thus prefiguring the integrated approach, as well as the emphasis on sustainable interventions, later embodied in the NDC Programme<sup>40</sup>
- the growing acknowledgement of the problem of 'low demand' housing, and the launch of Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder (HMRP) programme in 2003 which introduced a regional dimension into the relationship between housing policy and neighbourhoods; HMRPs seeks to develop the connectivity of weaker housing markets to areas of economic growth and to attract new residents into the areas undergoing transformation; this initiative is narrower than the NDC Programme in its policy reach, but broader in terms of its territorial coverage; nine NDC neighbourhoods are in HMRP areas and, while the different styles and priorities of the two Programmes created difficulties in the early stages,<sup>41</sup> there has been growing evidence of policy alignment and agency collaboration.

2.13 This evidence shows the degree to which national policy in relation to place has complemented the aims of the NDC Programme. As a result NDC partnerships have operated in an increasingly supportive policy context with regard to the implementation of most interventions designed to improve NDC areas. This is reflected in the employment of strategies, resources and interventions which NDC partnerships have used in attempt to steer the transformation of their localities.

## Spend and interventions

2.14 Across all NDC partnerships, there has been widespread acceptance that whether an early emphasis was placed on interventions designed to improve NDC areas or outcomes for local people, in the longer run there needed to be a simultaneous driving forward of policies designed to achieve both. NDC partnerships have consistently taken the view that the holistic renewal of their neighbourhoods requires interventions intended to improve both the 'place', but also the lives of local residents. But within that context, many NDC partnerships placed an early emphasis on ensuring immediate, physical and visible improvements to their areas. Certainly this emphasis on improving 'places' either through quick wins in the 39 areas, or as part of longer term renewal programmes, is reflected in spending patterns across the Programme.

<sup>39</sup> see [www.englishpartnerships.co.uk/hats.htm](http://www.englishpartnerships.co.uk/hats.htm)

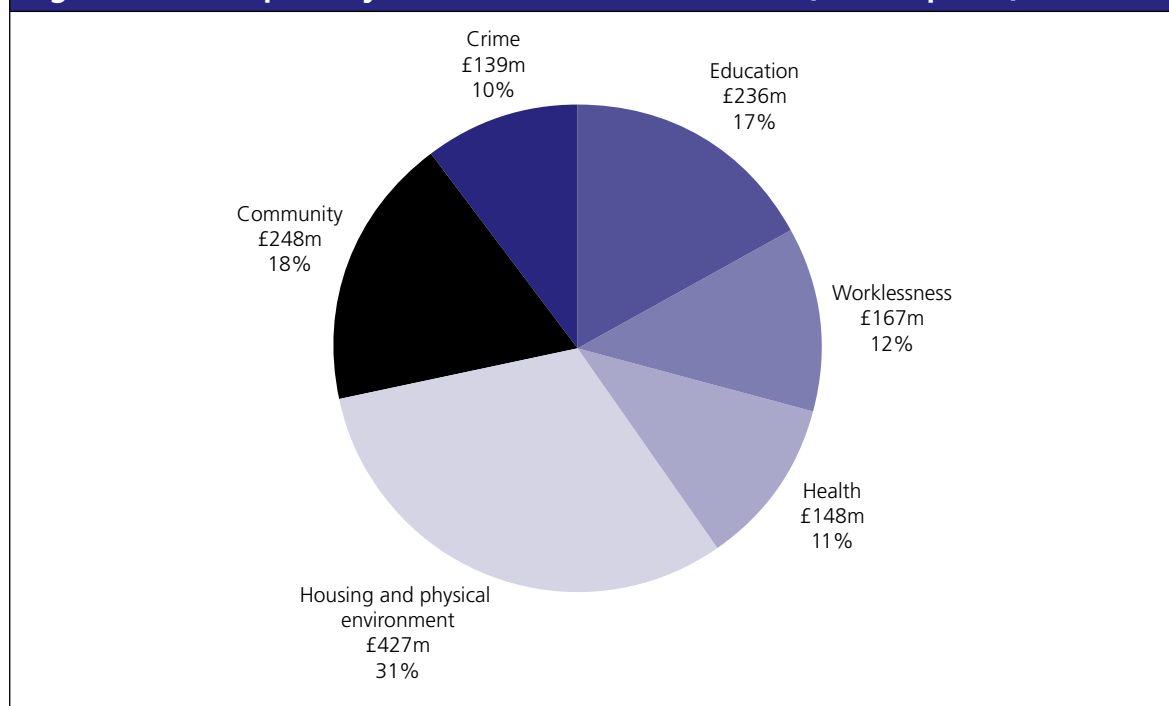
<sup>40</sup> DETR (2000) *Regeneration that lasts: A guide to good practice on social housing estates*: p.20.

<sup>41</sup> Cole, I. et al. (2003) *A review of NDC strategies for tackling low demand unpopular housing*.



2.15 Up to the end of March 2008, three-fifths of all non-management and administration spend was on interventions designed to improve NDC neighbourhoods: 31 per cent on HPE; 18 per cent on the community and 10 per cent on tackling crime (Figure 2.1). Across the three place-related outcomes as a whole, capital and revenue spend were fairly evenly split, with 52 per cent on the former and 48 per cent on the latter.

**Figure 2.1: NDC spend by outcome: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**

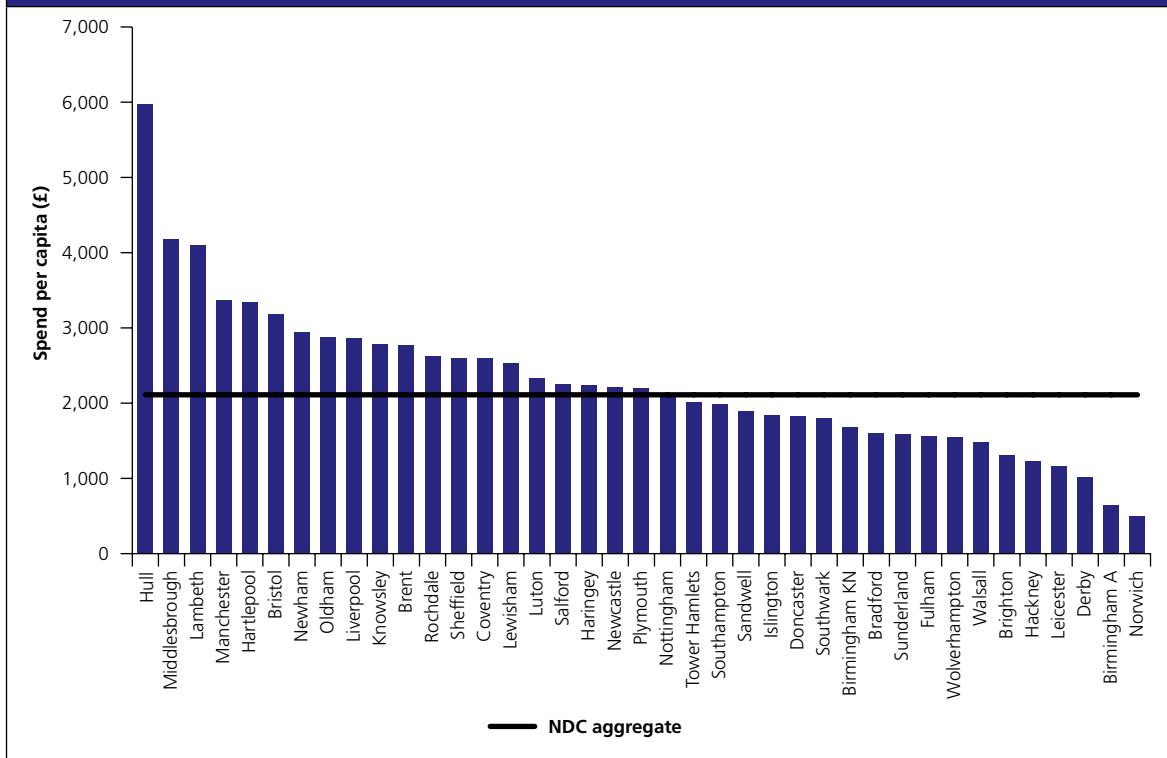


Source: CEA, System K

Note: Management and administration spend is excluded

2.16 The amount spent by individual NDC partnerships on place-related outcomes (Figures 2.2 and 2.3) has varied considerably because of the impact of a range of factors including:

- local needs and priorities
- the activities and interventions of other agencies
- the effectiveness of local partnerships
- and, more recently, the impact of the credit crunch.

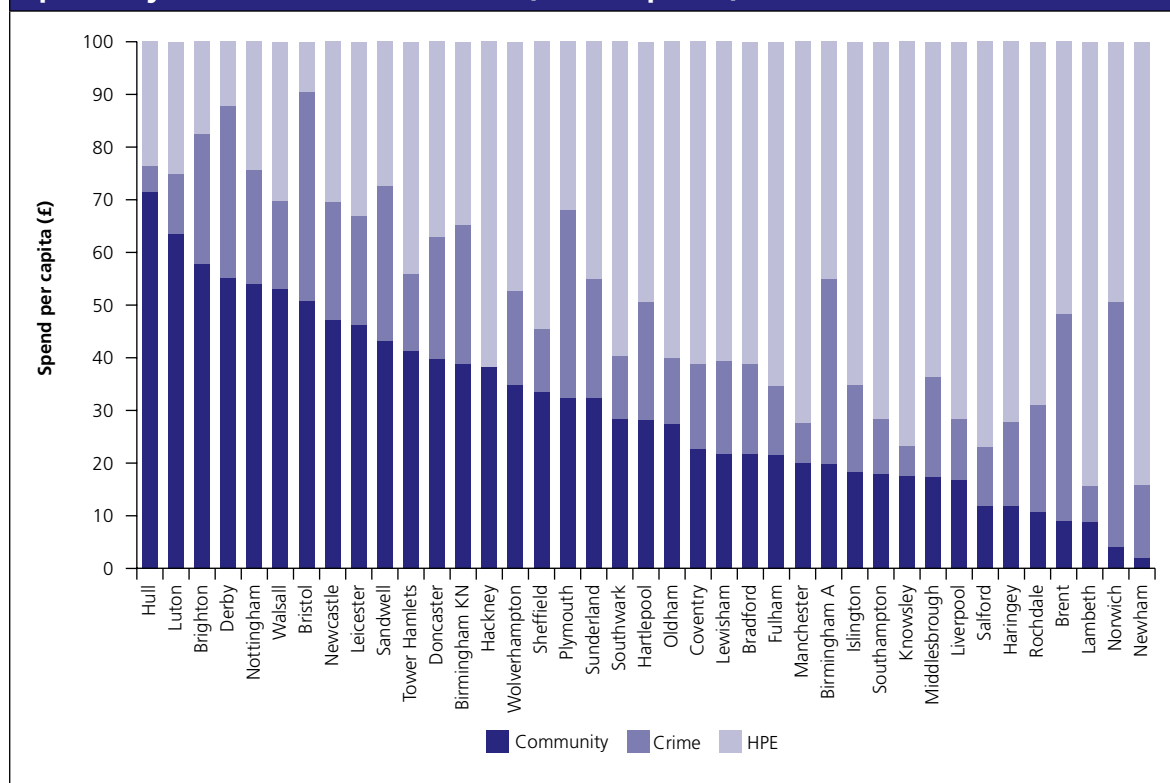
**Figure 2.2: Place spend per capita, by NDC: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**

Source: CEA, System K

2.17 Per capita spend across all place-related outcomes was highest in Hull and lowest in Norwich (Figure 2.2). The proportion of spend allocated to improving housing and the physical environment varied from over 80 per cent in Newham to just over 20 per cent in Hull (Figure 2.3). However it should be noted that this data derives from System K<sup>42</sup> and is thus a reflection of the ways in which NDC partnerships have categorised their spend, not necessarily the intended outcomes of their interventions. As such this data needs to be treated with caution.

<sup>42</sup> System K – Each NDC partnership was responsible for recording their expenditure on a central programme management system (devised by Hanlon Software Solutions) called System K. Expenditure was recorded by project type, output area, financial year and funding source.

**Figure 2.3: Community, crime and HPE spend, as a proportion of total place spend, by NDC: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**



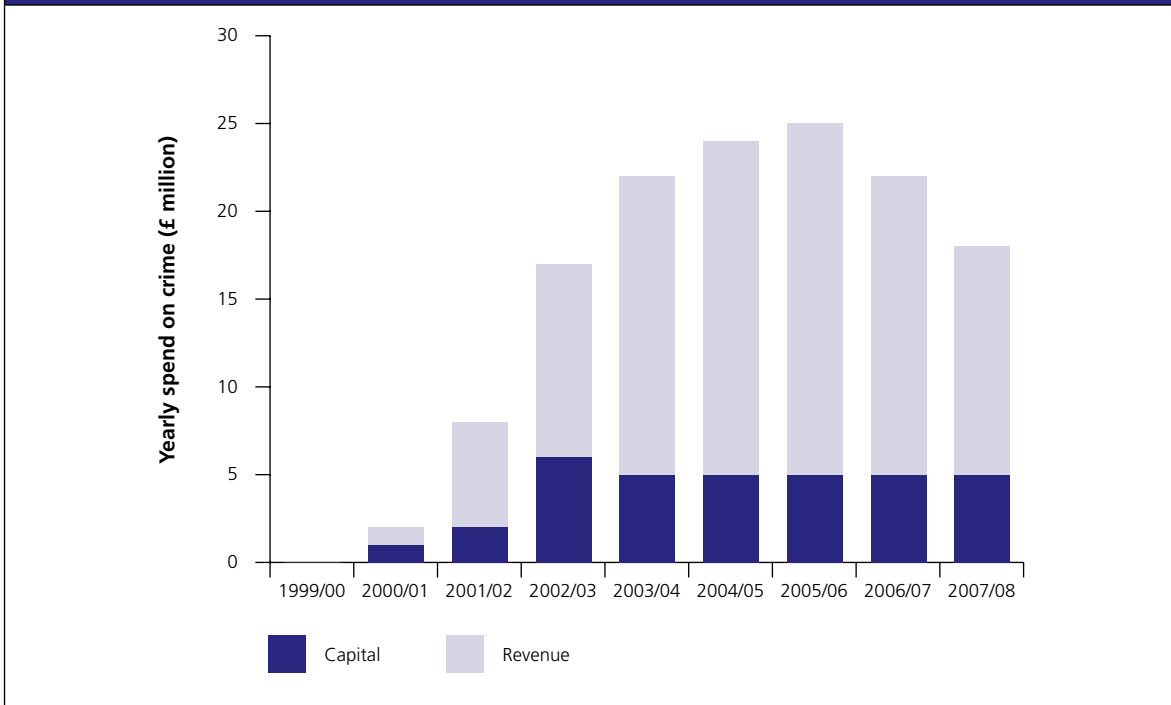
Source: CEA, System K

2.18 The remainder of this section looks at spend and interventions in the three place-related themes: crime and community safety; community; and HPE.

### (i) Crime and community safety

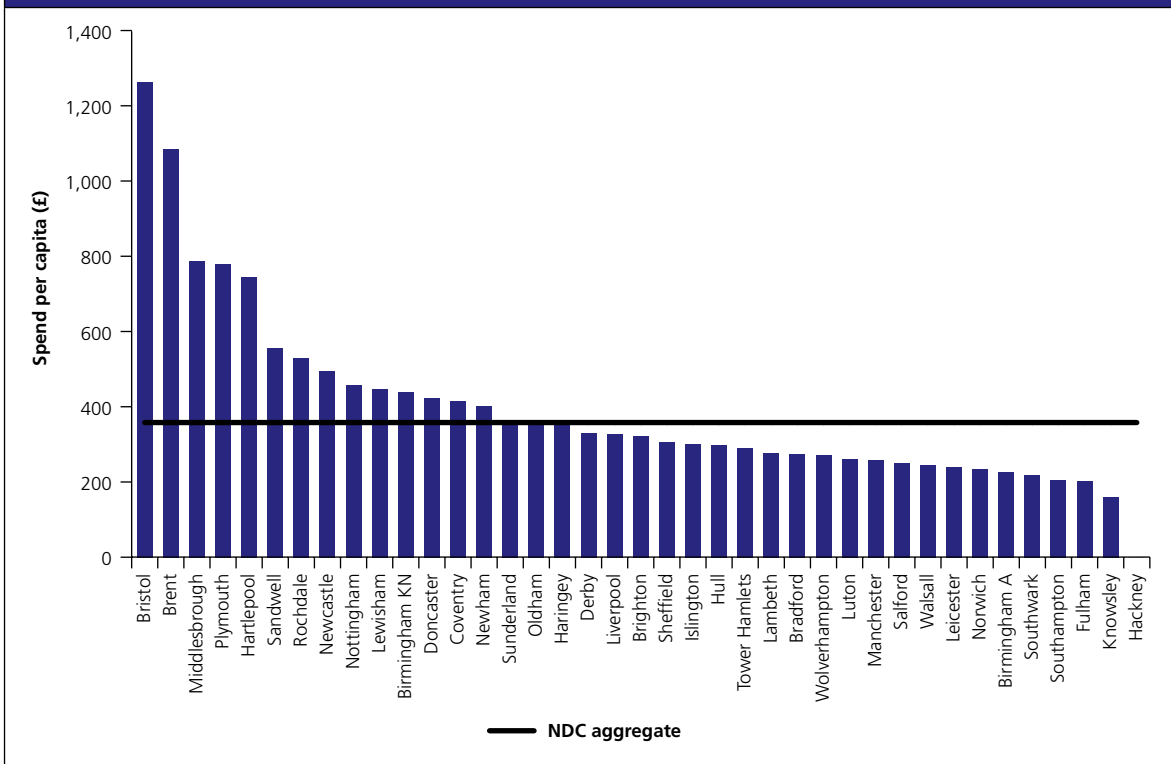
2.19 NDC partnerships' spend on crime amounted to £139m, with a further £65m levered in from other sources, largely the public sector. The biggest areas of crime spend, as identified by NDC partnerships, related to physical crime prevention and safety measures (£25m), Neighbourhood Wardens (£20m) and other neighbourhood policing (£21m). There was a rapid increase from £2m in 2000-01 to a peak of £26m in 2005-06 before starting to decline (Figure 2.4). Revenue spend on crime has been consistently higher than capital spend, accounting for between 67 and 78 per cent of the total. Capital expenditure has remained at around £5m per year since 2002-03.

**Figure 2.4: NDC crime spend: capital and revenue: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**



Source: CEA, System K

**Figure 2.5: Crime spend per capita, by NDC: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**



Source: CEA, System K

- 2.20 Per capita spend on crime and community safety initiatives was highest in Bristol and lowest in Knowsley. Hackney did not allocate any of its projects to the crime and community safety theme (Figure 2.5). However, this does not mean that it did not implement initiatives designed to improve crime and community safety outcomes. It may simply be that spend on these initiatives was recorded under a different outcome, perhaps reflecting the multiple objectives assumed of many NDC interventions.
- 2.21 Evidence from across the Programme can be used to identify the kinds of outputs or interventions NDC partnerships have helped introduce across all 39 areas as a whole. Volume 6 of these final reports identifies the gross and net outputs associated with spend across the NDC Programme.<sup>43</sup> Those reported on in this volume are net additional outputs,<sup>44</sup> estimated in line with Green Book<sup>45</sup> guidelines. NDC partnerships have supported nearly 30 additional police and over 100 new neighbourhood wardens. There have been tens of thousands of additional instances of support to victims of crime and hundreds of thousands of additional instances of support delivered through youth inclusion/diversionary projects (Table 2.1).

**Table 2.1: Crime Project outputs for the NDC Programme and estimates of net additional outputs 1999-2000 to 2007-08**

	Total net additional outputs	
	Net additional outputs	Net additional outputs per 1000 population
<b>Crime outputs</b>		
No. additional police	29	0.1
No. additional wardens	109	0.3
No. of instances of support to victims of crime	42,394	113.0
No. of instances of support to young people via youth inclusion/diversionary projects	302,508	806.3
No. homes or businesses with improved security	18,822	50.2

Source: Cambridge Economic Associates analysis of validated System K data for five case studies, grossed up to expenditure for the 39 NDC partnerships and translated to net additional outputs

<sup>43</sup> CLG (2010) The New Deal for Communities Programme: Assessing Impact and VFM. NDC evaluation final report volume 6.

<sup>44</sup> Total (or gross) outputs are estimated for the Programme as a whole using expenditure and output data from five case studies. Net outputs are those outputs arising from the NDC Programme which are additional to what might have been expected to happen anyway either because project activity would have happened anyway, at the same time or later, without NDC funding, or because beneficiaries were able to secure the same support elsewhere, for example obtaining employment advice from an existing agency located outside the NDC boundaries. NDC-funded activity may also have displaced activity from other regeneration projects. Moreover, some beneficiaries may have come from outside the NDC areas ('leakage'). Therefore adjustments are made to gross outputs in order to identify net additional outputs which can feasibly be attributed to the NDC Programme. See Volume six, Appendix two for a full explanation of how additionality has been assessed.

<sup>45</sup> HM Treasury – The Green Book: Appraisal and Evaluation in Central Government  
[www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/green\\_book\\_complete.pdf](http://www.hm-treasury.gov.uk/d/green_book_complete.pdf)

- 2.22 A number of common themes cut across many programmes implemented by NDC partnerships to address crime and community safety issues. A reduction in recorded crime has been seen as fundamental to the successful delivery of safer neighbourhoods. Projects have focused on tackling crime against property and vehicles and also on introducing improvements to the physical environment and public space. The latter aim not only to deliver a more pleasant public realm to NDC residents, but are also intended to 'design out' and discourage crime and anti-social behaviour (ASB) through improving community facilities, undertaking hard and soft landscaping, and creating 'boundary markers'.
- 2.23 Environmental improvements provide tangible evidence of partnership activity to local residents and illustrate synergies that can be exploited within a holistic programme. They can also address what one NDC employee referred to as the 'broken window' syndrome: the view that if a window is seen to be broken, people are more likely to think that a building is uncared for and more likely to vandalise it. A 'cared for' environment is seen as more likely to discourage ASB and criminal activity. To assist in this process many local NDC programmes have adopted neighbourhood management approaches to improve the visual appearance of the area, as well as investing in physical improvements to parks, streetscapes and community buildings. Other crime-related environmental projects involve improving security to homes and businesses, and the installation of street lighting and CCTV cameras. Local evidence from NDC case study areas suggests that improved security to properties has an influence on reductions in burglary, and in particular repeat burglary.
- 2.24 Interventions designed to reduce levels of crime have often been based on an informed understanding of the causes, problems and potential solutions in relation to local crime and disorder issues. An early review of crime levels in the Knowsley NDC area was critical of the way that intelligence was then used: 'there is a clear need for a dedicated development officer to bring together the many disparate strings and sources of intelligence to benefit the NDC area as a whole'.<sup>46</sup> This review, reinforced by evaluations of previous initiatives, encouraged a shift from 'quick-win' project-based delivery to a strategic, 'intelligence-led', multi-agency approach. Interventions drew systematically on a range of data sources: resident concerns and neighbourhood intelligence; problem-solving analyses introduced by police; police National Intelligence Model to quantify issues and assess risks; and police crime data.

<sup>46</sup> Knowsley NDC Review of Crime Levels 2002.

## Newham

### *Memorial Park security package*

The Memorial Park Recreation Ground had a history of high levels of vandalism, ASB and crime which made it a no-go area for local residents. It was one of two main crime hotspots identified by a crime analysis and tracking system implemented by Newham NDC Partnership. This project aimed to get local people back into the park by making it safer and creating a sense of ownership. The major component of the package was a sophisticated CCTV system linked to the London Borough of Newham's Central Control System. The security package was part of a wider programme of changes in the park including the building of a new resource centre, improved play areas and environmental improvements. These initiatives have led to greatly increased use of the park and regular usage of the resource centre by local residents.

- 2.25 Interventions designed to reduce fear of crime have focused primarily on the implementation of reassurance measures, and in particular additional resources through which to increase security presence via an enhanced police service and neighbourhood warden schemes. NDC partnerships have supplemented mainstream police budgets in order to fund more police and police community support officers, and to provide a flexible police resource through which to respond to trouble 'hotspots'.

## Newcastle

### *Neighbourhood wardens*

Twelve neighbourhood wardens patrol the NDC area providing reassurance to residents and ensuring problems are quickly resolved. Wardens provide a visible street presence, attend resident meetings and collect intelligence which is then referred to local agencies for action. They work closely with the local police force and with other agencies including the housing management agency, fire service and local authority.

The 2004 household survey in Newcastle included questions about the neighbourhood wardens' project. 62 per cent of residents in the Newcastle NDC area had heard of the wardens. Of these, 23 per cent felt that they had benefited from them and 48 per cent felt that the wardens had improved the quality of life in the area a great deal or a fair amount.

The wardens are funded through the Newcastle NDC Partnership, European Regional Development Funds and Newcastle City Council. They are employed by the City Council and based in the Council's Neighbourhood Services Department.

- 2.26 Problems around youth offending and ASB have also been identified as key to delivering safer neighbourhoods. As a result many local NDC programmes have supported diversionary activities for young people at risk of offending. The Youth Inclusion Programme supported by Newcastle NDC Partnership offers activities and individual and peer group support to young people around a range of issues including crime, drugs and sexual health. And in Lambeth the Junior Youth Inclusion programme targets eight to 12 year olds seen to be at high risk of offending by offering one to one support, mentoring, after school provision, group programmes and parenting support. Partnership working has been a key feature of these projects in that successful schemes often involve the active participation of Youth Offending Teams, social services, education welfare support, schools, police and local residents.
- 2.27 NDC partnerships have also instigated projects to support the victims of crimes. Domestic violence projects in the Walsall and Knowsley NDC areas aim to enhance existing services to families experiencing violence. The Walsall project is implemented through a domestic violence forum which brings together a range of partners including the police, social services, health authorities, and local schools.
- 2.28 A key feature in these interventions has been an ability to target resources to address local priorities. In Lambeth, for instance, the Combating Drugs and Prostitution Project is designed to reduce levels of prostitution and the supply and use of drugs in the NDC area through improved security measures and enforcement action in prostitution and kerb crawling 'hotspots'. The project has been delivered by a multi-agency partnership involving the NDC Partnership, the police, Clapham Park Homes and a local charity supporting sex workers.
- 2.29 NDC partnerships have recognised the importance of linkages between community safety and other outcome areas. In the Bradford NDC area, crime reduction schemes have been supported by efforts to improve educational attainment and make young people feel more included in the neighbourhood renewal process through, for example enhanced IT in schools, after school clubs, and a youth forum. A number of NDC partnerships also point to potentially positive impacts flowing from changes to the environment. In Newcastle increasing capital spend in the second half of the programme was designed to inject momentum and confidence in the area and its future: *"doors, windows, fences have been done. Blocks are being re-built. We're starting to say to people 'come and live here'."*



## Bradford

### ***Trident Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme (TISSP)***

TISSP is a partnership project delivered by the YMCA and the Youth Offending Team and funded by the NDC Partnership. It provides support to young people (aged 13 to 18 years) who have committed offences ranging from ASB to burglary. The TISSP provides tailored support including counselling, family support, informal work with peer groups, contact with schools and education. It operates on a more flexible basis than its Home Office counterpart (ISSP). Individuals need not have committed as many or as severe offences and resources are greater for TISSP. The original impetus for the TISSP *was to address young offending and in particular to target the top 16 prolific offenders in the area*. Local data suggests that prior to the project (in 2003) there were 245 offences committed by young people. One year later this was 175. Respondents also suggest that there is a reduction in the severity of repeat crimes committed by offenders attending TISSP.

- 2.30 In undertaking case-study work in a number of NDC areas, the national evaluation team has sought out the views of local practitioners in relation to what appears to work with regard to crime and community safety. A strong emphasis tends to be placed on carrying out holistic approaches to crime and community safety. Evidence from NDC case study areas indicates the importance of taking a strategic approach based around core themes (such as policing and deterrence, support to victims and perpetrators, and education and diversion) whilst also adopting a flexible, problem solving approach. Multi-agency partnerships that reach beyond the main criminal justice agencies (to include for example, social landlords, neighbourhood managers, and those responsible for housing maintenance) can provide valuable intelligence as well as mechanisms for crime prevention and project implementation. It is important too to use a range of evidence and data in planning and delivering interventions. In particular, developing an intelligence base that combines rigorous analysis with informal intelligence from residents can prove to be invaluable. Communication via newsletters and consultation through community forums is critical in ensuring the vitality of crime and community safety programmes, raising the profile of interventions, and providing a means for residents to provide agencies with intelligence.
- 2.31 Local observers also point to the way in which NDC resources have 'enhanced' mainstream services by providing additional services to increase flexibility in delivery. There is evidence, for example, that this ability to use additional NDC resources flexibly has been successful in reducing crime by facilitating a co-ordinated and immediate response to problems arising from crime 'hotspots'.

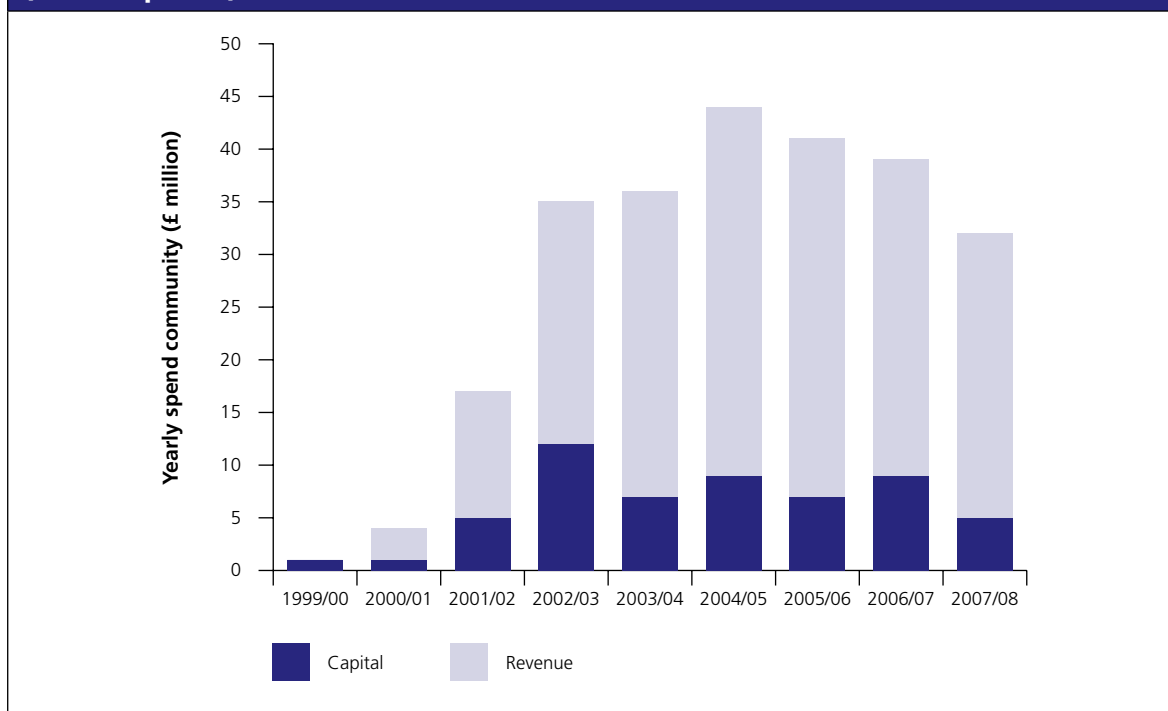
2.32 The national evaluation can also provide positive evidence in relation to one specific type of 'crime and environment' project: neighbourhood wardens. For the 2004 household survey the national evaluation team liaised with all 39 partnerships to draw up a shortlist of a maximum of four named local projects. Individual-level responses were obtained in relation to some 145 named projects falling into eight broad categories: crime, employment, community, and so on. This allowed for an analysis of the degree to which those who said they benefited from, used, or attended one or more of these projects saw greater positive outcomes between 2002 and 2004 than did those who had not so benefited. The results in many ways are very positive.<sup>47</sup> So for example beneficiaries of a crime project show significantly greater improvement in their lawlessness and dereliction and fear of crime scores than did those not involved in such a project. But what is of particular interest here is that because there were sufficient numbers of such schemes, it was also possible to make a separate analysis of one specific project. And those who said they had benefited from a neighbourhood wardens project showed significantly greater improvement in their fear of crime and lawlessness and dereliction outcome scores, than was true for those who had not so benefited. Evidence from the national evaluation points to the effectiveness of neighbourhood wardens projects in instilling, and sustaining, positive changes to these neighbourhoods.

## Community

2.33 NDC partnerships spent a total of £248m on community related interventions between 1999-00 and 2007-08. A further £47m came from other public, private and voluntary sources. Of all NDC partnership expenditure reported as relating to the community outcomes, £46m was spent on community facilities, £32m on general capacity building and £27m on providing community development workers. Annual NDC community spend increased from £0.7m in 1999-00 to peak at £44m in 2004-05. Other than in the first year of the Programme, revenue spend on the community has been consistently much higher than capital spend, accounting for as much as 84 per cent in 2007-08 (Figure 2.6).

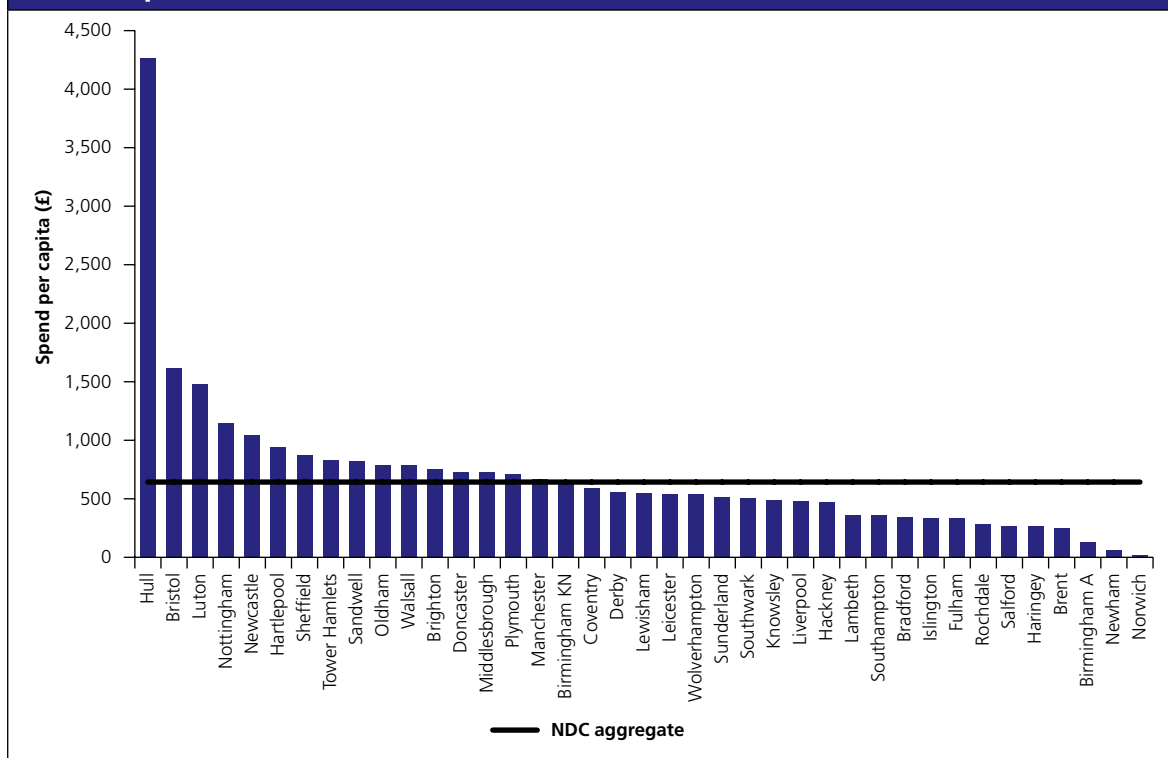
<sup>47</sup> CLG (2009) Four years of change? Understanding the experiences of the 2002-2006 New Deal for Communities Panel (Chapter 8).

**Figure 2.6: NDC community spend: capital and revenue: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**



Source: CEA, System K

**Figure 2.7: Community spend per capita, by NDC: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**



Source: CEA, System K

- 2.34 Per capita spend in the community theme was highest in the Hull NDC Partnership and lowest in the Norwich NDC Partnership (Figure 2.7). Hull also spent the highest proportion of place-related spend on community interventions.
- 2.35 Net outputs<sup>48</sup> arising from activity across all 39 NDC areas include 320 new/improved community facilities such as community centres, local meeting space and youth facilities. More than 80,000 people have used these new and improved facilities over the course of the NDC Programme. In addition more than 2,500 small grants have been awarded to individuals and community groups.

**Table 2.2: Community Project outputs for the NDC Programme and estimates of net additional outputs, 1999-2000 to 2007-08**

	Total net additional outputs	
	Net additional outputs	Net additional outputs per 1000 population
<b>Community outputs</b>		
No. people in voluntary work	18,535	49.4
No. people using new or improved community facilities	84,069	224.1
No. community/voluntary groups supported	9,843	26.2
No. community chest type grants awarded	2,531	6.7
No. new or improved community facilities	320	0.9

Source: Cambridge Economic Associates analysis of validated System K data for five case studies, grossed up to expenditure for the 39 NDC partnerships and translated to net additional outputs

- 2.36 Locating the community 'at the heart of the Programme' is a crucial component to the NDC narrative: it is one of its defining features, and as such is addressed separately in Volume 2.<sup>49</sup> No purpose is served in repeating that work in any detail. It will suffice here simply to comment that partnerships have adopted a wide range of initiatives designed to engage with communities and to enhance capacity including:

- community representation: in most NDC areas local residents make up a majority on partnership boards overseeing NDC activity: in 2008 community representation amounted to at least 50 per cent in 31 NDC boards<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> See footnotes 43 to 45.

<sup>49</sup> CLG (2010) Involving Local People in Regeneration: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme.

<sup>50</sup> CLG (2009) The 2008 Partnership Survey: evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme. [www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/partnershipsurvey2008](http://www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/partnershipsurvey2008)

- community involvement in outcome sub-committees, and appraisal panels
- engaging the wider community through forums and open meetings
- a comprehensive range of communications media to keep local people informed about plans and activities<sup>51</sup>
- dedicated community engagement, or involvement, teams
- training for community and agency representatives and sometimes the wider community
- community based small grants and loan schemes.

## Knowsley

### *Resident involvement in committee structures*

Resident board Directors are involved in all of the NDC Partnerships' committees:

- the Approvals Committee (which approves project bids up to £250,000) involves 11 of the 12 resident board Directors, a strategic partner Director (from the voluntary and community sector), and a council Director; a resident board Director and the strategic partner Director jointly chair the Committee
- the Finance Committee is chaired by a strategic partner Director (from the voluntary and community sector) and also has a council Director and five resident board Directors as members
- the Human Resources Committee is chaired by the NDC Chair (a strategic partner Director from the faith communities and a local resident) and is made up solely of five resident board Directors.

## Newcastle

### *Feasibility and Development Fund*

The Feasibility and Development Fund was established as a means of testing project ideas and securing engagement from the community and local agencies. It has been used to fund feasibility studies and community consultation schemes in order to establish the viability of proposed projects. Funds have also supported the costs of project officers to give hands-on advice to applicants and help to develop projects at appraisal stage. Costs were recharged to projects which were successful, thus replenishing the block fund for further use.

<sup>51</sup> CLG (2008) Communications: some lessons from the NDC experience.  
[http://extra.shu.ac.uk/ndc/downloads/general/communications\\_some\\_lessons\\_NDC\\_programme.pdf](http://extra.shu.ac.uk/ndc/downloads/general/communications_some_lessons_NDC_programme.pdf)

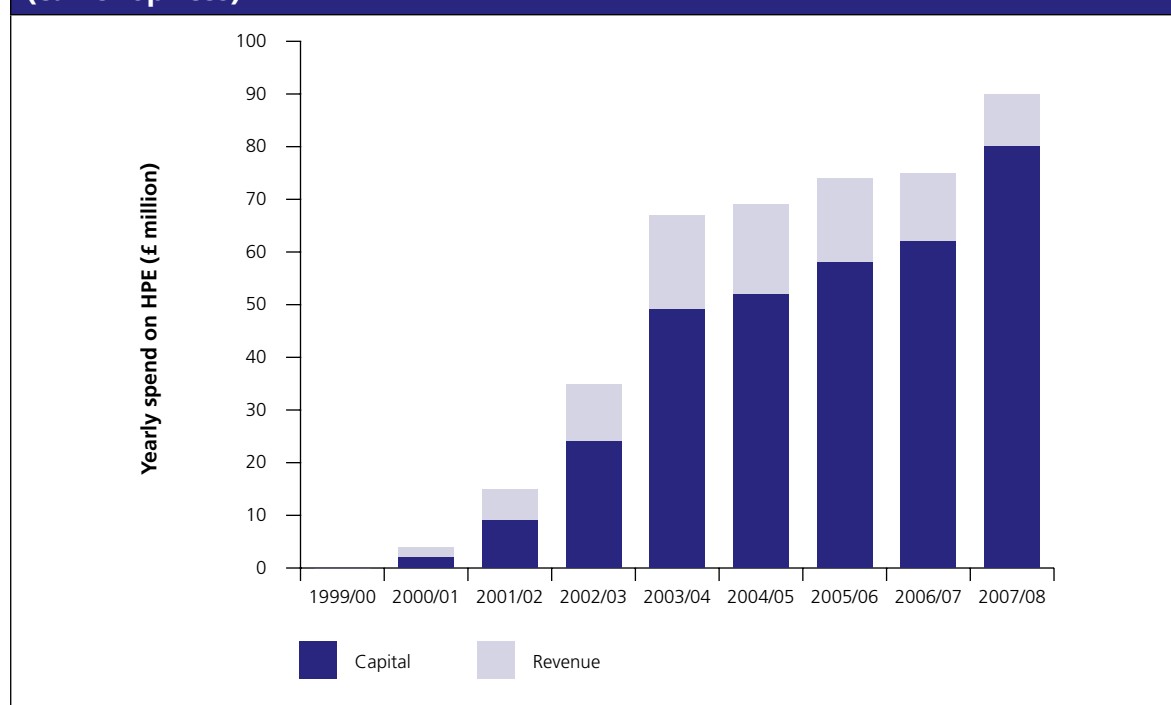
2.37 Local observers contacted during case-study work in a number of NDC areas point to a number of key messages with regard to what works in relation to the community dimension including:

- being realistic about the scale of community engagement objectives
- being clear and consistent about expectations at the outset including distinguishing between community development, capacity building and community engagement
- having a range of engagement structures allowing individuals to engage at the levels and speed with which they feel most comfortable; appropriate engagement structures for young people might for example include youth forums
- engagement needs to be resourced not just in relation to the travel, subsistence, equipment and child-care expenses incurred by volunteers, but also in the provision of supportive training and development programmes
- providing support for community-chest funding initiatives for capacity building run by local volunteers, especially where existing community groups are stretched financially and there is limited organised voluntary sector activity
- funding should go hand in hand with support to develop sustainability skills: groups need to develop capacity to recruit and organise residents, run groups, bid for funding and, in time, deliver projects
- developing community assets as part of succession strategies, whilst at the same time being careful to ensure that community groups have realistic expectations in relation to the long-term management and financial sustainability of these assets
- an 'on the ground' presence through door knocking and workshops has been effective in liaising with 'hard to reach' groups; an approach which targets small geographical areas can help capture the contrasting needs of different communities, cultures and ethnicities
- schools are a good means of engaging the wider community: *"if you can engage children you can engage their parents and wider family"*
- having dedicated community engagement teams and a community engagement 'champion', at senior management or board level can help to maintain the profile of community engagement, whilst at the same time managing expectations in relation to what can be achieved
- high profile community events can boost community morale, and provide opportunities for engaging with large numbers of people
- communicating with residents through a variety of media: newsletters, resident group meetings, resident board members, theme groups and one-to-one communications.

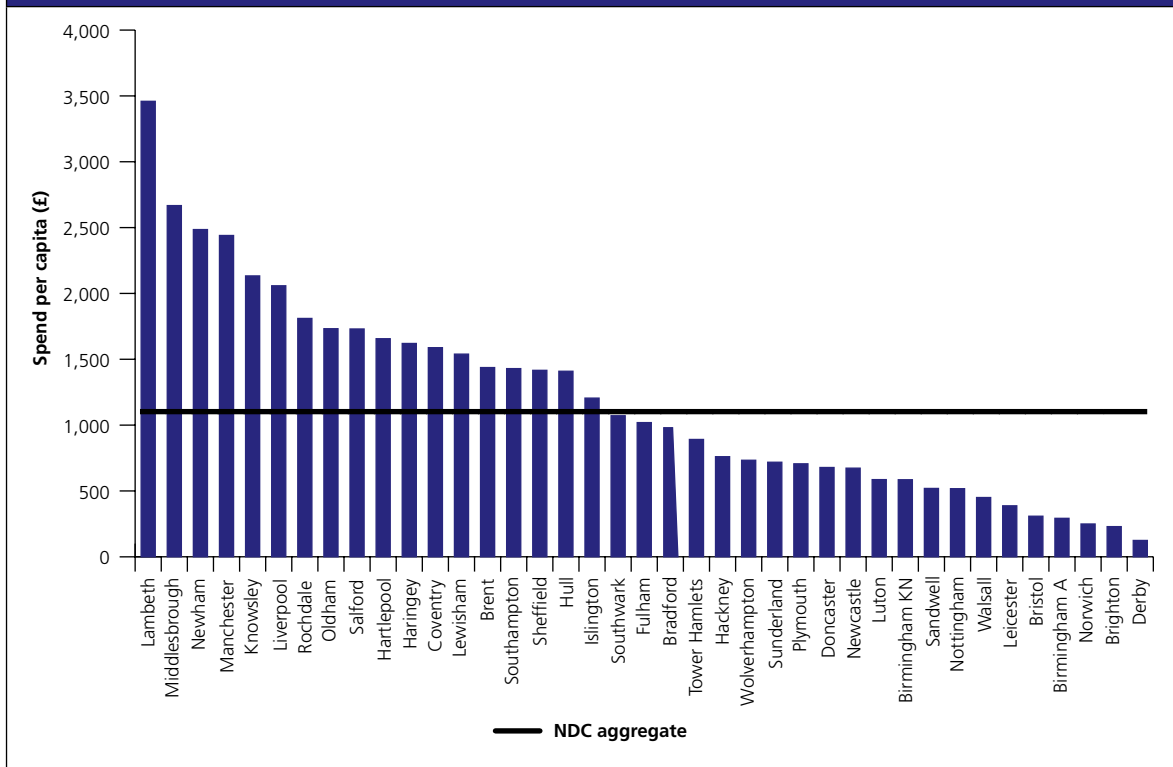
## Housing and the physical environment

2.38 Of all six outcomes, HPE has attracted by far the most Programme-wide NDC expenditure: more than crime and community combined. By 2007-08, £427m of NDC funds had been spent on HPE, together with nearly £300m from other sources. The largest types of HPE spend, as classified by NDC partnerships, were in the broad area of land or asset acquisitions, demolitions and stock transfers (£100m), physical improvements to the environment (£88m), and building or improving homes (£87m). Annual NDC partnerships' spend on HPE increased through time, with over £90m spent in 2007-08 alone. As would be expected bearing in mind the large-scale nature of many HPE projects, capital spend has been higher than revenue spend, making up 89 per cent of all HPE spend in 2007-08 (Figure 2.8).

**Figure 2.8: NDC HPE spend: capital and revenue: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**



Source: CEA, System K

**Figure 2.9: HPE spend per capita, by NDC: 1999-00 to 2007-08 (current prices)**

Source: CEA, System K

2.39 Per capita spend within the HPE theme was highest in Lambeth and lowest in Derby. Improvements to the environment and local housing stock have formed a major part of the emphasis of the programme in Lambeth (Figure 2.9). The relatively low spend in Derby is perhaps a reflection of the fact that 91 per cent of residents in the Derby NDC area were satisfied with their accommodation at the outset of the Programme (para 1.9).

2.40 Across the Programme, net additional outputs<sup>52</sup> from NDC partnership activity include over 13,000 new or improved homes, 65 buildings improved and brought back into use and 12 traffic calming projects (Table 2.3).

<sup>52</sup> See footnotes 43 to 45.



**Table 2.3: HPE Project outputs for the NDC Programme and estimates of net additional outputs, 1999-2000 to 2007-08**

	Total net additional outputs	
	Net additional outputs	Net additional outputs per 1000 population
<b>Housing and the physical environment outputs</b>		
No. homes improved or built	13,012	34.7
No. traffic calming schemes	12	0.03
No. buildings improved & brought back into use	65	0.2

Source: Cambridge Economic Associates analysis of validated System K data for five case studies, grossed up to expenditure for the 39 NDC partnerships and translated to net additional outputs

2.41 Approaches adopted by NDC partnerships to improve HPE reflect contrasting challenges and priorities. However, common themes include:

- supporting the modernisation of social housing, often providing benefits additional to those supported through the local Decent Homes programme; NDC partnerships have also sought to complement improvements to the interior of properties by funding improvements to the exterior, such as gardens and fencing, as well as increasing security through fitting window locks and burglar alarms
- improvements to the residential environment including initiatives designed to clean up public spaces, remodel residential environments in a bid to design out crime, and to introduce more green spaces
- addressing poor living conditions in the private sector and the fragility of the local housing market through block improvements, including facelifts to property exteriors, energy efficiency improvements, repairs to roofs and chimneys, and environmental improvements to gardens and alleyways; there have also been examples of initiatives to improve management practices and standards in the private rented sector, for example, Hartlepool NDC Partnership's private landlord licensing scheme
- providing extra support to neighbourhoods experiencing more extreme problems; interventions include appointing teams of community wardens and tenancy enforcement officers, and the creation of multi-agency teams to improve responsiveness to local issues.

## Rochdale

### *Intensive housing management*

This project was implemented in response to resident priorities and was intended to address levels of crime and fear of crime in the area, neighbour nuisance and anti-social behaviour, social exclusion, and a poor physical environment. Activities included an extra tenancy enforcement officer to tackle ASB, extra caretakers to ensure estates were clean and extra community management workers to provide additional support to tenants. A management and support structure was put in place to co-ordinate various elements of the project.

Effective delivery was dependent on the commitment of housing management staff to a new approach which included the provision of help and advice to residents. Improvements in multi-agency working emerged during the delivery of the project, opening up new areas of dialogue and leading to better understanding in relation to priorities, targets, constraints and practices. These new relationships resulted in the joint funding of other initiatives and schemes. Outcomes included an increased willingness among residents to report crime and ASB. A key lesson to emerge is that new and innovative projects require a degree of continuity in staffing in their early stages to ensure clarity of purpose and delivery.

- demolition has been pursued to achieve a number of objectives including the removal of unsafe properties and the release of land to allow the creation of more public space and the construction of new housing, often for sale; the scale of planned programmes of demolition varies from small scale initiatives removing a particular block of flats or row of houses, through to large scale demolition involving hundreds of properties designed to help remodel extensive parts of NDC areas.

## Hartlepool

### *Area remodelling project*

This project sought to deliver a Community Housing Plan (CHP) for the area which had been formulated over a period of two years through an intensive process of consultation with local residents. The overarching aims of the Plan were to stabilise the local housing market, and to improve the residential environment and conditions in the private rented sector. The CHP set out plans for the acquisition and demolition of 478 residential properties; the construction of 172 new homes; the creation of two community parks and a new play area; support for residents affected by demolition via a 'Home Swap' scheme and relocation grants; the improvement of 792 existing homes; the improvement of business premises; and improvements to the streetscape through landscaping and environmental works.

The project engaged 1,430 residents in a masterplanning exercise, which withstood a public enquiry. The intensive consultation process has paid dividends in delivering a high level of community support for the project which has been sustained despite numerous delays. Independent scrutiny of the plan through the Area Assessment process also served to enhance its resilience and deliverability by ensuring alignment with the wider strategic planning context, and achieving endorsement by all key partners.

Delivery was delayed by factors such as the complexities inherent to the Compulsory Purchase Order process. Yet, around 100 new homes of mixed tenure have been constructed and planning permission has been secured for more. Two new community parks and one new play area have also been created. Residents facing displacement as a result of the project have been supported by the 'Home Swap' initiative and relocation grants. The project has also served to improve commercial premises and upgrade the appearance of a key artery through the area.

2.42 Observers in case-study NDC areas point to a number of key messages in relation to what works with regard to HPE:

- the absolute need for partnership working: local NDC programmes lack the resources, capacity or expertise to act alone; failure to secure the support and cooperation of key housing and planning agencies can block progress on housing priorities and put at risk the wider objectives of regeneration programmes
- balancing 'bottom-up' priorities and 'top down' concerns: a major challenge when delivering housing renewal is managing the tensions that can emerge between the views and opinions of local residents about their immediate needs and requirements and the priorities of partner agencies concerned with longer term objectives; the challenge is to combine the aspirations of the community

with the realistic views of professionals about what can, and cannot, be delivered: starting with a 'blank sheet of paper' can set unrealistic expectations and result in a vision for the area which is not possible to deliver

- involving residents in the planning process: ensuring the 'buy-in' of local residents to the redevelopment process is critical for success; community support is vital to the planning process and necessary to achieve stock transfer, which can be a critical first stage in the redevelopment process
- maintaining community support: improvements to the physical environment can provide visible 'quick wins' which highlight the potential of regeneration schemes to deliver positive change; there is a challenge here in striking the right balance in relation to the amount, and detail, of information provided to residents; they require enough information to feel part of the process, but intensive involvement can ultimately serve to erode trust, particularly when plans are subsequently revised due to unforeseen circumstances such as housing market downturn
- a degree of flexibility is required so that programmes can be adapted to changing housing market circumstances; in practice however it should be accepted that this is difficult to achieve given long term funding and planning cycles
- skills in understanding, supporting and negotiating with private sector partners are essential: those implementing HPE programmes need to be familiar with the vocabulary of risk, return and contingency
- HPE measures may not necessarily stabilise areas with high residential turnover: residents will not necessarily stay in the area, although the prospects for this will be enhanced if a wider range of affordable housing options is developed in the area.

2.43 The next chapter looks at changes in place-related outcomes for NDC areas in order to assess the degree to which these neighbourhoods have become better places to live over the lifetime of the NDC Programme.

# Chapter 3

## Improving place-related outcomes: change across the NDC Programme

3.1 The previous chapter laid out the rationale and policy context for improving deprived places and provided an overview of the approaches, spend and interventions implemented by New Deal for Communities (NDC) partnerships. This chapter identifies changes in place-related outcomes using a set of core indicators.<sup>53</sup> Four main issues are addressed:

- what changes have occurred in place-related outcomes?
- what change has occurred across the 39 NDC areas?
- what has happened at different points in the NDC Programme?
- how does change in NDC areas compare with that occurring in benchmark geographies?

### What changes have occurred in place-related outcomes?

3.2 Figure 3.1 summarises Programme-wide change between 2002 and 2008 with regard to 18 core indicators,<sup>54</sup> six from each of the three outcomes relating to place: crime; community and housing and the physical environment (HPE). The overall picture is positive:

- NDC areas as a whole saw an improvement in 16 of these indicators between 2002 and 2008; for all 16 this change was statistically significant at the 0.05 level
- the biggest change was in the proportion of residents feeling that their local NDC programme had improved the area, which increased by 27 percentage points
- other notable improvements related to improved perceptions of lawlessness and dereliction,<sup>55</sup> feeling the area had got better, satisfaction with the area as a place to live, and fear of crime

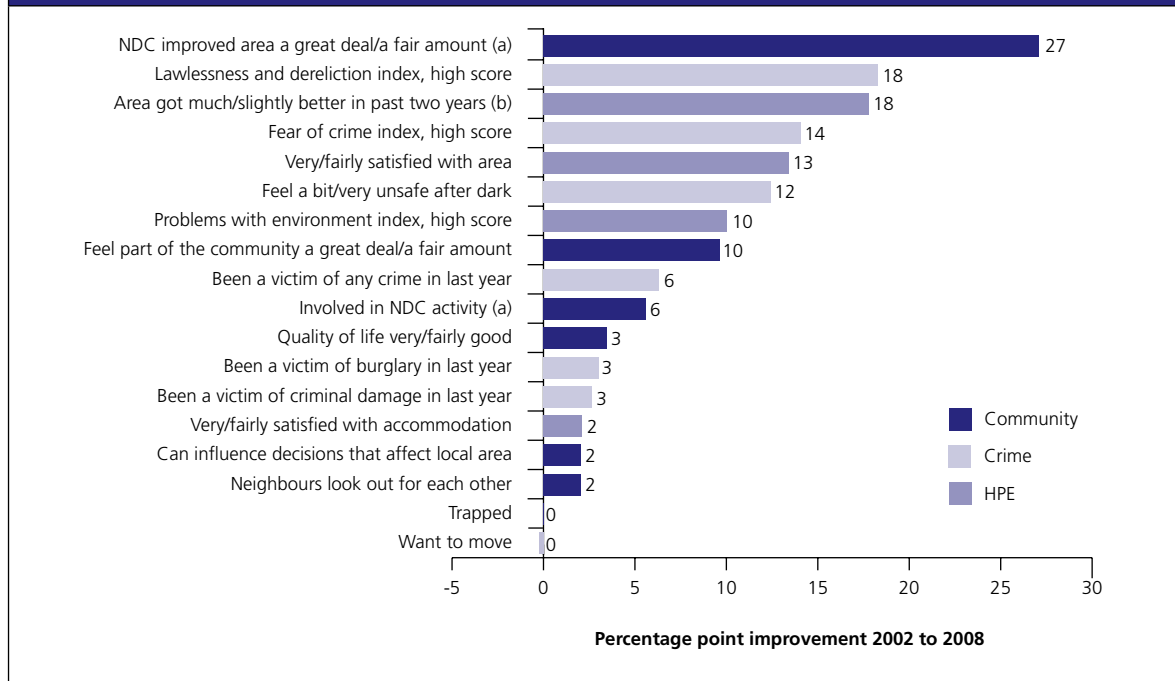
<sup>53</sup> CLG (forthcoming) The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Technical Report.

<sup>54</sup> Derived from household survey data.

<sup>55</sup> The evaluation uses a number of indices based on several specific questions of which the lawlessness and dereliction index is one. Further details are contained in CLG (2010) The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Technical Report.

- two indicators showed marginal deterioration (both less than 0.3 percentage points change) between 2002 and 2008: the proportion of residents wanting to move, and the proportion feeling trapped in their current accommodation
- none of these 18 indicators showed statistically significant change in a negative direction.

**Figure 3.1: 18 core place indicators: improvement 2002 to 2008**



Source: Ipsos MORI NDC Household Survey 2002-2008

Base: All; (a) All heard of local NDC; (b) All lived in area two or more years

All indicators have been standardised so that a positive score indicates improvement and a negative score indicates deterioration

## What change has occurred across the 39 NDC areas?

3.3 Programme-wide averages conceal patterns of change across the 39 NDC areas. Different NDC areas have faced different issues in relation to improving place and have implemented strategies and interventions relevant to the problems of their specific localities. Therefore, there is only limited value in directly comparing change across these areas. But to give a flavour of the variation in change between 2002 and 2008:

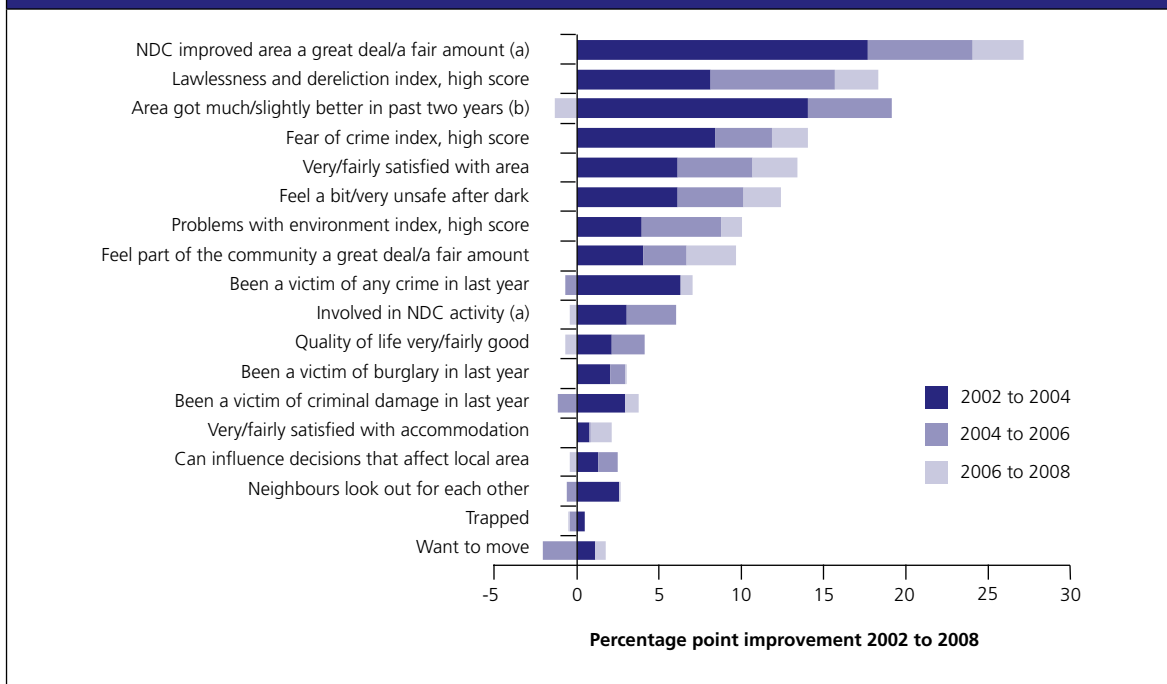
- the number of residents feeling a bit/very unsafe after dark fell by an average of 12.4 percentage points across the NDC Programme; in two areas the number of residents feeling a bit/very unsafe after dark increased (by 4.9 and 0.4 percentage points respectively), in the other 37 the reduction in the number of residents feeling a bit/very unsafe after dark ranged from 2.5 percentage points in Rochdale to 29 percentage points in Haringey
- in 38 NDC areas the number of residents satisfied with the area as a place to live increased (ranging from 2.8 percentage points in Sandwell to 25.2 percentage points in Salford); across the NDC Programme the average increase was 13.4 percentage points, but in seven areas the number increased by over 20 percentage points
- there has been a mixed picture in relation to residents feeling that their area is a place where neighbours look out for each other: in 24 areas the numbers increased (by between 0.3 and 10.1 percentage points), in the other 15 they declined (by between 0.2 and 6.1 percentage points); across the Programme there was an average improvement of just two percentage points.

## What has happened at different points in the NDC Programme?

3.4 Area-based data suggest that improvements in some place-related outcomes were concentrated in the earlier years of the NDC Programme (Figure 3.2), perhaps reflecting, as discussed above (2.14), the emphasis many partnerships placed on implementing early initiatives to improve the environment, public space and security of NDC neighbourhoods. Of the 16 indicators showing improvement between 2002 and 2008:

- 10 showed over half of this change in the first two years; 14 showed more change between 2002 and 2004 than between 2004 and 2006 or 2006 and 2008; only one indicator, satisfaction with accommodation, showed most improvement during the final two year period
- between 2002 and 2004, 15 place-related indicators showed statistically significant improvement, compared with 12 between 2004 and 2006, and eight between 2006 and 2008.

**Figure 3.2: 18 core place indicators: improvement 2002 to 2004; 2004 to 2006; 2006 to 2008**



Source: Ipsos MORI NDC Household Survey 2002-2008

Base: All; (a) All heard of local NDC; (b) All lived in area two or more years

All indicators have been standardised so that a positive score indicates improvement and a negative score indicates deterioration

## How does change in NDC areas compare with that occurring in benchmark geographies?

3.5 The data presented above suggest that there have been improvements to NDC areas between 2002 and 2008. However, it is also important to compare this change with that happening elsewhere. Figure 3.3 compares change in NDC areas with that occurring in the comparator areas:<sup>56</sup>

- 11 of these 16 indicators improved more in NDC areas than in comparators
- for six indicators this difference was statistically significant: experiences of criminal damage and crime in general, lawlessness and dereliction, satisfaction with the area, thinking the area had improved, and problems with the environment<sup>57</sup>

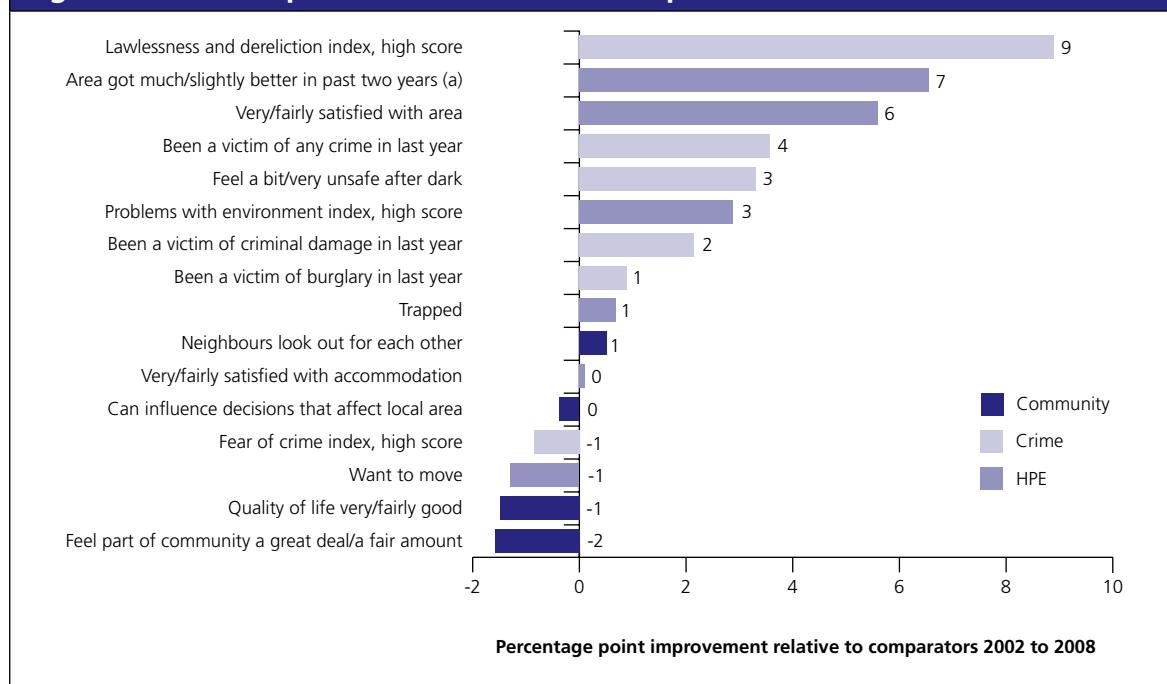
<sup>56</sup> The evaluation uses a number of comparator areas which are similarly deprived, but non contiguous to NDC areas in order to compare change in NDC areas with that occurring in other deprived areas. Fuller details of the evaluation's use of comparators are at CLG (forthcoming) The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Technical Report.

<sup>57</sup> The evaluation uses a number of indices based on several specific questions of which problems with the environment is one. See CLG (forthcoming) The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Technical Report.



- for five indicators there was more improvement in comparator areas than in NDC neighbourhoods: fear of crime, wanting to move, feeling part of the community, feeling able to influence local decisions and quality of life; however the difference in change was not statistically significant for any of these.

**Figure 3.3: NDC improvement relative to comparator areas: 2002 to 2008**



Source: Ipsos MORI NDC and Comparator Household Surveys 2002-2008

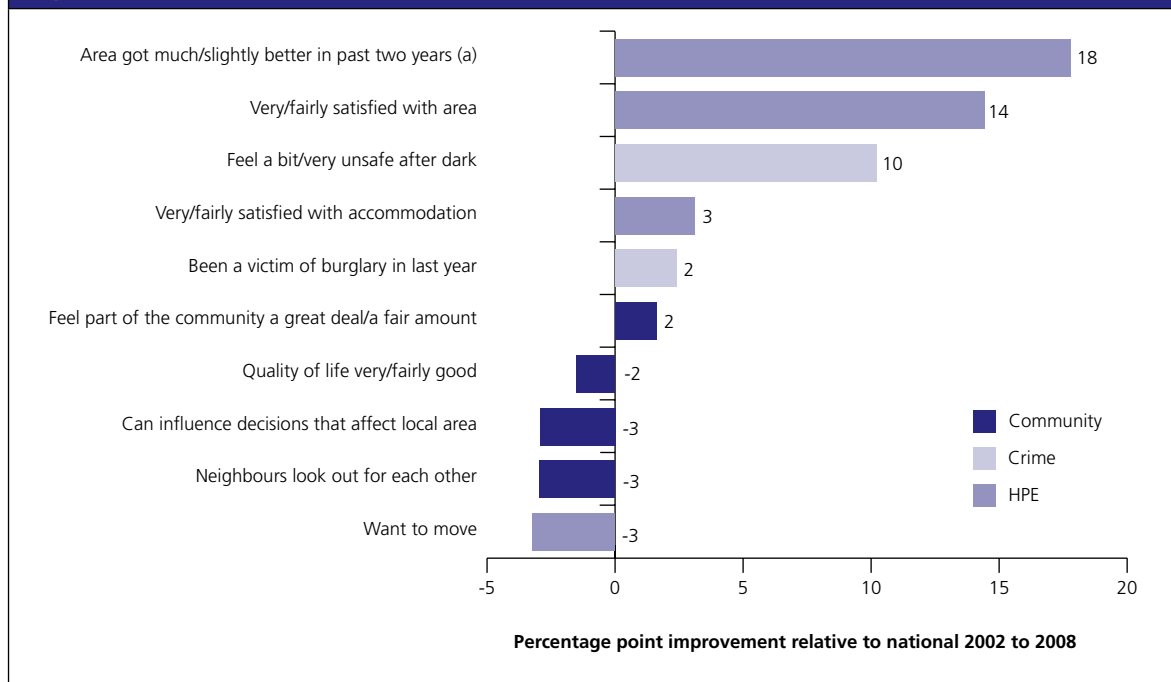
Base: All; (a) All lived in area two or more years

A positive score indicates that NDC areas have seen more improvement (or less deterioration) than comparator areas; a negative score indicates that NDC areas have seen less improvement (or more deterioration) than comparator areas

3.6 For 10 core place-related indicators it is also possible to compare change in NDC areas with that occurring nationally<sup>58</sup> (Figure 3.4.):

- NDC areas showed more improvement than the national benchmark for six of these indicators; this relative improvement was particularly marked in relation to feeling the area had improved in the past two years and satisfaction with the area
- for four indicators the national average improved by more than the average across all 39 NDC areas, including three out of four in the broad theme of community.

<sup>58</sup> This analysis does not test for statistically significant differences between NDC area and national change. This is due to the nature of national benchmark data: many indicators are based on rounded percentages rather than raw data and the sample size is not always known.

**Figure 3.4: NDC improvement relative to national benchmarks: 2002 to 2008**

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC Household Survey 2002-2008

For details of national data sources see Technical Report section 6.9

Base: All; (a) All lived in area two or more years

A positive score indicates that NDC areas have seen more improvement (or less deterioration) than the national benchmark; a negative score indicates that NDC areas have seen less improvement (or more deterioration) than the national benchmark

3.7 Data presented in this chapter suggest that, in broad terms, NDC areas have indeed become better places to live over the lifetime of the NDC Programme. Although there have been variations in the rates of change across the 39 areas, Programme-wide averages indicate improvements in many place-related outcomes, particularly with regard to environmental and crime issues. And increasing numbers of NDC residents report satisfaction with their neighbourhoods as places to live, and recognise the role of partnerships in delivering place-related improvements, although there has not been a consequent decrease in the proportion of residents reporting that they want to move (see also 4.38 to 4.40). Much of this change happened in the earlier years of the Programme, perhaps reflecting an emphasis many partnerships placed on responding to residents' priorities around tackling crime and environmental degradation. When change in NDC areas is compared with that occurring in similarly deprived communities it emerges that there has been more change in NDC areas on key indicators relating to crime, the environment, and area satisfaction. And in relation to national change, NDC areas have seen more improvement in the numbers of residents thinking that their area has improved and reporting satisfaction with their neighbourhood as a place to live.

But there has been less relative improvement in the community theme and in three out of four community indicators which can be compared with national benchmarks improvements in national indicators have exceeded those for NDC areas (discussed further at 4.21 to 4.25).

- 3.8 The next chapter presents more detailed evidence in relation to outcome change within the key themes relevant to improving places and considers issues and tensions partnerships have faced in seeking to improve NDC areas.

# Chapter 4

## Changing places: crime and community safety; community; and housing and the physical environment

- 4.1 The previous chapter looked at change across the New Deal for Communities (NDC) Programme by focusing on 18 core indicators relating to place. This chapter explores in more detail change in relation to the three place-related NDC themes: crime and community safety; community; and housing and the physical environment (HPE). It then draws on analysis contained in Volume 5 of the final reports to outline the factors associated with outcome changes in relation to place.

### Crime and community safety

#### **What changes have occurred in crime and community safety outcomes?**

- 4.2 NDC partnerships have invested in interventions in the crime and community safety theme with a view to reducing levels of recorded crime and fear of crime. The range of interventions has typically included: environmental improvements designed to limit opportunities for criminal behaviour and encourage use of public space; improvements to security for homes and business premises; working with police and other agencies to identify issues and 'hotspots' and to target resources accordingly; support to victims; diversionary and preventative work, particularly around young people and anti-social behaviour (ASB).
- 4.3 Data from the household survey includes experiential and perceptual data in relation to crime and community safety issues. Table 4.1 demonstrates the eight indicators from the household survey showing the greatest positive, and statistically significant, change in relation to crime and community safety outcomes.

**Table 4.1: Crime and community safety indicators: eight showing greatest change**

	2008	Change 2002–2008
Car crime a serious problem	16	<b>–22</b>
Very/fairly worried about being burgled	44	<b>–21</b>
Very/fairly worried about vandalism to home or car	38	<b>–19</b>
Very/fairly worried about being mugged	41	<b>–17</b>
Vandalism, graffiti and other damage to property a serious problem	15	<b>–17</b>
Abandoned/burnt out cars a serious problem	3	<b>–17</b>
Household burglary a serious problem	10	<b>–15</b>
Very/fairly worried about being physically attacked by strangers	39	<b>–14</b>

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC Household Survey 2002–2008

Base: All

Bold: Change significant at the 0.05 level (Z test)

- 4.4 On balance across all NDC areas, NDC residents are less worried about crime and perceive it to be less of a problem within NDC neighbourhoods than was the case in 2002. There are improvements in particular in relation to residents' concerns about crimes relating to vehicles and property, and also a reduction in the number of residents worried about being mugged.
- 4.5 The two indicators in this theme which have changed least are the proportion of residents who have experienced an assault in the last year, and the proportion who were victims of racial harassment or abuse in the last year. Both of these indicators reduced by only one percentage point between 2002 and 2008. However, it should be noted that these crimes affect only very small numbers of NDC residents (3 and 4 per cent respectively in 2008).
- 4.6 Analysis presented in the previous chapter (Figure 3.3) shows that there has been more positive change in NDC areas than comparator areas for five out of six core crime indicators (the exception being overall fear of crime):
- a high score on the lawlessness and dereliction index
  - being a victim of crime in the last year
  - feeling unsafe after dark
  - being a victim of criminal damage in the last year
  - being a victim of burglary in the last year.

- 4.7 Estimates using a method for costing crime developed by the Home Office suggest that the total cost of crime across the 39 NDC areas between 2000-01 and 2004-05 was over £2.4bn<sup>59</sup> (ranging from £18m in Southwark to £138m in Hackney). Additional analysis using the notion of 'expected levels of crime'<sup>60</sup> estimates that the per capita financial value of crimes potentially prevented is greater for NDC areas than comparator areas<sup>61</sup> in all four years between 2000-01 and 2004-05.

### Why has fear of crime not fallen relative to the comparator areas?

- 4.8 Figures 3.1 and 3.3 show that although fear of crime in NDC areas has fallen, it has also fallen in the comparator areas, and by a slightly greater degree. Relationships between changes in crime rates, and subsequent reductions in fear of crime, are complex,<sup>62</sup> and it is not possible definitively to explain why there has not been a more marked reduction in fear of crime in NDC areas. But perception of risk is a factor in fear of crime, and one plausible explanation might be that whereas additional investment in relation to crime intervention in NDC areas has led to less crime, it has also alerted residents to this very issue, thus accentuating fear of crime.

### How has change in crime outcomes impacted on surrounding areas?

- 4.9 The evaluation has considered two questions in this respect:<sup>63</sup>
- are these changes absolute reductions in crime or do they in effect represent a movement of problems away from NDC neighbourhoods into surrounding areas: has crime been displaced from NDC areas into other deprived communities?
  - do positive changes in NDC areas also result in positive change in surrounding areas: has there been diffusion of benefit from NDC areas to other deprived communities?
- 4.10 Crime activity has not generally been displaced from NDC neighbourhoods to surrounding areas. However, there is more evidence of diffusion of benefit. In most instances where measurable change has occurred this has also been associated with positive outcome change in relation to crime and community safety in surrounding areas: when things have got better in NDC areas they have also improved in surrounding areas. This is perhaps not surprising, as

<sup>59</sup> CLG (2010) Crimes occurring and prevented in New Deal for Communities areas: An approach to estimating the economic costs and benefits. [www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/1425014.pdf](http://www.communities.gov.uk/documents/communities/pdf/1425014.pdf)

<sup>60</sup> Expected levels of crime are derived from rates observed in a group of similarly sized and deprived neighbourhoods across England that have not benefited from the NDC Programme. This gives an indication of what might have happened in the absence of the NDC intervention and thus acts as a counterfactual.

<sup>61</sup> For information on comparator areas for administrative data see CLG (forthcoming) The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Technical Report.

<sup>62</sup> Box, S. et al (1988) Explaining Fear of Crime. *British Journal of Criminology*, 28 (3).

<sup>63</sup> CLG (2008) Displacement of Crime or Diffusion of Benefit? Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme.

interventions to reduce crime and improve community safety will not always benefit exclusively those living in NDC areas. One example is the provision of NDC resources to supplement local police budgets. In Newcastle, for instance, NDC resources supported two additional police officers and provided an overtime budget for the local force. The overtime budget was used exclusively to support officers working in the NDC area, allowing local police to respond quickly and proactively to trouble 'hotspots'. However, the officers patrol an area that extends beyond the NDC, following local police beats based on 'natural neighbourhoods' which do not sit exclusively within NDC boundaries.

## Community

### What changes have occurred in relation to community outcomes?

- 4.11 The objectives underlying the NDC Programme's commitment to community engagement are broad in scope and include rebuilding social capital, and restoring local pride and sense of cohesion and influence amongst NDC residents. NDC partnerships have committed substantial resources to supporting community involvement and a detailed review of these is included in Volume 2 of this suite of final reports.<sup>64</sup>
- 4.12 Table 4.2 details the eight community-related indicators from the household survey which have changed most across NDC areas in the period 2002 to 2008. It demonstrates that whilst awareness of, and a positive attitude towards, local NDC partnerships have increased substantially over time, changes in those indicators relating to more complex issues such as quality of life are smaller.
- 4.13 Community-related indicators which have shown least change between 2002 and 2008 include being involved in a local organisation (which has increased by two percentage points to 14 per cent in 2008) and thinking that neighbours are a serious problem (down two percentage points to 7 per cent in 2008).

<sup>64</sup> CLG (2010) Involving local people in regeneration: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme. The NDC national evaluation final report volume 2.

**Table 4.2: Community indicators: eight showing greatest change**

	<b>2008</b>	<b>Change 2002-2008</b>
NDC improved area a great deal/a fair amount (a)	60	<b>27</b>
Trust local NDC a great deal/a fair amount (a)	61	<b>18</b>
Heard of NDC (a)	78	<b>15</b>
Feel part of the community a great deal/a fair amount	45	<b>10</b>
Trust local council a great deal/a fair amount	49	<b>8</b>
Involved in NDC activity (a)	22	<b>6</b>
Quality of life very/fairly good	80	<b>3</b>
People in area very/fairly friendly	86	<b>3</b>

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC Household Survey 2002-2008

Base: All; (a) All heard of local NDC area

Bold: Change significant at the 0.05 level (Z test)

4.14 Analysis of change relative to comparator areas outlined in chapter 3 (Figure 3.3) identifies only one core indicator where change in NDC areas has exceeded that in the comparator areas. There has been a marginally greater (but not statistically significant) improvement in the proportion of residents in NDC areas thinking that neighbours look out for each other. For the other three indicators (feeling able to influence local decisions, good quality of life, and feeling part of the local community) change was greater in the comparator areas.

4.15 Reflecting on broader objectives central to the community outcome, it is helpful to focus on four key questions:

- to what extent have NDC partnerships made a mark locally?
- have NDC partnerships contributed to the development of social capital?
- have NDC partnerships overcome the legacy of mistrust?
- do NDC residents feel they have more influence?

### **To what extent have NDC partnerships made a mark locally?**

4.16 There has been increasing recognition of the activities and impact of NDC partnerships amongst residents in NDC areas. More than three-quarters of NDC residents were aware of the activities of NDC partnerships by 2008 and the proportion of people believing the local NDC partnership to have improved the area almost doubled in the six year period between 2002 and 2008. However, the proportion of people involved in activities organised or supported by NDC partnerships is low, at around one in five of those who have heard of the local NDC programme (Table 4.3).



**Table 4.3 Have NDC partnerships made a mark locally?**

	<b>2002 (Per cent)</b>	<b>2008 (Per cent)</b>	<b>Change 2002 to 2008</b>
Heard of NDC	63	78	15
Involved in NDC activity (a)	16	22	6
NDC improved area a great deal/a fair amount (a)	33	60	27

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC Household Survey 2002-2008

Base: All; (a) All heard of local NDC area

### Have NDC partnerships contributed to the development of social capital?

4.17 Communities in areas selected for local NDC programmes were often characterised by low levels of 'social capital', which may be seen as both symptom and cause of social exclusion. NDC partnerships' objectives for community engagement were designed, among other things, to develop community cohesion and build stronger communities. Engaging local communities in the design and management of programmes was important, not simply to ensure their relevance to the communities they are designed to serve, but also as a way of rebuilding trust between demoralised communities and the institutions of governance, thus helping to reinvigorate civic engagement.

**Table 4.4: Have NDC partnerships increased social capital?**

	<b>NDC</b>			<b>Comparator</b>		
	<b>2002 (Per cent)</b>	<b>2008 (Per cent)</b>	<b>Change 2002 to 2008</b>	<b>2002 (Per cent)</b>	<b>2008 (Per cent)</b>	<b>Change 2002 to 2008</b>
Feel part of community great deal/fair amount	35	45	10	38	49	11
People in area very/fairly friendly	83	86	3	88	88	1
Know most/many of the people in the area	40	43	3	45	47	1
Neighbours look out for each other	59	61	2	66	68	2

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC and Comparator Household Surveys 2002-2008

Base: All

- 4.18 There has been a considerable increase in the numbers of NDC residents feeling that they are part of the local community (Table 4.4). However, across all these indicators changes in NDC areas were similar to those happening in comparator areas. In 2008 people in NDC areas remained less likely to feel part of the community, think that people in the area were friendly and look out for each other, and to know most/many people in the area than did their counterparts in the comparator areas.

### Have NDC partnerships overcome a legacy of mistrust?

**Table 4.5: Trust in public agencies**

Trust in local agencies a great deal/a fair amount	NDC			Comparator		
	2002 (Per cent)	2008 (Per cent)	Change 2002 to 2008	2002 (Per cent)	2008 (Per cent)	Change 2002 to 2008
Council	41	49	8	46	52	6
Police	58	67	9	59	68	9
Health services	75	81	6	77	83	6
Schools	51	56	5	54	58	4
NDC Partnership (a)	43	61	18	n/a	n/a	n/a

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC and Comparator Household Surveys 2002-2008

Base: All; (a) All heard of local NDC area

- 4.19 The government's broad objectives for increasing levels of community engagement include a concern at improving trust in public agencies, particularly within disadvantaged and disaffected communities. Table 4.5 shows that change in trust in public services and agencies on the part of those in NDC areas was broadly similar to that seen in comparator areas.

### Do NDC residents feel they have more influence?

- 4.20 The household survey provides evidence on the degree to which NDC residents feel able to influence decisions affecting the area (Table 4.6.). Perhaps surprisingly, given the NDC Programme's focus on community engagement, no identifiable differences emerge between the sense of empowerment experienced by NDC, and comparator, area residents.

**Table 4.6: Influencing decisions that affect the area**

	Can influence decisions that affect the local area		
	2002 (Per cent)	2008 (Per cent)	Change 2002 to 2008
NDC	23	25	2
Comparator	22	24	2

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC and Comparator Household Surveys 2002-2008

Base: All

### Why have community outcomes not improved relative to other benchmarks?

- 4.21 Given the level of resources and interventions which NDC partnerships have deployed within the community theme (2.33), it is perhaps surprising that these indicators have not improved more markedly in relation to comparator and national benchmarks. As outlined at 4.12, and discussed further in Volume 2 of these reports, the objectives of this theme have been broad, but a key focus of NDC partnerships has been on supporting resident participation, with a view to placing residents at the 'heart of the Programme'. However, there has been a degree of ambiguity in relation to resident participation: residents and NDC partnerships have not always been clear about what participation is designed to achieve. Whilst there is perhaps an underlying assumption that involving local people will also result in stronger and more cohesive communities, there is also evidence in some areas that local NDC programmes have encountered intra-community divisions and strife. Resident participation has not always been a wholly positive experience for NDC communities. There can be negative, as well as positive, implications.
- 4.22 But there are three, perhaps more fundamental, problems with regard to this assumed relationship between participation and improved community outcomes, which may help explain why there has been little improvement in community outcomes in NDC areas, compared with other benchmarks. First, there is an issue related to the extent to which the evaluation has been able to identify impacts of participation. There is evidence that participation is associated with improved outcomes for individuals (Volume 5, 3.27). However, as only about a fifth of all NDC residents are involved in any NDC activity over a two year period, it is unlikely that the evaluation will pick up any area-level effects associated with the activities of such relatively small numbers of NDC residents.

- 4.23 Second, there is the associated issue of cause and effect. We do not know the direction of causation across these indicators but it is likely that there are complex, and reinforcing patterns of association across a range of indicators relating to participation and NDC residents' feelings about their community. For instance, in 2008 fully 65 per cent of those residents who participated felt part of their community a great deal/fair amount. But does participation result in NDC residents feeling better about their community? Or does the fact that they feel generally positive about their community make them more likely to get involved in local activities? This might seem a complex distinction, but it does have implications for the impact of NDC activities. If interventions supported by NDC partnerships (such as new and better community facilities, community festivals and events, and opportunities for participation in NDC activities) simply provide additional opportunities for those who are in any case positively inclined towards their local community, it is unlikely that there will be any associated significant improvement in community outcomes.
- 4.24 Finally, it is also important to consider the degree to which it is plausible to assume area-based initiative (ABI) interventions will result in improved social capital and cohesion at the area level. Analysis developed in Volume 2 (4.28) suggests that the impact of NDC partnerships on community indicators has been limited. Factors associated with increased participation are likely to be associated with individual characteristics, not the actions of ABIs.<sup>65</sup> It may therefore not be plausible to assume that substantial effects will be generated by area-based programmes. There is tentative evidence to confirm the view that people participate because of who they are, not what goes on around them<sup>66</sup>.
- 4.25 But ultimately the evaluation cannot definitively say why these indicators have not improved more in NDC areas than in similarly deprived comparators. There is clear evidence that over time NDC residents have increasingly recognised the role of NDC partnerships in improving local areas, and more residents have been involved in NDC activities. There is also a widely shared view amongst observers in NDC areas that the interventions supported by NDC partnerships have resulted in stronger, more cohesive communities. However, this is not entirely borne out by the evidence available to the evaluation. We cannot be sure that interventions supported by NDC partnerships constitute the best approach through which to involve and support local communities.

<sup>65</sup> Evidence from other studies suggests that whilst more deprived individuals are less likely to participate there is no necessary relationship between levels of deprivation and participation at the area level. See, for instance, Timbrell, H. (2006) Scotland's Volunteering Landscape: The Nature of Volunteering. Volunteer Development Scotland.

<sup>66</sup> Brodie, E. et al. (2009) Understanding participation: a literature review, published as part of the 'Pathways through Participation' project. See <http://pathwaysthroughparticipation.org.uk/>

## Housing and the physical environment

### What change has occurred in HPE outcomes?

4.26 The strategies (and associated spend) employed by NDC partnerships to improve outcomes in housing and the physical environment vary enormously across the 39 areas (Figure 2.9), often reflecting differences between NDC partnerships supporting complex programmes of redevelopment and those funding a range of smaller projects. Table 4.7 details the eight HPE indicators from the household survey demonstrating most change between 2002 and 2008. Again these indicators point to improvements in NDC residents' perceptions about environmental problems and satisfaction with the local area.

**Table 4.7: Housing and the physical environment indicators: eight showing greatest change**

	2008	Change 2002-2008
Area got much/slightly better in past two years (a)	42	<b>18</b>
Very/fairly satisfied with area	74	<b>13</b>
Litter and rubbish a serious problem	24	<b>-13</b>
Speed and volume of traffic a serious problem	19	<b>-12</b>
Poor quality/lack of parks and open spaces a serious problem	12	<b>-11</b>
Public transport a serious problem	5	<b>-4</b>
Very/fairly satisfied with repair of home	72	<b>3</b>
Very/fairly satisfied with accommodation	84	<b>2</b>

Source: Ipsos MORI NDC Household Survey 2002-2008

Base: All; (a) All lived in area two or more years

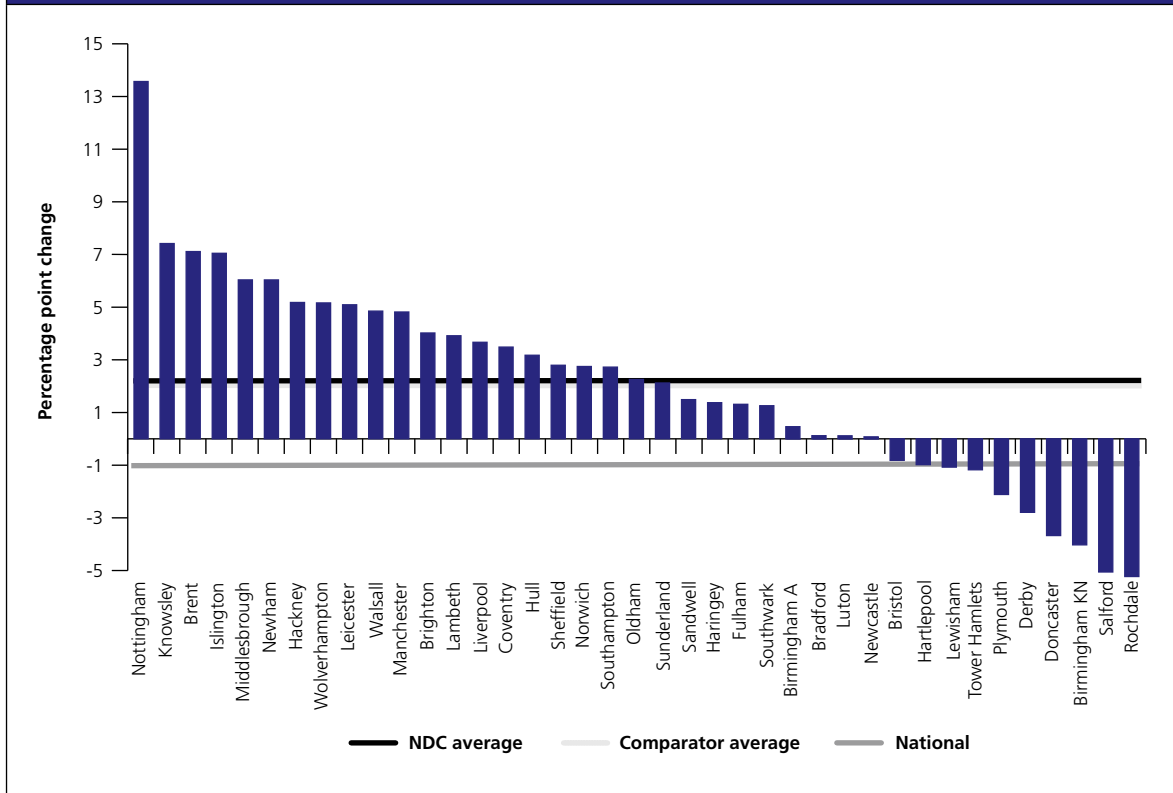
Bold: Change significant at the 0.05 level (Z test)

### Are NDC residents more satisfied with their accommodation?

4.27 In 2002 there was a gap of more than 10 percentage points between rates of satisfaction with accommodation amongst residents in NDC areas (81 per cent) and those in the rest of the country (92 per cent). By 2008, 84 per cent of NDC residents were either very, or fairly, satisfied with their accommodation. This slightly closed the gap with the national benchmark, which decreased to 91 per cent. However, not all NDC areas saw improvements: in 10 the proportion of residents very or fairly satisfied with their accommodation decreased between 2002 and 2008 (Figure 4.1).

4.28 Change in NDC areas was very similar to that in comparator areas, where there was a two percentage point increase over this period. In addition the proportion of residents in the comparator areas feeling satisfied with their accommodation remained higher than that in NDC areas, at 89 per cent.

**Figure 4.1: Percentage point change: satisfaction with accommodation, by NDC area: 2002 to 2008**



Source: Ipsos MORI NDC & Comparator Household Surveys 2002, 2008; Survey of English Housing 2002/03, 2006/07

Base: All

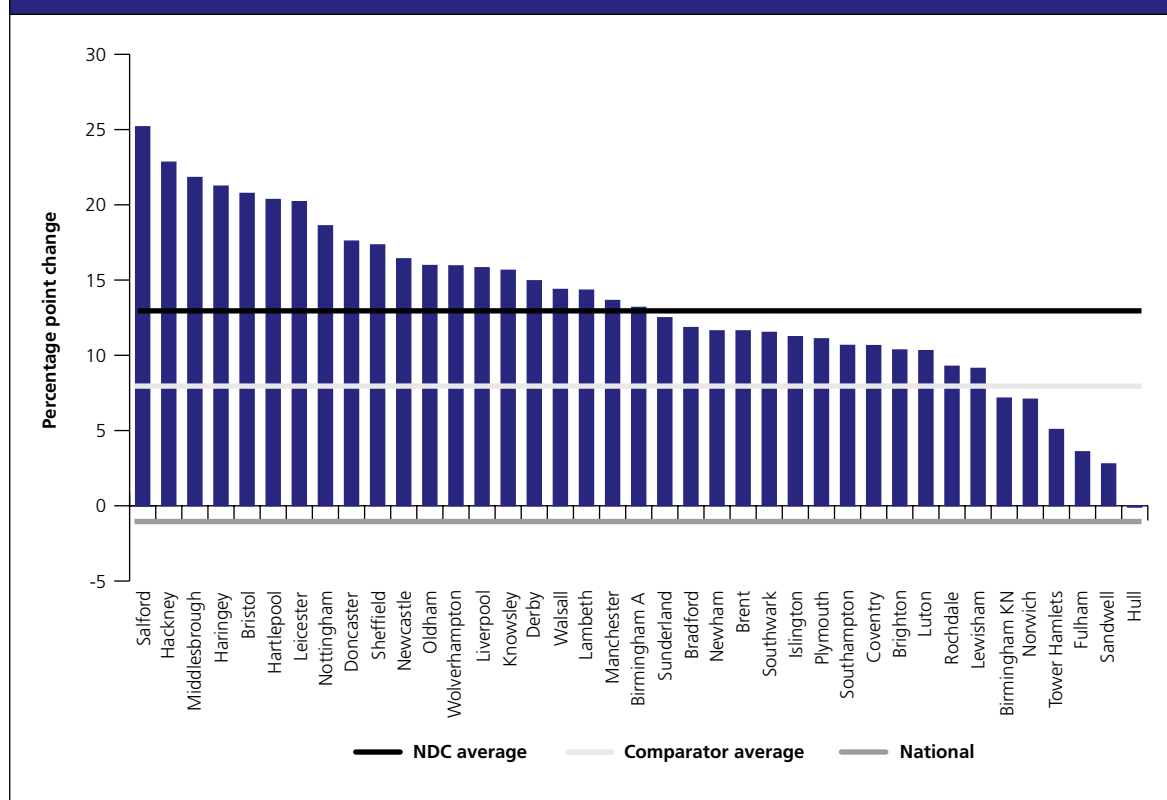
4.29 NDC partnerships have supported a range of improvements to housing, much of which has complemented that done through the Decent Homes programme. As discussed at 2.12, the national roll-out of Decent Homes is likely to have also improved indicators of satisfaction with accommodation in non-NDC areas.

4.30 However, analysis of factors associated with improvements to satisfaction with accommodation scores, suggests that satisfaction with accommodation is influenced not only by dwelling characteristics, but also by neighbourhood-based indicators such as area satisfaction, fear of crime and the degree to which social relations are deemed to be a problem locally.

## Are NDC residents more satisfied with their neighbourhoods as a place to live?

4.31 Overall, as shown in Chapter 3 (Figure 3.1) change in levels of satisfaction with NDC areas as a place to live have been substantial. In all but one NDC area there was an improvement between 2002 and 2008 in the proportion of residents satisfied with their area as a place to live (Figure 4.2.). The proportion for Hull stayed the same, at 76 per cent. The biggest improvement was in Salford, where the proportion satisfied with the area increased by 25 percentage points from 49 to 74 per cent.

**Figure 4.2: Percentage point change: satisfaction with area, by NDC area: 2002 to 2008**



Source: Ipsos MORI NDC & Comparator Household Surveys 2002, 2008; Survey of English Housing 2002/03, 2006/07

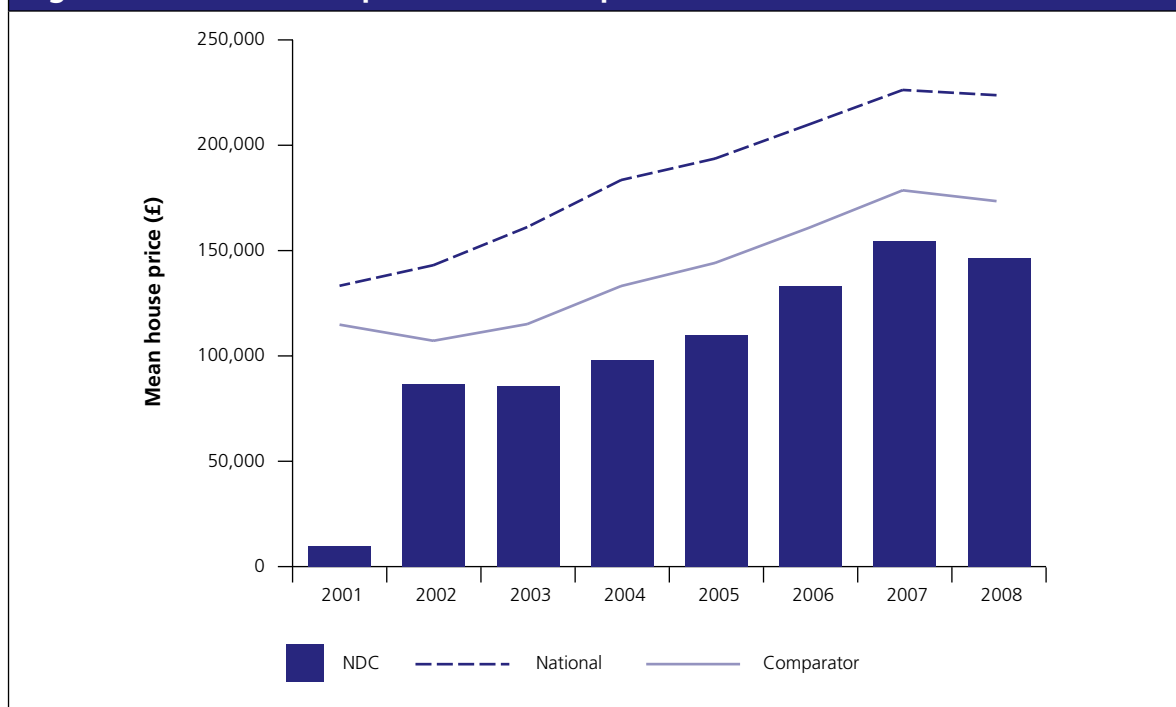
Base: All

4.32 As with satisfaction with accommodation, area satisfaction is associated with a range of factors including satisfaction with accommodation, feeling part of the community, fear of crime, problems with lawlessness and dereliction, environmental problems, problems with social relations and individual mental health. This suggests that influences broader than just the physical condition of a neighbourhood play a part in shaping area satisfaction, including issues such as levels of crime, trust and community dynamics.

## Have property prices in NDC areas improved?

4.33 Change in relation to housing can also be explored using mean house prices<sup>67</sup> over the course of the NDC Programme (Figure 4.3). There is a distinction to make here between absolute and relative change. In relation to the former, between 2001 and 2007, the mean house price in NDC areas increased from £90,906 to £154,355 before dropping slightly to £146,649 in 2008. This equates to a net increase of £55,743. House prices in the comparator areas saw a similar increase, from £111,197 to £170,127 (a net increase of £58,929), while nationally, mean house prices increased by £90,926 (Figure 4.3). However, when considering relative, rather than absolute, change, NDC house prices increased by 61 per cent, compared with only 53 per cent in comparators and 70 per cent nationally. There is a hint here that changes to NDC areas are beginning to be reflected in relatively greater house price increases than would be expected.

**Figure 4.3: Mean house prices: NDC, comparator and national: 2001 to 2008**



Source: SDRC

<sup>67</sup> Further analysis of change in house prices is included in the report CLG (2010) Interventions in Housing and the Physical Environment in deprived neighbourhoods: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme.



- 4.34 Evidence from a previous study of HPE interventions in NDC areas,<sup>68</sup> shows that, amongst the 39 areas, there was a strong negative correlation between mean property price in 2001 and percentage change between 2001 and 2007 (-0.664, sig. at 0.01 level). On average, those NDC areas with lower property prices at the start saw a higher percentage change in this period.

### **Have environmental problems improved?**

- 4.35 There is considerable variation amongst NDC areas in the extent to which local residents experience a range of environmental problems, although as discussed at 2.41, tackling these sorts of environmental issues has often been a priority for NDC residents and partnerships. The NDC evaluation has tracked residents' responses to a wide range of environmental issues including:<sup>69</sup>

- dogs causing nuisance or mess
- litter and rubbish in the streets
- the speed and volume of road traffic
- poor quality or lack of parks or open spaces
- poor public transport.

- 4.36 These problems can be combined into an environmental index which shows improvements through time. In 2002 more than one in five (21 per cent) NDC residents had a high score (10 or higher) on the index, but this had fallen to 11 per cent by 2008. This change was significantly more than that experienced in the comparator areas over the same period, although the 2008 figure remained lower than the NDC equivalent.

### **Have NDC partnerships reduced the proportion of people wanting to move?**

- 4.37 Between 2002 and 2008 the proportion of NDC residents indicating that they wanted to move remained stable at 39 per cent. In the same period there was a small decline in the proportion wanting to move in comparator areas and also nationally: the former by one percentage point, the latter by three.
- 4.38 That seems counter-intuitive, given that these neighbourhoods have seen considerable environmental and area-based improvements which might be expected to contribute to stabilising local populations by making areas more attractive to existing residents. But the answer to this apparent anomaly may well lie in evidence gleaned from a survey of some 300 or so people who left NDC areas between 2002 and 2004.<sup>70</sup> The main generic reason they did

<sup>68</sup> CLG (2010) Interventions in Housing and the Physical Environment in deprived neighbourhoods: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme.

<sup>69</sup> CLG (forthcoming) The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Technical Report.

<sup>70</sup> CLG (2007) The Moving escalator? Patterns of residential mobility in NDC areas.

so was because of area-related factors. However, the most commonly cited specific reasons were wanting a bigger property (11 per cent) often due to household changes, and work related reasons (10 per cent), such as moving closer to work. These motives for moving will tend to persist even in the face of environmental, or area-based, improvements. The ability of NDC partnerships to influence this indicator may be limited, at least in the short term.

4.39 However, analysis of changes in HPE outcomes over time has identified a significant correlation between the proportion of overall spend in the HPE theme and the proportion of residents who want to move.<sup>71</sup> On average, NDC partnerships which have spent more have seen a larger reduction in the proportion of residents wanting to move. It may be that in time, the completion of redevelopment and refurbishment schemes designed to enhance the quality of the local housing offer, contributes to a further reduction in those wanting to move and a resultant stabilising of local populations. This could be important because there is evidence pointing to associations between higher levels of residential mobility and lower rates of change in some place-related outcomes. Between 2002 and 2006 the national evaluation was able to identify associations at the NDC area-level between higher rates of residential mobility and less change with regard both to:

- HPE indicators such as satisfaction with accommodation and problems with the local environment
- and a combined place-related score based on indicators across all three outcome areas.<sup>72</sup>

### **What factors are associated with place-related change in NDC areas?**

4.40 Volume 5 of these final reports contains detailed analysis of the factors associated with change across the NDC Programme for both NDC areas and for the individuals living in NDC neighbourhoods. These findings are not replicated in detail here and readers interested in the full explanation of neighbourhood-based change are strongly recommended to refer to this work. The analysis uses the concept of benchmarked relative change in order to compare NDC areas with each other on a like for like basis. It is important to note that this analysis is based on just 39 cases, and as such caution is needed in interpreting these findings, and too much emphasis not placed on any one association. However, some significant, although in many cases relatively weak, associations are revealed in relation to change in place-related outcomes for NDC areas and:

<sup>71</sup> CLG (2010) Interventions in Housing and the Physical Environment in deprived neighbourhoods: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme.

<sup>72</sup> CLG (2009) Residential mobility and outcome change in deprived areas: evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme.

- the characteristics of different NDC partnerships
- the characteristics of different NDC neighbourhoods
- the characteristics of the local authority districts in which NDC areas are based
- cross-cutting models (which look at the combined impact of different factors to explain why some NDC areas achieve more change than others).

### ***Partnership characteristics***

4.41 Factors which relate to the structure, operation and activities of NDC partnerships are especially important in explaining change, as these are factors which fall under the control or at least influence of NDC partnerships. This analysis has explored the impact on outcome change of NDC board composition, continuity of staffing and board effectiveness, engagement with other ABIs, phasing of the Programme and expenditure patterns. Five associations are revealed as significant in relation to place-related change:

- there are differences between Round One and Round Two partnerships: being a Round One, as opposed to a Round Two NDC partnership is negatively associated with community outcomes (particularly indicators which relate to attitudes to, and involvement with, the NDC partnership), perhaps indicating that Round Two partnerships have been more effective at involving residents or making them aware of the regeneration activities they have undertaken
- having a larger board helps in engaging the community: having a larger NDC board is positively associated with more residents thinking the NDC partnership has improved the area (larger boards may be better able to communicate the scale of change to residents and to help make them more aware of the role of the NDC partnership in achieving that change); and the number of agency representatives on NDC boards is associated with change across all community indicators (it may be that having more agency representatives on boards improves communication between agencies and local residents; it may also help agencies direct resources at interventions likely to reflect community priorities)
- working with other agencies helps deliver place-related change: the number of agencies with which NDC partnerships engage is one of two factors in a regression model which explains 25 per cent of the difference between NDC areas in change in place-related outcomes; engaging with a greater number of agencies will bring more expertise and resources to the NDC Programme and this may be particularly important in implementing programmes to deliver physical improvements to NDC neighbourhoods

- change in HPE outcomes is affected by change in senior partnership roles: more frequent turnover in chief executives is associated with less change in HPE outcomes (although this is a very small significance) but the more times a chair of the board changes the more likely it is that an NDC area will have improved HPE outcomes; this anomaly is unexplained, but it is likely that HPE interventions are more affected than other themes by the impact of senior roles, not least because the scale and cost of new development and refurbishment schemes means that they are likely to require greater senior staff input and executive decision making
- there are associations between spend and place-related outcomes: there are no direct associations between money spent and progress made in the three individual place-related themes (when the six outcomes in each theme are considered together), however greater spend on HPE is associated with positive outcomes in both crime and worklessness indicating the impact of local housing schemes funded by NDC partnerships which may have provided jobs for NDC residents and increased the proportion of owner-occupied residents in the area (who are more likely to be in employment), and the contribution to reductions in crime and ASB of projects which have improved the environment through tackling burnt out and abandoned cars and boarded-up properties, enhanced street lighting and public realms, and provided improved security to existing homes and better designed new schemes.

### ***Neighbourhood characteristics***

4.42 This analysis looks at the impact of a range of neighbourhood characteristics on place-related outcomes: composition of the local population, tenure profile, population mobility, economic status of residents, overall level of deprivation, involvement of local residents in NDC activities, type of area, and population size. Across all NDC partnerships factors such as the economic status of residents and the extent to which residents are involved in activities have no consistent relationship to outcome change. However, analysis in relation solely to those 10 NDC areas experiencing most change between 2002 and 2008 does suggest that resident involvement in these areas increased more than in those areas where there was less overall change. There are also no direct and consistent associations between levels of mobility and outcome change<sup>73</sup> or between tenure profiles and place-related outcomes (although tenure does impact on one people-related outcome: worklessness: see Volume 5, 2.33). Nevertheless, some significant relationships are revealed in relation to neighbourhood characteristics:

<sup>73</sup> An earlier study of relationships between residential mobility and outcome change between 2002 and 2006 identified associations between high levels of residential mobility and HPE, and across combined place-related outcomes. See CLG (2009) Residential mobility and outcome change in NDC areas.

- being in a cluster of NDC areas identified as experiencing ‘entrenched disadvantage’<sup>74</sup> is associated with achieving less relative change in HPE outcomes: this group of NDC areas (Liverpool, Nottingham, Knowsley, Doncaster and Coventry) were the most deprived group of NDC areas at the beginning of the Programme and although these areas may well have seen absolute improvements in HPE outcomes they are not greater than those occurring in comparator areas within the same local authority district; this may reflect the fact that these NDC areas are located in disadvantaged districts which have secured regeneration funding to support schemes in a wide range of other deprived, but non-NDC, neighbourhoods
- there are associations between the socio-demographic composition of NDC neighbourhoods and change in place-related outcomes: across all NDC areas between 2002 and 2008 there has been a decline in the number of single person households, however in areas where there has been a growth in these households, or a relatively smaller decline, there is less positive change in place-related outcomes, and there is also an association between NDC areas with greater concentrations of households made up of couples with no children, and less change in crime outcomes; these sorts of households tend to those associated with older, less mobile populations
- areas with worse place-related problems at the beginning of the Programme experienced more change in place-related outcomes: NDC areas with more crime at the beginning of the Programme experienced more change in this outcome, and those with weaker scores in the community theme at the outset of the Programme tended to achieve more change in overall place-based outcomes over time; this may reflect the tendency for NDC partnerships faced with particular place-related issues at the outset of the Programme focusing their energies on tackling these issues.

### ***Local authority district characteristics***

4.43 Local authority district characteristics considered in analyses are buoyancy of the wider labour market, ONS classification of authorities, educational attainment, level and concentration of deprivation (as measured by IMD scores), size of the local authority, recorded crime rate, and social housing as a proportion of all housing stock.

4.44 Only one of these factors was found to be significantly associated with place related change. There is an association between positive change on all outcomes and decline in the proportion of social housing stock, and specifically in relation to place outcomes, NDC areas in local authority districts with a larger decline in social housing tended to have greater improvement over time in crime outcomes. These associations may well reflect changes in overall stock,

<sup>74</sup> CLG (forthcoming) The New Deal for Communities Evaluation: Technical Report.

rather than reductions in social housing: six of the 10 local authority districts with the largest declines in social housing also had the largest levels of growth in overall stock. As little, if any, of the new accommodation will be social housing then this tenure will change as a proportion of total accommodation.

### ***Cross cutting models***

- 4.45 Volume 5 also uses regression modelling techniques to explore the combined impact of different factors associated with changes in place-related outcomes. This helps identify which factors are most helpful in explaining how and why change occurs differently in different NDC areas. Across all place-related outcomes two factors are identified as being significant: there is a negative association with spend in the education theme and a positive association with the number of agencies with which NDC partnerships engage. However, these factors explain only 25 per cent of the variation in place-related outcomes, meaning that 75 per cent of the difference in these outcomes between NDC areas is unexplained. This perhaps reflects the complexity of issues with which NDC partnerships have had to engage in order improve their local areas. It is also interesting to note that when change in crime outcomes is explored, 37 per cent of the variation in outcomes between NDC areas is accounted for by two factors: areas with fewer couples with no dependent children (which is strongly related to areas with younger age profiles) have seen more positive change in relation to crime; and areas where crime issues were more pressing at the outset of the Programme, have also seen more change in this theme.

## **A concluding comment**

- 4.46 Largely using change data, this chapter has examined questions inherent to each of the three place-related outcomes. The next chapter synthesises across all of the evidence in relation to the evaluation in order to explore issues and tensions arising from the implementation of place-related outcomes at the neighbourhood level.

# Chapter 5

## Issues and tensions

5.1 The evidence outlined above has explored change in relation to the three outcomes relating to improvements to New Deal for Communities (NDC) areas. This chapter reflects on five themes emerging from the Programme's narrative in relation to making these deprived areas better places to live:

- planning place-related regeneration
- a 10 year framework
- working with agencies
- working with communities
- sustaining change.

## Planning place-related regeneration

5.2 The time horizon granted to this evaluation provides an opportunity to examine how the process of planning 10 year transformatory programmes has evolved. Work undertaken by the evaluation team during the early years of the Programme pointed to a series of problems which then impacted on planning 10 year change in relation to place-based change.<sup>75</sup> Difficulties then included:

- creating 39 accurate NDC-area specific baselines against which to assess change
- agreeing plausible 10 year targets across six outcomes
- lack of an evidence base through which to identify suites of interventions which might move NDC areas from baseline problems to identified outcomes
- the pressure to spend and to be seen to deliver, not only from central and regional government, but also from NDC communities
- and the distractions and delays caused by problems in establishing effective internal systems through which to agree and sign-off projects and strategies.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> ODP/NRU (2005) New Deal for Communities 2001-2005: an Interim Evaluation: NRU Research Report 17 (Chapter 13).

<sup>76</sup> National Audit Office (2004) An early progress report on the New Deal for Communities programme Report by the Comptroller and Auditor General. HC 309 Session 2003-2004; 11 February 2004.



- 5.3 Through time it is reassuring to see that many of these problems, if not disappearing entirely, have certainly moderated. For instance, partnerships have had access to a rich array of change data collated by the national evaluation team. This began with the 2002 Ipsos MORI household survey which was adopted as a baseline by many partnerships. Through time too, CLG and its predecessors encouraged partnerships to be more robust about the need to drive change in relation to a plausible set of outcomes,<sup>77</sup> although even then as late as 2004 on average each partnership was still working towards achieving a challenging 25 separate outcomes.<sup>78</sup> And although it would be hard to argue that there has ever been a complete evidence base from which to guide NDC partnerships through the complexities of 10 year regeneration schemes, there have certainly been improvements in the availability of evidence,<sup>79</sup> and of neighbourhood level statistics via neighbourhood statistics<sup>80</sup> (NeSS) and NOMIS.<sup>81</sup>
- 5.4 There has also been comfort for NDC partnerships in planning for capital projects which will result in physical changes to deprived areas: they will remain within the neighbourhood both during, and after, the implementation of a regeneration programme. It is easy to point to visible benefits accruing to regeneration areas as a result of these interventions: there is something to see once funding ceases. By contrast, benefits in terms of improved health, employment prospects and education accruing to those who leave NDC neighbourhoods, indeed from any regeneration area, cannot easily be captured.
- 5.5 Linkages between problems and interventions designed to improve deprived places also appear relatively straightforward. Improving areas will occur through the introduction of a limited range of, inter-related, interventions designed to enhance the environment, boost social capital, improve and widen housing markets, and address actual and, fear of, crime. And there are also mutually supportive synergies across place-related outcomes. As is shown in Volume 5 (3.41), those who see improvements in many place-related outcomes also see positive outcome change with regard to others.

<sup>77</sup> ODPM/NRU (2004) Transformation and Sustainability Future Support, Management and Monitoring of the NDC Programme; Programme Note 25.

<sup>78</sup> CRESR (2005) NDC National Evaluation Analysis of Delivery Plans 2004: Outcomes, Floor Targets and Projects.

<sup>79</sup> Through for example Neighbourhood Renewal Advisers, Supporting Evidence for Local Delivery [www.creatingexcellence.org.uk/regeneration-item-evidence01-hm.html](http://www.creatingexcellence.org.uk/regeneration-item-evidence01-hm.html) and [renewal.net](http://renewal.net)

<sup>80</sup> [www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/](http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/)

<sup>81</sup> [www.nomisweb.co.uk/Default.asp](http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/Default.asp)



5.6 The institutional landscape within which NDC areas have implemented improvements to place has also proved supportive. In particular those agencies majoring on issues of place with which NDC areas have worked most closely have longer term objectives which naturally fit those adopted by NDC areas. Consistently across this Programme, and in common with similar place-related initiatives, such as the Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders,<sup>82</sup> the police and local authority environmental departments have proved to be the most supportive of partner organisations. It is not hard to see why this should be so. These agencies have an intrinsic interest in places and neighbourhoods, the former because, as is flagged up earlier (2.10), of an increasing emphasis on neighbourhood policing, the latter because environmental changes occur in places.

## A 10 year framework

5.7 The Programme's 10 year time frame is one of its signature features. Some housing programmes such as the Housing Action Trusts (HATs) and the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders (HMRPs) have worked on, or are operating to, similar time frames. But the NDC Programme's 10 year horizon is longer than that granted to virtually all previous area-based initiatives (ABIs).

5.8 There has always been a clear rationale for this approach: the physical, economic and social transformation of these areas would take many years. This perspective is widely shared across the regeneration community. Those exploring change in a London HAT suggest that 'neighbourhood regeneration will take a generation'.<sup>83</sup> The Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder evaluation has similarly suggested that it takes time to 'build sustainable networks and promote trust'.<sup>84</sup>

5.9 Reflecting on change across the NDC Programme up to 2008 it can be argued that this 10 year time horizon helps because:

- it takes time to agree and set in train a transformatory strategy covering six outcomes, working in collaboration with a suite of partner agencies
- closing gaps between these areas and the rest of the country will take time to achieve

<sup>82</sup> CLG (2008) Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders: Final Evaluation Report People, Places, Public Services: Makin provides a ready-made vehicle through which to plan the transformation of areas[84]. The masterplanning process is based around strategic longer term thinking designed to create a visionary, deliverable, flexible product to transform the physical nature of places[84]. Successful masterplans should be fully integrated into wider planning and economic strategies and should encompass not simply the physical transformation of areas, but also the social and economic well-being of residents.

<sup>83</sup> A Hull 2006 Facilitation structures for neighbourhood regeneration in the UK: the contribution of the Housing Action Trusts. *Urban Studies*, 43, 2317-2350.

<sup>84</sup> CLG (2007) Neighbourhood Management and social capital (p.7).

- partnerships need time to build up mutually supportive relationships with mainstream agencies which, once achieved, may provide a route through which some NDC interventions are sustained after Programme funding ceases.
- 5.10 Of course any time horizon is artificial and arbitrary, and what may be a sensible in one NDC area, may be inappropriate in another. Moreover, the regeneration of these areas is a continuing process, it is not clear when, or indeed if, it will ever 'finish'.
- 5.11 But, there are two reasons for suggesting 10 years may be a more than generous time frame for implementing some improvements to place. First, as is developed above (Figure 3.2), the rate of change has declined through time, a trend apparent in other ABIs.<sup>85</sup> In that early period up to about 2004 there was relatively rapid improvement in many place-related indicators, especially those relating to environment, fear of crime and attitudes to the area. But subsequently the rate of change then slowed down. It may be that in relation to these sorts of improvements, similar change can be achieved in a shorter time frame than that of the NDC Programme.
- 5.12 Second, many changes can occur to the 'landscape of governance' over 10 years. In the decade following their launch, NDC partnerships have had to accommodate the creation of new institutions such as Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs), new planning regimes notably Local Area Agreements (LAAs), new funding mechanisms such as the Working Neighbourhood Fund (WNF), and the emergence of policy agendas such as community cohesion and community empowerment. With their emphasis on strategic planning and neighbourhood level implementation, many of these innovations tended to complement the ethos of the NDC Programme. But policy innovations can deflect partnerships from longer-term objectives in that they create new organisations, funding arrangements and agendas with which NDC partnerships have to engage: policy innovation can work to accentuate transaction costs. The 10 year focus of the Programme has not come without its own pros and cons.

<sup>85</sup> Rhodes, J., Tyler, P. & Brennan, A. (2005) Assessing the effect of area based initiatives on local area outcomes: some thoughts based on the national evaluation of the Single Regeneration Budget in England. *Urban Studies*, 42, 1919-1946.

## Working with agencies

5.13 The first volume in this series of final reports deals at length with the evolving narrative of how NDC partnerships have engaged with other delivery agencies. It is not the intention here to repeat that evidence. But it is worth reflecting briefly on some of the key issues as they impact on improvements to NDC neighbourhoods. For instance, to give a flavour of how NDC partnerships work collaboratively with other agencies:

- engaging senior officers in partnership-level decision making can help in delivering change; at an early stage Walsall secured the services of a police Inspector to head up its crime and community safety theme
- NDC partnerships can provide flexible support through which other agencies are able to target unanticipated issues: Newcastle was able to support the local police in attacking newly emerging crime hot-spots
- multi-agency approaches can address local problems: Knowsley's NDC Partnership's Chameleon project designed to moderate anti-social behaviour (ASB), was based on the active involvement of the police, a Registered Social Landlord and a housing trust
- NDC partnerships, working with other partners, can spread the message to other less engaged agencies; as a result of engagement with the local NDC partnership and the police, the fire service in Newcastle changed its overall approach by embracing policies to educate local people and to design out arson
- engagement between partnerships and other agencies has led to a myriad of improvements on the ground mainly through the joint funding of projects and the better delivery of services within NDC areas.

5.14 There is a particular issue here in relation to housing, where the development of effective partnership working has been critical in delivering improvements. NDC partnerships neither own, nor manage, housing. In addition they do not have the capital required to buy up housing and land and to fund large scale housing modernisation programmes. Many partnerships have also lacked the capacity or expertise required to manage and deliver intensive housing refurbishment programmes. The support and co-operation of agencies such as the local authority housing and planning departments, housing associations and private developers, has therefore been critical to the development, design and delivery of housing improvements and renewal programmes. The depth and success of partnership working with local authorities and developers is well illustrated in Hartlepool where initiatives designed to push forward a major refurbishment scheme have included:

- a Service Level Agreement formalising the relationship between the NDC area and the local authority
- the movement of personnel between partner agencies, helping to promote understanding, build consensus and maintain positive working relations
- creating and sustaining good working relationships with a developer prepared to accept that there would be challenges including high levels of community consultation, and working within a complex partnership structure.

5.15 Although relationships with partner agencies in the realm of place have generally worked well, there have been some problems. For instance:

- in the early days of the Programme, there was a strong sense that this was a genuinely innovative, beacon experiment; partnerships were able to secure senior agency representation on their boards to help drive forward delivery; but in time some of these representatives moved onwards and upwards<sup>86</sup> to sit instead on, say, LSPs; ultimately this is a neighbourhood-level initiative: senior agency representatives may see their involvement as being more appropriate to city-wide, not neighbourhood-level, forums
- even the police, the most supportive of partner agencies, cannot always guarantee a total complementarity between what they do and what community-driven NDC partnerships might ideally prefer; one tension which has emerged is that in general the police tend to place a higher priority on more serious crime such as burglary, rather than the issue which tends to be accorded greater priority by NDC residents: ASB
- partnerships may sometimes be over-optimistic in relation to their real impact on partner agencies; it is not always clear, for instance, that the relatively small additional resources local NDC programmes bring to bear with regard to major housing refurbishment schemes implemented by HMRPs, can genuinely influence the design, phasing and detail of such schemes to any significant degree
- even when working well with partners, there can be no assumption that such collaboration will always achieve key objectives: some problems of place remain intractable; in the Newcastle NDC area there have been problems associated with 'criminal families': levels of crime in the neighbourhood fall in line with individuals being imprisoned and rise on their release; although this is a serious problem, it is not one for which there appears to be an obvious solution for either the partnership or its partner agencies.

5.16 Housing can create particular issues in relation to partnership working because of the sheer scale of planned activity and because it takes many years for larger schemes to come to fruition. In Hartlepool, where there has been an emphasis on housing refurbishment and new development, the NDC partnership is

<sup>86</sup> ODPM/NRU (2005) *New Deal for Communities: An Interim Evaluation* (p. 278).

aware that partnership working has been eased because of resources available through the NDC Programme: *'you wouldn't get all those players round the table in the first place if you didn't have a pot of money there. I don't know what will happen in future...'* The preferred developer commented that the project was more time consuming than normal because of the need to keep so many residents on board, whilst accepting at the same time that: *'this approach speeds things up in the longer term- it can mean that you have your buyer in place before the development is even built and means little or no objections at the planning stage'*.

- 5.17 In sharp contrast to the generally successful experience in Hartlepool, the experience in Hull illustrates how difficult relations between partners can throw housing renewal programmes into disarray. This narrative is explored in detail elsewhere.<sup>87</sup> But in brief, the relationship between the NDC partnership and the city council (which owned and managed more than 80 per cent of the stock in the area) proved a barrier to the resolution of various housing problems, which were widely perceived as crucial to the sustainability of the NDC area.
- 5.18 The principled point here is this: partnership working is important in all outcome areas. But because of the scale of resources and expertise required, NDC partnerships simply have to work with other agencies if they plan major changes in relation to the housing stock. The more NDC partnerships prioritise housing refurbishment, the more essential effective partnership working becomes. If successful schemes can be implemented the prize is likely to be the transformation of the area, even if this is completed after NDC funding ceased. But an inability or unwillingness to create effective delivery partnerships carries with it the real possibility that planned programmes will either have to be scaled down or will not occur at all.

## Working with communities

- 5.19 The 'community dimension' has figured prominently in policies designed to implement improvements to NDC areas. Local residents tend to be aware of issues surrounding the local area and its community and are in turn conscious of developments designed to improve the look to, and the dynamics of, their neighbourhood. As the whole debate surrounding the community dimension is explored in depth in Volume 2 of these final reports, comment is restricted here to a number of core issues.

<sup>87</sup> CLG (2010) Interventions in Housing and the Physical Environment in deprived neighbourhoods: Evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme.

5.20 As an initial observation, it is important to stress how insistent and intensive the community dimension has been, whether this is best classified as consultation, involvement, engagement, or decision making. Examples include:

- resident consultation in relation to housing schemes has been widely adopted in order to reflect the aspirations, preferences and priorities of local people; resident involvement was, for instance, vital in evaluating proposals, and in producing a residents' charter, within the context of the Knowsley NDC area's masterplan
- resident board members have become engaged in theme group working; in Lambeth and Newcastle, for instance, community safety theme groups involve a core of residents who have been involved over a period of time and who have developed a good understanding of relevant issues
- theme groups have been supported by wider community engagement structures: in Knowsley the 'Neighbourhood Network' and various tenants and residents group meetings have acted as sounding boards for work in the crime and community safety theme
- there has been extensive involvement of community groups and volunteers in project delivery: the Community Drug Interactors project in Bradford attracted over 100 volunteers
- there are many examples of residents assisting NDC partnerships and agencies by highlighting community safety issues and providing evidence to support the targeting of resources; in Newham, Safer Neighbourhood Teams target individual streets and undertake 'door knocking' to find out residents' views.

5.21 Clearly benefits arise from community involvement. Across the Programme community engagement has helped in designing, implementing, and sustaining place-related projects.

5.22 However, there can be difficulties in relation to community involvement and achieving place-related change. It is not always easy to communicate with different social and demographic groups. NDC partnerships have often found it hard to engage young people, a particular problem in relation to crime reduction because of their 'over-representation' in relation to both offenders and victims. The comment also emerged from several partnerships that attendance at community safety theme groups was not widespread, because of a local culture of intimidation which deterred people from associating with the police.

- 5.23 Successful community engagement requires time and resources. To give one example of planning the transformation of housing in Hartlepool. A private consultancy was commissioned in 2000 to undertake a housing study of the area to inform the NDC Housing Strategy. The report provided an evidence base regarding housing market trends and satisfaction with housing on the part of local residents. It also sketched out options for addressing problems. A series of public meetings followed. A consensus emerged around the need for a major intervention to stabilise the local housing market. Subsequently, an ambitious consultation exercise began in 2001. This lasted 18 months and involved 1200 residents in 60 'planning for real' workshops to identify improvements residents wanted for their area on a street by street basis.
- 5.24 Finally, there can be sharp differences between what NDC residents may wish to see and what might be seen as conventional professional solutions. In relation to housing for instance, community preferences, tend to focus on the immediate concerns of current residents, whereas housing market options will concentrate on the long term future for the area. This tension emerged in Knowsley, for example. A visioning exercise had been carried out by a private consultancy with local residents at the start of the Programme in an attempt to frame the plan for the area. The resulting plan identified the need for a small amount of demolition and the development of new affordable family housing for rent and sheltered bungalows for elderly residents. Subsequently, consultants were commissioned to come up with options for housing redevelopment, to explore market potential, and to liaise with residents. Different housing scenarios for the area were 'market-tested'. The result pointed to more radical proposals, involving large scale demolition, which one Resident Board Director argued were tantamount to "*wiping out the North Huyton community*".
- 5.25 Local NDC observers also report examples of tensions between resident board members and local police, particularly over styles of policing. There have been some cases where 'patch' representatives on NDC boards have favoured initiatives to address particular crimes, even where there is evidence of falling crime rates. In other instances approaches adopted by NDC partnerships have been seen as 'out of step' with the agendas of agencies having a wider geographical remit. An example was given in relation to ASB, where the focus of one NDC on an exclusionary approach and the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) was seen to conflict with the approach of the city-wide partnership emphasising inclusion, diversion and the use of Acceptable Behaviour Contracts. Partnerships can be faced with problems in reconciling their commitment to a bottom-up, community-led programme with expert professional advice and policy.



## Sustaining change

- 5.26 Volume 1 of this final suite of reports considers sustainability across the Programme. But here it is worth commenting specifically on aspects of sustainability in the context of interventions designed to improve NDC areas. There are good reasons for thinking that many NDC areas will continue to see change after Programme funding ceases: by 2008 all 39 either had devised a succession strategy or were about to do so.<sup>88</sup> And as other evaluations have pointed out,<sup>89</sup> interventions such as neighbourhood management schemes may prove to be an especially useful vehicle through which to sustain activity after ABI funding ceases. Sustaining, and continuing, improvement to NDC areas is likely to occur mainly through five mechanisms.
- 5.27 First, sustaining interventions will often depend on the willingness of partner agencies to mainstream initiatives which have hitherto relied on support from local NDC programmes. There are grounds for some optimism here. The police have been willing to mainstream some projects where there is evidence of success. In Newcastle, the local force will retain the same level of policing in the area when NDC funding runs out, whilst in Bradford funding of the community police team has been picked up on an ongoing basis by West Yorkshire Police. In Knowsley the local authority is building the NDC Partnership's Neighbourhood Network into its community engagement structures and will maintain the community links developed by the NDC partnership's neighbourhood action and support through its Knowsley Pride Team.
- 5.28 There are similarly positive signs in relation to HPE. For example, in Haringey all environmental projects have maintenance, or service level, agreements. And in Hull, the revenue costs associated with a neighbourhood management initiative are now being met by the Gateway Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder. Recognising that this funding stream is also time limited, there are plans for the project to move towards a social enterprise model. A similar model has been adopted to try and ensure the future of a number of other projects developed by Hull NDC Partnership including a community nursery and the Freedom Centre, which houses the community café, library, NHS walk-in service and various other services.
- 5.29 Second, in some instances longer term activity will depend on proposals designed to transform the local housing stock. A view emerged from some observers that interventions in housing represented the most visible and readily identifiable legacy of the Programme. For one resident board member:

<sup>88</sup> CLG (2009) The 2008 Partnership Survey: evidence from the New Deal for Communities Programme.

<sup>89</sup> CLG (2008) Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders: Final Evaluation Report People, Places, Public Services: Making the Connections.



*"housing is key to other outcomes in health, crime and education. I do wonder if it would have been better if we had been able to put all our resources into housing. We would have made a huge impact and all the other things would have fallen in to place."*

- 5.30 Third, some NDC partnerships have placed an emphasis on the formation of a body that will take control of partnership assets. In relation to HPE in Lambeth for instance, a central component in the local programme has been a stock transfer scheme, allowing a separate body to drive through change. Clapham Park Homes (CPH) is a community-led housing association set up to take ownership of transferred housing stock. A number of NDC resident board members have become CPH board members in an effort to maintain a community role in decision-making following the transfer of responsibility for driving forward the redevelopment process from the NDC partnership to CPH. Funding has been agreed for the next phase of the programme and support from the local authority, councillors and MPs remains high, although there is no guarantee of funding for future phases and a revision of the master plan might therefore be required. In other NDC areas, a separate body, such as Hartlepool Revival, has been created to take over ownership and management of assets on behalf of partnerships. Such successor organisations will have an important role to play in protecting, and building on, gains secured by NDC partnerships.
- 5.31 Fourth, in some NDC areas such as Newham an emphasis has been placed on leaving behind a pool of people who have gained experience through being involved in the NDC Programme and have the ability to take things forward by being councillors, school governors, or representatives on other bodies. And finally NDC partnerships in areas such as Newham and Walsall have supported the construction of new resource/community centres which provide a focus for community activities and help retain agencies within the neighbourhood. Rents from public agencies and private businesses will provide a revenue stream from which to sustain regeneration activity once NDC funding finishes.
- 5.32 Taking an overview across NDC succession proposals, it is interesting to note that they are largely designed to maintain progress in relation to place-, rather than people-related, activity. Newcastle NDC Partnership's forward strategy shows how this can pan out in detail: virtually all of its proposed activities are about the future of the NDC neighbourhood as a place. It is not hard to see why this should be so. Place-related policies will retain activity within areas; they are visible; and they may secure longer term rental income from which to sustain regeneration activity in the neighbourhood.

## Newcastle

### *Forward strategy: transitional action plan*<sup>90</sup>

Workstream	Objective(s)
Governance development plan	To establish a Neighbourhood Development Organisation to succeed the NDC partnership with the following aims: "To identify needs and champion solutions for our neighbourhood"
Assets and revenues plan	To assemble a fully evaluated portfolio of assets that can yield an income to fund the Neighbourhood Development Organisation and help achieve its objects
Community development plan	To establish a community network that can hold to account, and be served by, the Neighbourhood Development Organisation
Neighbourhood management plan	To establish a model of neighbourhood management and secure the commitment of partners to support the aims of the Neighbourhood Development Organisation
Housing delivery plan	To establish a programme of housing and physical regeneration and a partnership vehicle, linked to the Neighbourhood Development Organisation, to oversee delivery
Transition plan	To provide a 'road map' for the Board from now to the end of the NDC programme showing all key decisions and events

5.33 However, maintaining place-related activity after the Programme comes to an end will present a number of challenges:

- inevitably there is considerable variation across the 39 partnerships in relation to the degree to which emphasis has been placed on succession
- there is not always a clear consensus about the purpose of successor bodies
- there can be no guarantee that agencies will be able to maintain additional funding into NDC areas, especially in an era when public expenditure is likely to be put under considerable strain
- commentators point out that one of the benefits of NDC funding has been its flexibility in responding to local issues: this is unlikely to be so true for mainstream agencies having to meet national, or local authority district, targets
- major housing refurbishment schemes have come under pressure as a result of the market downturn; in Knowsley the comment was made in early 2009 that it was difficult to even talk with developers about viable options in relation to stalled schemes *"because they are in 'survival mode'"*.

<sup>90</sup> Newcastle NDC Partnership: Year 8 Action Plan.

- 5.34 The final chapter in this report presents overarching conclusions and draws out key policy messages in relation to all of the evidence regarding place-related activity.

# Chapter 6

## Conclusions and key policy implications

- 6.1 This final chapter reviews the evidence with regard to the success of New Deal for Communities (NDC) partnerships in making NDC areas better places to live. It also outlines key policy implications arising in relation to role of area-based initiatives (ABIs) in improving deprived areas.
- 6.2 NDC partnerships have presided over substantial change in NDC neighbourhoods. Almost 60 per cent of the Programme's budget (excluding management and administration) has been allocated to interventions designed to improve the housing and physical environment of NDC areas, reduce levels of crime and strengthen local communities. The sheer scale of activity is impressive: NDC partnerships have used their own resources and worked with partner agencies to transform these localities through the provision of improved housing, new and improved facilities, increased levels of security and better public space.
- 6.3 There is a strong sense of mutually beneficial inter-relationships across these interventions: housing schemes improve local environments; demolition projects provide space for new community and health facilities; the design of new housing schemes may help to reduce crime and anti-social behaviour (ASB); and so on. A key strength of the NDC approach has been the ability to plan, fund and implement interventions across these key place-related themes.
- 6.4 These sorts of activities have contributed to some positive change in place-related indicators. Residents in NDC areas think those areas have improved; they perceive fewer problems in relation to crime and environmental degradation, feel (and indeed are) safer, and feel better integrated into the community and more able to influence local decisions than was the case in 2002.
- 6.5 NDC areas have also improved relative to similarly deprived areas, particularly in relation to indicators for crime, dereliction and area satisfaction. And there has been a greater proportional change in the numbers of NDC residents thinking that their area has improved and expressing satisfaction with their area as a place to live, than has been the case nationally.

- 6.6 But there has been less absolute and relative change in some outcomes, particularly those relating to community and social capital indicators, and there has been no change overall in the numbers of NDC residents who wish to move.
- 6.7 The NDC experience suggests that planning and implementing place-related change is not without its difficulties. Planning change over 10 years is a complex task and NDC partnerships have had to negotiate changes in the institutional (and latterly economic) landscape. In the context of housing redevelopment projects especially, there are issues around timescales and dealing with uncertain market conditions: delivering any major housing refurbishment scheme will almost always prove to be a complex and expensive process which is unlikely fully to be completed in the lifetime of the NDC Programme.
- 6.8 Working with both partner-agencies and with communities has brought skills and resources to the NDC Programme. Some partners such as the police, and local authority housing and planning departments, have been vital to the delivery of improvements. But these relationships have not been entirely trouble free, and although partnerships have generally tended to see succession in terms of place-related interventions, there must be some doubt as to whether all partner agencies will be in any position fully to sustain NDC interventions once Programme funding ceases.
- 6.9 There are perhaps two key conclusions to be drawn from this evidence. First, for a series of outcomes relating to environmental and area improvements and satisfaction ratings, and reductions in crime and ASB, the evidence from the NDC Programme is that in broad terms place-related regeneration achieves measurable outcomes: it works. This conclusion very much complements findings from previous evaluations of both essentially place-related ABIs such as the Neighbourhood Management Pathfinder (NMP)<sup>91</sup> and Neighbourhood Wardens Schemes,<sup>92</sup> as well as programmes designed to achieve a more holistic regeneration of deprived areas, including the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB)<sup>93</sup>. And as is developed throughout this report, there are obvious reasons why this should be the case:
- virtually all local residents will see and generally benefit from interventions such as environmental improvements, and neighbourhood wardens
  - these kinds of interventions tend to lead quite rapidly to changes in public attitudes

<sup>91</sup> CLG (2008) Neighbourhood Management Pathfinders: Final Evaluation Report People, Places, Public Services: Making the Connections.

<sup>92</sup> ODP/NRU (2004) Neighbourhood Wardens Scheme Evaluation Research Report 8.

<sup>93</sup> CLG (2007) The Single Regeneration Budget Urban Research Summary Number 25.

- other than for major housing refurbishment schemes, projects are not usually expensive or time-consuming to introduce
- linkages between interventions and anticipated outcome change are relatively clear
- interventions to improve places fit the grain of what other delivery agencies are trying to do, notably the police and local authority housing and environmental departments
- infrastructural change and improved dwelling stock are central to the legacy of programmes such as NDC; they remain as visual reminders of the Programme.

6.10 Implications arise from the NDC narrative surrounding place which are relevant to the time horizons, spatial remit, and focus of place-related interventions. These considerations will need to be decided locally, informed by the nature of the proposed scheme, resources and planned outcomes. But the NDC Programme does provide important pointers here:

- regeneration schemes need to pay attention to the sequencing of interventions designed to improve outcomes for places, and also, given the inevitably long lead in times for major housing refurbishment schemes, between capital-, and revenue-, intensive schemes; as is discussed in Chapter 2, partnerships have adopted contrasting approaches in driving forward their early strategies; perhaps the key lesson here is not to press ahead on all fronts from the outset, but rather adopt a measured and evidence-based approach designed to achieve realistic outcomes in the time horizons involved which meet the specific demands of the neighbourhood
- similarly the salience of neighbourhood as a factor in people's lives will vary from place to place and this should drive decisions regarding investment priorities: a common template of interventions to be used in all areas is unlikely to be appropriate for all 'place-shaping' programmes: the dynamics of localities matter
- time frames need to be driven by the nature of proposed regeneration:
  - strategies seeking to stabilise areas by majoring on local environmental problems and issues surrounding crime may need an initial injection of additional funds for perhaps three to four years
  - schemes based on the major physical redevelopment of regeneration areas may require at least 10 years, because as one NDC chief executive observed *"you need substantial resources for demolition, acquisition and serious neighbourhood management... You get bang for your bucks but you need to put the bucks in"*.

- equally so the spatial remit of regeneration schemes need to reflect their key objectives; across the Programme there are mixed views as to whether the NDC model based on about 10,000 people is about right; few key observers argue for smaller areas and most consider the existing spatial remit to be about right; however, a few argue strongly for large areas which would more naturally fit boundaries of key delivery agencies and which are more likely to complement boundaries adopted by the kinds of 'neighbourhood forums' which many local authorities have established in order to enhance local accountability; but whatever the scale of regeneration areas, there is a consistent view that the boundaries of regeneration areas should wherever possible reflect those adopted by existing delivery agencies.

6.11 But the second key conclusion must be that despite a substantial commitment of resources to this theme, there is little evidence to suggest that the NDC Programme has resulted in significantly stronger and more cohesive communities. NDC residents do, on the whole, recognise the impact of NDC partnerships in improving the local area, and some residents have participated in NDC activities. There is ample evidence from within the evaluation of successful approaches to resident engagement, and of NDC residents working productively with agencies and NDC partnerships to shape and deliver local schemes (see Volume 2). There is evidence too that this sort of involvement is associated with positive outcomes for individual residents. But, relative to their counterparts in similarly deprived comparator areas, NDC residents are not significantly more likely to feel involved in the community, that neighbours look out for each other, that their quality of life has improved, or that they are more able to influence local decisions. These are complex issues but the evidence developed throughout this report (and associated volumes) suggests that ABIs may have a limited impact on these sorts of community indicators. One implication of this may be the need for a more focused approach in future regeneration programmes: providing a range of opportunities for resident participation, but perhaps thinking more strategically about the costs and benefits of the range of interventions associated with these broader community outcomes. The NDC Programme had grand, but perhaps unfocused, ambitions in relation to the community theme; in future a more limited, but perhaps more realistic, approach might be more appropriate.

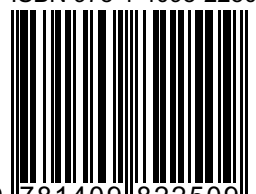
6.12 Finally, and reflecting on the title of this report, there is considerable evidence that partnerships have indeed made these areas better places to live. Sixty per cent of residents in NDC areas in 2008 thought that their NDC partnership had improved the area in the preceding two years, an increase of fully 27 percentage points on 2002. This 'symbolic' indicator increased more than any other over this six year period: NDC residents recognise the role partnerships have played in improving local areas. And the proportion of residents thinking that their area has improved increased more in NDC areas than either nationally, or in similarly deprived comparator areas (by 14 and seven percentage points respectively). These outcomes are testament to the investment of NDC partnerships and agencies in interventions to improve housing and local environments, and to secure a range of new and improved facilities and services for NDC areas. It maybe that some of these areas have not been transformed in the ways that NDC partnerships had perhaps hoped at the outset of the Programme. However, it is also true to say that there is a very different look and feel to these areas when compared with how they appeared at the launch of the Programme. Many of these 39 areas are increasingly characterised by better housing, more attractive and safer streets, new and improved play areas, better retail facilities and improved community and meeting spaces. And some too are in the midst of radical local rehabilitation programmes which, for various reasons, are only likely to come to fruition after the end of the NDC Programme. The transformation of these areas will only become fully evident after the Programme has finished.



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