



Residents' perspectives on mixed tenure communities: a qualitative study of social renters and owner occupiers

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GoWell is a research and learning programme that aims to investigate the impact of investment in housing, regeneration and neighbourhood renewal on the health and wellbeing of individuals, families and communities over a ten-year period. The programme aims to establish the nature and extent of these impacts, to learn about the relative effectiveness of different approaches, and to inform policy and practice in Scotland and beyond. GoWell is a collaborative partnership between the Glasgow Centre for Population Health, the University of Glasgow, and the MRC/CSO Social and Public Health Sciences Unit, sponsored by Glasgow Housing Association, the Scottish Government, NHS Health Scotland and NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde.

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Executive summary

Background

The goal of achieving mixed tenure communities has been a core aim of development and regeneration strategies over the past decade or so, and is clearly expressed in housing policy and urban regeneration strategies. The expected benefits of mixed tenure range across economic, social, environmental and psychological impacts, however, the current available qualitative and quantitative evidence of mixed tenure affects on these impacts remains weak. This qualitative study of residents explores owners' and social renters' perceptions, views and experience of living in mixed tenure neighbourhoods. Conducted in August and September 2009, project fieldwork involved semi-structured interviews with 37 heads of households (resident families, owners and tenants), living in three re-developed, mixed-tenure estates in Glasgow: Castlemilk, Drumchapel and the Gorbals and living in various configurations of mixed tenure: segregated, segmented or integrated. This report presents findings comparing and contrasting residents' experiences with respect to the three estates and in terms of the configuration of tenure.

Main findings

Perceptions of mixing tenure

1. Mixing tenures was generally viewed as positive as it sent the message that owners and renters were equal, it encouraged people to invest in and care for their neighbourhood and it provided informal social control.
2. That some renters might not care for their homes or the environment sufficiently, and that people, especially children might be exposed to antisocial or inappropriate behaviour were identified as potential negative aspects of mixing tenures.
3. Social renters were more positive about mixing tenures than owners, particularly those owners living in segregated configurations. Residents in the Gorbals were more positive than those living in Drumchapel and Castlemilk.

Social interactions

1. Residents in Drumchapel and Castlemilk tended to interact with those of the same tenure whereas the Gorbals residents mixed with residents of both tenures. These differences may be due to how mixed tenure was introduced in the estates, greater tenure mix and/or geography.
2. Social interaction between residents involved being friendly but not living in people's 'pockets'.
3. Children were seen as important for social interactions in the neighbourhoods. People met each other through their children and neighbours looked out for and looked after each other's children.

Settlement/attachment to the area

1. Most residents in all three mixed tenure neighbourhoods felt a positive attachment to their neighbourhood even though they were aware of particular problems such as antisocial behaviour.
2. Feelings of attachment to a neighbourhood were strongest for those residents who have had a long association with the area irrespective of tenure and people stayed or moved back to an area because of social and family networks and feeling comfortable and 'at home' in the neighbourhood.
3. For some owners, the pull of affordable housing was important, and for owners in the Gorbals the regeneration improvements to the housing and the neighbourhood more generally were also noted.

Mobility and use of amenities

1. Most residents made use of their local facilities. For the peripheral estates residents' use and choice of amenities within and outside the estates was limited if they did not have access to a car, if key local amenities were not within walking distance or there was poor quality public transport.
2. For residents of the Gorbals the walkable proximity of the city centre was perceived as a major benefit of the area.
3. Young people were potentially restricted from accessing facilities within and outside the estates because they had limited funds for public transport and territorial issues associated with gangs.

Perceptions of housing, the neighbourhood and regeneration

1. Spaciousness of the house, access to outdoor space, particularly in relation to positive impacts on children, having their own front door and a sense of their own space were identified as benefits. Conversely, these were considered problems if the home was too small and there was poor access good outdoor space.
2. The benefits of the neighbourhood included: providing social networks and offering mutual support especially regarding 'looking out' for children.
3. For the Gorbals, proximity to Glasgow City Centre was described as a benefit whereas, for the peripheral estates, being close to the countryside was considered a benefit.
4. Problems in the neighbourhoods differed between the estates. Residents in the Gorbals identified an issue of having a high number of private renters in the area. Lack of amenities and facilities, especially for young people, were identified as problems in Drumchapel and Castlemilk.
5. In terms of regeneration residents in all areas noted that the appearance of the area had improved due to the demolition of older buildings and the creation of good new housing which made areas attractive, increased house prices in the neighbourhood; brought new people into the area and reduced stigma.

Children

1. Children were seen as important for social interactions in the neighbourhoods. People met each other through their children and neighbours looked out for and looked after each other's children.
2. Renters in all three areas noted the positive impact of activities and friendships among children in the neighbourhood although the Gorbals residents were the only participants to talk about improved expectations for their children and the positive effect of improved local amenities such as school and clubs. There was a tangible sense of pride linked to the fact that their children would have good opportunities through living in the Gorbals.

3. In terms of negative effects, some parents were concerned about their children mixing with children who did not have the same background and/or mixing with families who did not share similar parental attitudes. Other possible negative effects mentioned by owners and renters were: exposure to unwanted/inappropriate adult behaviours (drinking and drug taking in public), gangs, and a lack of facilities or amenities.

Conclusion

The study adds to the body of knowledge about the effects of urban renewal and mixing tenures on the social determinants of health and has important implications for the evaluation and development of policy. We have found many similarities between owners and social renters living in these three estates but there are also some clear differences, especially between the Gorbals and the peripheral estates. Incremental regeneration as experienced in the peripheral estates appears to have been less successful than the more radical 'purpose built' regeneration experienced in the Gorbals. This may be for a number of reasons. By its nature, it is more difficult with incremental regeneration to properly or completely achieve integrated mixed tenure configurations. Perhaps a more likely reason the peripheral estates remain (more) problematic is the original and continued lack of investment in infrastructure – good public transport and quality shops and services. The advent of mixed tenure has not facilitated the development of such services. The Gorbals' success however may end up contributing to its downfall as house prices in the area rise and the prospect of buying a house moves out of reach of the social renters. Mixed tenure is generally perceived as positive by residents and they see many benefits of living in their neighbourhoods and appreciate the improved housing and neighbourhood environment, but they recognise that new housing and improved environments do not address many problems in these estates.

Introduction

For most of the last two decades, mixed tenure has been favoured as a means to create 'mixed communities' in the UK^{1,2}, moving away from what are seen as disadvantaged, often stigmatised, mono-tenure housing estates. Mixed tenure has been advocated by researchers and commentators^{3,4}, and has featured regularly in housing, planning and regeneration policy statements⁵⁻⁸.

The expected benefits of mixed tenure range across economic, social, environmental and psychological impacts⁹, include both intra- (e.g. reduced antisocial behaviour) and inter-neighbourhood (e.g. improved area reputation) benefits¹⁰, and may be subject to threshold effects, i.e. dependent on the relative numbers of different tenure groups present¹¹. Rather importantly, many of the expected benefits, especially those related to aspirations, attitudes and behaviours, are dependent in theory on social interaction between different income and tenure groups¹², thus raising the possibility that some social groups may benefit more from mixed tenure circumstances than others, and indeed there has to some extent been a focus on the impacts of mixing on families and children in particular¹³.

In the case of the UK, there have been several reviews of the evidence for mixed communities and/or mixed tenure effects in recent years. Tunstall and Lupton (2010)¹⁴ devoted attention to the question of social interactions. Where it does occur, they said, studies^{15,16} showed that such interactions were 'fairly superficial' and tended not to lead to changes in aspirations or behaviour. In the reviewers' words, 'mixed communities do not necessarily mean much more mixed social circles' (p20): 'limited social interaction between tenure, employment and income groups' was, in their view, 'partly... because of design and layout which tend to mean people from different groups are not literally neighbours' (p20); subject to practical limits, the use of 'pepper-potting' was suggested (see Figure 1). This was in line with an earlier review and best practice guide which argued that through such a pepper-potted or dispersal approach, 'the greatest integration between tenures is achieved' and stigmatisation avoided¹⁷.

Tunstall and Fenton (2006)¹⁸ also highlighted the lack of attention given to the way mix is delivered, with a focus on outcomes to the exclusion of processes. Amongst other things, they argued for more information on 'how mixes were produced' and the effects of local context. In general, they said studies focused too much on new developments and regeneration sites, so that more studies were needed of existing housing areas and of places which had been developed or completed as mixed communities 'five, ten or more years' ago.

The latest review of UK evidence on mixed tenure¹⁹ similarly identified the weakness of evidence on the mechanisms involved in producing mixed tenure effects within neighbourhoods, and the role that processes of delivery play in this. In order to investigate how neighbourhood exposures to mix – in terms of dosage²⁰, form and duration – acted to bring about effects and outcomes, Sautkina *et al.* suggested that research needed to more explicitly consider the level and configuration of tenure mix involved in its study areas.

Research aims

Given the existing evidence base, our aim in the current study was to use qualitative research methods (primarily in-depth interviews) on a number of mixed tenure housing estates which had been produced (or adapted) in the last 10-20 years through different means to address the following questions:

- Are residents positive or negative in their views of mixed tenure as a residential form? Is this equally true of social renters and owner occupiers?
- Can residents easily identify housing tenures in their areas and do they interact with people from different tenures than their own?
- Do residents' views differ according to the spatial configuration of housing tenures within a 'mixed tenure' estate? In particular, are those people who live in integrated situations more positive or less positive about mixing than others?

- Are there differences of views between people living on different estates and is this related to the level of tenure mix or the way the mixing was produced?

Methods

Study estates

The study was conducted in three localities within the city of Glasgow, all of which were typical post-war council estates, each having been changed in different ways to become mixed tenure areas over the past 20 years. Two of the estates are peripheral housing schemes, suburban in nature, containing mostly low-rise (three or four storey) tenement flats and semi-detached and detached houses. The other area is an inner-city estate, comprising mostly low- to medium-rise tenements and other kinds of flats. Each estate is briefly described below and the tenure patterns depicted later in Figure 2.

Castlemilk

A large, peripheral estate on the southern boundary of the city, built in the 1950s. It was subject to a Scottish Government-led regeneration programme over a decade from 1988 onwards²¹. In housing terms, the main changes have been: reduction in building heights and densities; diversification of rented housing through community ownership and housing association involvement; demolition of the few tower blocks on the estate; in-fill development of housing for sale, particularly along the southern and eastern edges of the estate. A recent study reported that the estate was still very deprived and that social improvements had not transpired²². In 2011, the estate had a population of around 14,500; of the 6,744 dwellings, 74% were social rented, 23% owner occupied, and 3% private rented²³.

Drumchapel

Another large, peripheral estate from the 1950s in the Northwest corner of the city. Like Castlemilk, the housing strategy for the estate over the past 20 years has been to diversify and improve quality in the social rented sector and introduce owner occupation²⁴. The main ways in which the latter has been achieved has been through the introduction of a new access road and the extension of the western edge

of the estate by private developers and housing associations, and more recently through several large, in-fill developments across the estate as part of Glasgow City Council's New Neighbourhoods Initiative²⁵. Unlike Castlemilk, Drumchapel was not the subject of a major government regeneration programme, relying on a local joint economic and social initiative (Drumchapel Initiative) from 1985, though by the turn of the century the estate was considered still in need of social and economic renewal²⁶. In 2011, the estate had a population of around 13,000; of the 5,774 dwellings, 74% were social rented, 23% owner occupied, and 3% private rented²³.

New Gorbals

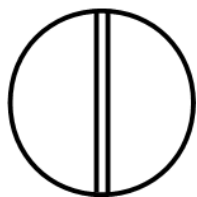
This area was a high-rise council estate, following demolition of Victorian tenemental slums in the 1960s/1970s and redevelopment in a modernist style. The mixed-tenure of New Gorbals was brought about in a different way to the other two study estates. In this case, the method was demolition and total redevelopment of the area through a master-planning process^{27,28} with a strong emphasis on urban design²⁹, mixing commercial with residential development, and led by an economic development agency with substantial input from a community-based housing association. The use of a high-density grid street pattern and modern tenement buildings which sometimes alternate tenures between 'closes' or stairwells in the same building or row of tenements, means that tenure mixing is much more integrated than in the other two estates. Further, due to the type of housing, its marketing and the proximity to the city centre, far fewer (15%) of the occupants of private housing are families and a large number (40%) are in professional type occupations¹³. The resultant tenure mix is also different. According to Glasgow City Council council tax records, the completed New Gorbals area had, in 2008, 1,779 dwellings, of which 51% were social rented, 38% owner occupied and 11% private rented.

Sampling areas: mixed tenure configurations

We aimed to select participants from different parts of the three estates, according to the configuration of housing tenures in local neighbourhoods. This sample area selection involved two stages. First, GIS software was used to map at the postcode unit level the tenure of micro-areas using local authority council tax records. Any postcode unit (average of 15 dwellings) that had a mix of social renting and owner occupation (both tenures >30%) was classified as 'integrated'. For other postcodes

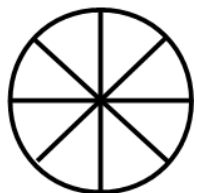
that were entirely (>90%) or predominantly (>70%) either social rented or owner occupied, we visually examined the pattern of tenure-classified units within different parts of the estates in order to identify whether the spatial configuration of tenures within local neighbourhoods could be considered as 'segmented' or 'segregated'. Our guidance tool for this stage was the typology shown in Figure 1. The pattern of tenure-postcode units for the three estates can be seen in Figures 2a, b and c. We chose two integrated areas (in Drumchapel and the Gorbals), two segmented areas (in the Gorbals and Castlemilk) and three segregated areas (two in Drumchapel and one in Castlemilk) for recruitment of study participants. The tenure configurations were confirmed by researcher inspection on the ground prior to interviews.

Figure 1. Typology of spatial configuration of tenures.



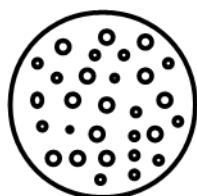
Segregated

Groups are concentrated, or in close proximity but with a clear division, for example, a main road.



Segmented

Alternating segments. Each group occupying a block or pocket, e.g. a cul-de-sac.

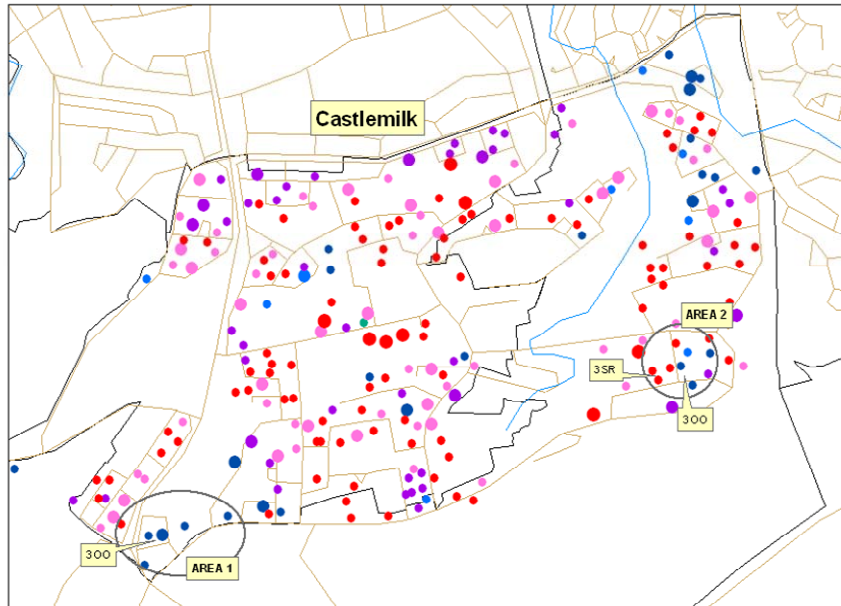


Integrated

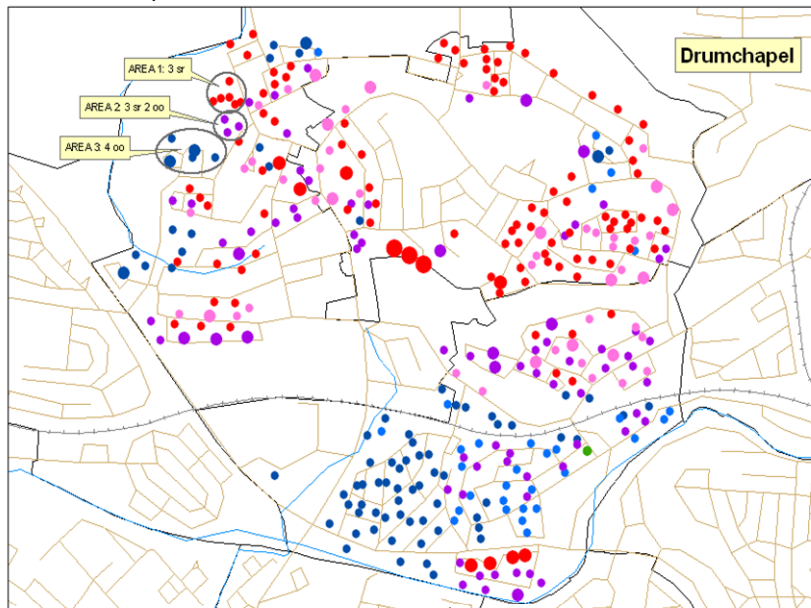
Groups sharing the same street, or on a home-by-home basis: 'pepper-potted'.

Figure 2. Tenure patterns within the three estates.

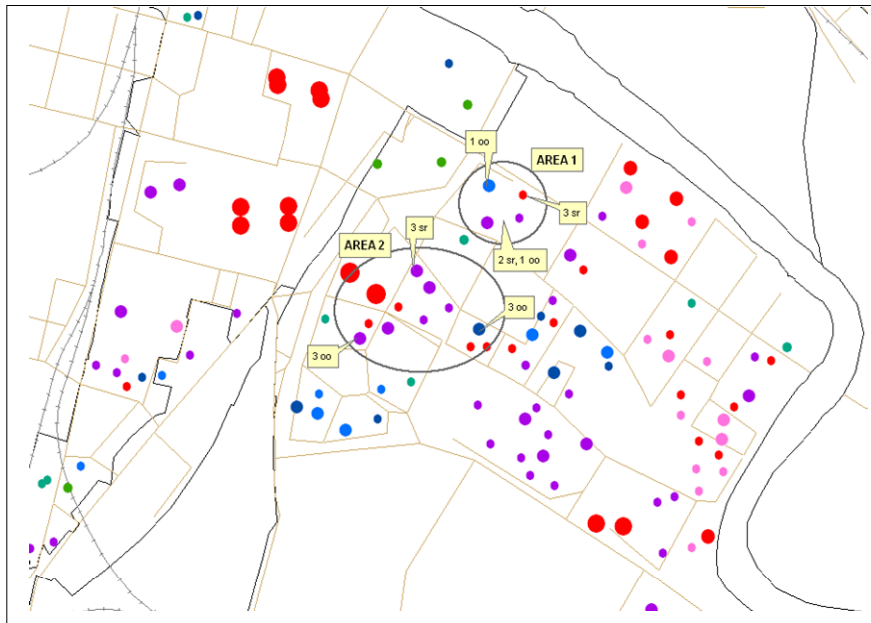
a. Castlemilk Estate



b. Drumchapel Estate



c. 'New Gorbals'



Key:

Type of tenure per postcode unit



Recruitment, fieldwork and achieved sample

From across the three estates and seven selected neighbourhoods, we aimed to recruit approximately 30 interviewees, with similar numbers of owner occupiers (OO) and social renters (SR). Inclusion criteria for the study were:

- Families with children of school age.
- Heads of households or family members responsible for decisions regarding the dwelling.
- Tenure type: Social renters (SR) and owner-occupiers (OO).
- Living in properties built after 1990.

Participants were recruited by letter and then by interviewer visit. A Freephone number was provided in the letter for those who wished to decline a visit. Fieldwork was conducted in August and September 2009 by trained interviewers, and interviews took place in the homes of participants at a time which suited the residents including weekends or evenings. The interviews were digitally recorded with participants' consent, stored securely, and anonymised. The average length of interviews was 45 minutes and participants were given a £10 shopping voucher to acknowledge their time. Ethical approval for this research was given by the Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow. Participants provided written consent and were assured that their participation was voluntary and anonymous.

Content and analysis

Semi-structured qualitative interviews focused on the opinions, experiences and perceptions of respondents. Residents were asked about the quality of their neighbourhoods, their degree of neighbourhood satisfaction and attachment to the area, and their views of people living in homes from the 'other' tenure. Participants were also asked about the benefits or problems of their housing and neighbourhood, and also about their experiences of change and regeneration in their area. In relation to mixed tenure specifically, the focus involved their awareness or identification of tenures, interactions with people from different tenures, their views on whether mixing tenures works in the neighbourhood, and the positives and negatives of tenure diversification overall. (See Appendix I for the Interview Schedule) Some sociodemographic information was also collected. Additionally, residents were asked to draw maps of their respective area in order to aid discussion and recall, and to allow participants to carefully consider their opinions, experiences and use of their area. The interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically, looking in particular for similarities and differences in perceptions, views and experiences between OO and SR residents; between residents in the three study areas and residents in the three different mixed tenure configurations. In what follows, we make use of quotations from the interviews which were most relevant to illustrating the positive and negative views held about mixed tenure.

Results

A total of 37 interviews were conducted, as shown in Table 1. Reflecting the differences between the estates, no interviews were conducted in segmented areas in Drumchapel, none in segregated areas in the Gorbals, and none in integrated areas in Castlemilk. Overall, however, the sample was balanced between the three configurations: ten participants from segregated areas, 13 from segmented, 14 from integrated; and evenly divided between the tenures: 20 owners and 17 social renters. The majority of participants were female (n=30). The response rates across the estates were similar: Castlemilk = 56%; Drumchapel = 52%; and the Gorbals = 55% (see Appendix II for more details).

Table 1. Achieved sample.

Tenure	MT configuration	Castlemilk N=9	Drumchapel N=12	The Gorbals N=16	Total N=37
OO	Integrated	0	2	4	6
	Segmented	3	0	4	7
	Segregated	3	4	0	7
	Total OO	6	6	8	20
SR	Integrated	0	3	5	8
	Segmented	3	0	3	6
	Segregated	0	3	0	3
	Total SR	3	6	8	17

The results from this study are presented in five sections covering the following topics:

1. Settlement in the area and place attachment.
2. Mobility and use of local amenities in the neighbourhood.
3. Perceptions of housing and the neighbourhood.
4. Care for the environment, sense of safety and experience of antisocial behaviour.
5. Experience and perceptions of mixing tenures.

In each section we compare and contrast owners' and social renters' experiences of living in the three estates and of living in different configurations of tenure.

Results section 1: Settlement in the area and place attachment

This initial section draws on the perspectives and experiences of the residents to explore their levels of attachment to the neighbourhoods and sense of belonging and identification felt by the residents in the mixed tenure areas of the estates. It also examines their positive and negative perceptions of where they live, including the psychosocial impacts of the neighbourhood for themselves and their children. The section explores respondents' reasons for moving to or staying in the neighbourhood, and 'push' and 'pull' factors associated with decisions to stay or move on.

Reasons for moving to or staying in the neighbourhood

The residents were first asked about their reasons for moving to their current house and neighbourhood. The responses were influenced by the length of time the respondent had lived in the neighbourhood and whether they had grown up there. Most of the social renters interviewed had lived in their neighbourhood for over 15 years and many had grown up in the area. Many cited personal and social links as reasons for staying in their neighbourhoods. None of the Castlemilk social renters said that growing up in the area was significant to their decision to move to the area. Those renters who did cite growing up in the area as important for their decision to remain or to return associated the neighbourhood with feelings of neighbourhood familiarity and place attachment.

It's a – I moved away from the area and then I moved – I've made a couple of moves but I've been – so I was away for a while, I've come back and it just feels like coming back home. Because I was born here, not in this house, and lived here, so it is really positive. And I meet lots of people that I knew when I was young...I wanted to come to the area and I was delighted when they offered me this.

[SR, Integrated, Gorbals]

Well I just moved into this house from Sandyfield in my mum's house, up the high flats, but I've lived in the Gorbals all my life... I just, like I know everybody and so I'd feel better living here.

[SR, Segmented, Gorbals]

It's ideal here...if it wasn't for the name Drumchapel, everybody would live here. If people actually came up and looked at this area, they – because I came from Drumchapel originally and I knew the area, so it wasn't alien to me...No, I mean, as soon as I viewed this house, I – you just got a feeling for it and I just thought, oh, I want this house.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Participants of both tenures and across all three areas also spoke about the importance of needing extra space for their growing families and how that related to their decision to move.

Moved from two streets down, Ballantrae. That was too small so we had to get a bigger house.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Well, it's a three bedroom house so they each, each have their own space, that's basically that was why we moved to a bigger house, to give them their own space, two girls.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

When I moved to that property I'm just me and my son and at that time I'm a lone parent. After two years, I'm married and I have two more kids.

[OO, Segmented, Gorbals]

Many owners had also moved to the neighbourhood from a different area due to the pull of affordable housing on offer. This was evident in all of the areas but particularly evident in Castlemilk.

Well it's not, I won't say it was one of the nicest areas, you know. But it was the size of the house and the price that suits.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

We were actually living with my husband's parents so we decided to buy our own house... Yeah, so, 'cause then, see when we were planning to move, the most important thing was these houses were cheap. They were so cheap then, we couldn't really ignore that fact [Laughing].

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

Because when they built these houses it was like a kind of pilot scheme, so the mortgage was really, really low, the price of the houses were very low, and it was the only way that we could actually get on the property ladder, so, that was why.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Other reasons for moving to, or remaining in, an area entailed specific local attractions such as the proximity of amenities and personal reasons like getting married. Many owners in the Gorbals were attracted to the neighbourhood by what they perceived to be specific advantages of the houses and amenities in the area. The type of house on offer in Castlemilk was also mentioned as a specific 'pull' factor, for example, the following residents wanted to buy a house with a suburban layout as opposed to a flat.

I came here, more for the house, it was the first time I was buying a house. And in Dennistoun you couldn't get a house with a back and front door. Know like, know how it was too expensive, so I thought I'd try over here. That kind of- the kind of main drag of shops and things like that, because my oldest son was going to school and I just felt, I'd rather be over this end rather than be know like in the East End.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Most of the Gorbals owners framed their decision to move in terms of the improvements to the area with regeneration.

The area was looking like it was progressing, it was coming up, you know, some new housing and so we decided to take the plunge. It was a big risk initially, but I think eventually it paid off in the sense that we've been ok here so.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

It is important to note that in interviews with the Gorbals residents from an ethnic minority, respondents described experiences of racism, lack of safety, overcrowding and anonymity as reasons for their house move, particularly due to the attraction of increased privacy as well as the problems of enforced communality that come with living in high flats with many 'unknown' occupants.

I'm a Muslim woman and sometimes I'm not feeling safe to be in the lift. There are so many reasons, that's why. And another reason is as well, the housing association attitude is very good towards me but the administration in the... who is in charge, he's always very racist towards me. That's the main reason as well and that my son needed more room... I feel so much privacy rather than I'm living in high flats you know. When I'm entering in my building, I need to face nearly ten, fifteen people and every time it happened, the people not very welcoming, you know, and even I'm smiling and the people they are just... and that always makes me upset. Now, it's my own home and I'm not facing so many people. I just come in and open the door and I'm in home, you know.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Intentions of moving from neighbourhood

Most residents of either tenure did not have plans to move in the next three years. The Gorbals renters and Drumchapel owners appeared to be the most settled and in terms of the composition of mixed tenure configurations, integrated renters were the group least likely to move in the next three years, closely followed by segregated and segmented owners.

Reasons for staying

When explaining their reasons for wanting to stay, owners typically mentioned not wanting to disrupt their children's schooling, the financial climate which meant they could not afford to move and, as described in previous sections, feeling attached to the area.

Well, we own our home. The girls, I've got twin girls of twelve and they've just started high school so therefore I've got no intention of moving until they're further on in their education.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

We wouldn't [move] no. Not in this current [financial] climate, no.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

I've always wanted to live in Castlemilk, I wouldn't have moved out of it.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Hopefully, if nothing happens, this'll be the house we die in basically you know.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

None of the renters in the Gorbals intended to move in the next three years. Both renters and owners in the Gorbals said that they do not want to move because they were happy with the improved housing quality, good area connections and adequate local amenities as well as social and family links in the area.

Location-wise, it's great. I just don't ever see me living anywhere but here. In the quality of housing now – I mean, if I stay here the rest of my life, I'll be quite happy.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

No, for the next three years we have plans to live here and we will enjoy the facilities provided within this campus [estate]... The house is good because this is quite new compared to the old properties here and also we like you know, the facilities provided by the housing association, the cleaning of gardens, cleaning of the road, everything we are quite happy about it... the facilities are near within walkable distance from our place... it's well designed – actually, yeah, because the design is the most important for the Gorbals, and which is ok, which is very good actually but apart from some small, small changes I think the, my area is quite good.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

But it is a really good area to live. It's in the middle of every amenity you could need beside you, and it's all within, it's no even within travelling – it's within walking distance – so it's good for older people as well, who don't get about so much. That's basically, it's mainly dead central for everything... I like living in this area. I wouldn't like to move out it, so... Aye, and I'm secure in this area, 'cause my family's everywhere round about here as well so, and I know it like the back of my hand... but the main thing I can say is that I wouldn't want to move away.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Even those owners in the Gorbals who did have plans to move away from the neighbourhood in the next three years commented on the difficulty of that decision because of the high quality amenities and connections.

Yeah, we tried; we tried last two years to move. But the kids they like the area because it's near the city centre, the leisure centre. And I don't know. Because they're used to live here, this is why they don't want to move other place.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Wanting to move

The few owners and renters in Castlemilk and Drumchapel who wanted to move in the next three years framed this decision in terms of the age of their children and waiting until they were starting secondary school, as well as wanting more space in a bigger house. A few renters also mentioned wanting to move to a quieter area with fewer problems.

Hopefully move. Just anywhere that's not as, obviously lively as this. Yeah, not as rough.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Some participants did want to move house due to practical reasons but they wanted to stay within the estate. These, mainly integrated renters, wanted to move within the estate because they needed a larger or more child friendly house or wanted to be in a part of the estate nearer amenities.

Well I've been waiting on a house along the road, anywhere round about here, 'cause he'll be going to high school. So just another bigger house I'd like... There's not, there used to be something to do around here but there's nothing really now. Aye. I'm thinking if I moved down the road there's the park, he could get to that. Even like to go a walk, you get fed up... Be able to get to the library easier and swimming, 'cause you'd be nearer it, and the big park, rather than being away up here... It's been all right, place, place to live. But when you get older, you're looking for something more, which is the stage I'm coming up to.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Well I've actually been thinking about just moving house, but not the area. Uh-huh. Just kind of off this building... I would say, these buildings I would – they're not for kids. I mean there's nothing here, and she can't get out to play here. Well, when I've got that big garden, which is – we don't have that good weather. So can only go in the good weather. Can only go down there in the good weather 'cause the gardens are pure swamped or else it's just round the back which is very tiny. And there's no wee clubs or anything like that for the kids to do, round about here. They're further down the hill. So, that's the kind of downfall here, do you know what I mean. I mean there's nothing really for anybody to do.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

A further commitment to staying was the capacity to buy their own house in the estate in the future.

You can't buy this house anyway because they're just brand new. They're only seven year old. Hopefully, hopefully I can buy it in three years. It's going to be a ten year rent. I will buy it, I definitely will buy it. Because obviously the rent's going to be – the price is going to be right down.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Trapped

In the Gorbals, no residents spoke of feeling isolated or stuck in their area, and none expressed a willingness to 'escape' their current situation. However, this was not the case for some social renters in the other two estates who felt trapped in the area and would move if they could, but this was going to be unlikely.

If I win the lottery aye! Well if I win the lottery where would I go? I don't know. Unless something like the lottery came up, I'm stuck here aren't I? Unless I met Mr Right and he was going to whisk me away.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Identification with neighbourhood

A central part of the interviews was to gain understanding of the sense of belonging and identification with place felt by the residents in the mixed tenure neighbourhoods. This was explored through asking the respondents to identify which area or areas of their personal neighbourhood they felt they belonged to. Other parts of the interviews covering the local places used by residents, social interactions and, in the case of residents who had grown up in their neighbourhood, the reasons for staying in or moving back to the neighbourhood, all shed light on their sense of belonging and identification with the neighbourhood. Examining residents' descriptions of their neighbourhoods was particularly useful in the few cases where residents were unable to say where they felt they belonged but clearly identified with their area in some way.

How and what residents identified as their neighbourhood, across all areas, tended to be determined by whether they were new to the area or had lived there for many years or had grown up in the neighbourhood.

Visible and invisible boundaries

Owner occupiers in the Gorbals defined their area as distinct from the remaining older parts of the estate, and actively referred to their area as the 'New Gorbals'. For these residents, the New Gorbals was perceived as different and separate from the Gorbals as a whole.

I would say I live in the New Gorbals, yeah.

[OO, Segmented, Gorbals]

My area is quite good... It is just here, this is the divider which is – you can say, the campus [estate] is divided here.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Similarly owner occupiers in Castlemilk and Drumchapel primarily identified with their immediate area, which they regarded as the few streets around their house or their cul-de-sac. For the most part these owners had moved from a different part of

Glasgow to the new housing area within the larger estate so did not feel any sense of attachment to that wider estate. Regardless of the configuration of tenure mix, these new housing developments or cul-de-sacs were regarded by participants as separate to the wider area due to subtle, often physical, differences to their surroundings. This could be the design of the buildings, a dividing road, or being located on the periphery of the larger estate. These developments were often given specific names such as 'Carmunnock Grange'. Alternatively, residents highlighted the separateness of their immediate area by referring to 'up this end' or 'that estate over there', demonstrating the separation between areas.

Honestly? I'd describe this area as Drumchapel View, because if you stand out there you can see the whole of Drumchapel. That sounds weird but –

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Well, it's a new housing estate, we're the first people in the, in the estate, new builds... No, we don't class ourselves right in the centre of Drumchapel because if you just go down that hill and you've got Great Western Road and you cross Great Western Road and that's you into Clydebank, there actually was a bit of dispute about our postcodes, whether we were G15 or whether we were... this was spare ground before so this never ever existed. Drumchapel ended at that road, see when you go out and you go to the left, the roundabout, the big long road there? That was, that's where Drumchapel ended and then they built this estate, on the farmland, so we're sort of in a bit of a no man's land. That's why I think you'll find everybody calls it Kilpatrick View.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

These residents, particularly segregated owners, were eager to emphasise that the area they belonged to was clearly separate from the problems and reputation of the wider estate and particularly from social rented areas of the estate.

Drumchapel as a whole, I mean, I won't allow them to go down to the shopping centre. I'm not happy about that. Up here I think we're sort of a... out the road of things a wee bit in these estates. But Drumchapel as a whole

is horrendous... Well, this side of the estate is bought. Across the road, just directly across there, that's – they're rented houses... I don't well, let's just put it this way, I don't have any dealings with anything – any – I stay within the estate, we always keep ourselves to ourselves.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

No, just this estate... Really we're on the border of Castlemilk and Carmunnock. You know so... We've got lovely neighbours. They're all very friendly, the Grange, it's called the Grange. Carmunnock Grange... Just the people up here I know, don't know Castlemilk at all.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

In Castlemilk? No. No friends in Castlemilk. I don't know the name of the area but it's like, do you know where – Croftfoot... we go from there to there... But see where – tell you what, if you wanted to ask the concept of Castlemilk, like, the, do you know the housing schemes, because council housing schemes, they're actually far from here. So, I can't really tell you because I've never been to those, streets and, as – because we've got like a mile strip of new build houses.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

Residents of both tenures in the Gorbals described the divide between the old and the new areas of the Gorbals with the old area often associated with problems, such as antisocial behaviour, whereas the 'New Gorbals' was seen to have a better reputation and be better to live in.

I'd put this under New Gorbals because it's like, the building and stuff, on its own, it just looks a lot newer like compared to like all the old houses. And it's like, along this way's mostly like new houses I would say so, that's how as well... Aye, this bits got a good reputation. Over there, like Waddell Court [older houses] and stuff. That's no really got a very good reputation... See because of the different ends of the Gorbals and like, it's kind of like – I don't know, like the Gorbals is like separated in two bits. And like over that end, like

that's where a lot of trouble happens as well. So like fighting and stuff. See how like where the old flats are? Well it's like over that end.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Attachment to the area in long-time residents

Residents who had lived in the area for a long time or had grown up in the area, tended to identify with the estates in their entirety even if they were aware of divides between areas within it, and this was irrespective of tenure.

I'd say I'm from Castlemilk, yeah. Well this used to be called Cathkin View, this is what this area was called. And you used to get people that wouldn't say 'they came from Castlemilk', they'd say 'I live in Cathkin View'. People used to ask, 'where do you live?' 'I live in Cathkin View'. Used to go, because they didn't like the stigma of saying they lived in Castlemilk... but I mean a lot of people have moved into the area because the houses are, well these houses, they've been here since, fifteen years. So – but all the new houses, I mean people are paying hundred and ninety thousand maybe. And they get a Castlemilk postcode so I don't think they were too chuffed. [Laughing]... So this was always called Cathkin View. So it used to – where do you live? I used to say to people I live very, very High Burnside. Over Carmunnock. [Laughs] 'So where's that? – Castlemilk! [Laughs] Aye. I live in Castlemilk. No, but it doesn't bother me... But, no, I think I have always been like that, I've always come from Castlemilk and I don't think I would ever move out.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

It's a nice place... I belong here, in this area, here, definitely home... If they were to ask me 'oh, what's the area like where you stay?' It's friendly, Drumchapel is friendly. Yeah, I would say 'I stay in Drumchapel'... There's alcoholics, drug addicts, the fact that there are – Yeah, not like specifically in this bit... Yeah, this bit I mean, when you come – it kind of splits up here, and from that bit onwards, it's fine. Yeah, from here like this is Katewell, and see from about like the other two houses like down the road, right down to about, I

don't know, number... down to about number 38, is ok, but any further than that it's bad.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Kensmore Gardens and things? Cranmore Crescent? It's a lot quieter round there because obviously it's like, if you have been round there you'll notice that it's like kind of blocked in streets. So the residents, and most of those houses round there are bought, so they know everybody obviously that stays in their street, and they know these wee toerags if they're in the street, they don't belong there, there's no reason for them to be there so they just chase them out... I'd say I live in Drumchapel. And you always get a response, and it's always [gasps] you know 'what's it like there?'

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

The owners in the Gorbals who also identified with the whole estate had lived there for over 15 years or grew up there; as such they also felt a sense of attachment to the whole estate.

I'd probably say I belong to all of Gorbals because I've stayed along at that end of the Gorbals, and – when I was younger and then I stayed a bit further along.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Owners who had grown up in the area or lived there for over fifteen years, additionally related their attachment to their neighbourhood to the fact that they felt they were from the area and had social and personal links to it.

I've always wanted to live in Castlemilk, I wouldn't have moved out of it... Because they're [neighbours] – they would look out for you, they're always there if you need anything, and family I suppose. Family, my family's all here so... But, no, I think I have always been like that, I've always come from Castlemilk and I don't think I would ever move out.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

My neighbours are brilliant, it's a cul-de-sac so there's no traffic, I've stayed in Drumchapel nearly all my life.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

I've always known this area, I grew up in the area – It's better, it's positive, 'cause I always grew up in the area, you know since a small child. And when they built the houses I was, you know I wanted to stay in the area, because I knew it well, you know... I think I mean I would always want her to know where I came from and my parents came from and, I'm not embarrassed in any way about it. But I think you know, you – I think you always want better for your kids.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Sense of pride

Some social renters indicated a sense of pride or attachment linked to identification with the whole estate, even if they were aware of divides between areas within the neighbourhood, and this was especially so for the Gorbals residents.

Basically it's a lovely wee street and there's nothing wrong with it, just it's a nice wee area you know. There's nothing else I can say... Oh I'd say I belonged to the whole area, not just the street.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Even when I didn't live here I'd say 'Well, I stay in Langside, but I come from the Gorbals'. You know, it was always, 'I came from the Gorbals'. And aye, it does matter to me, living here.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

I'm quite patriotic about the Gorbals. I would be quite... aye you know you would, when people start to like, have a go at it, you try and push the good point, because there is – and there's still a lot of good people live in the Gorbals. Even people say, 'oh people up the high flats...' still a lot of good people live up the high flats. It's not all doom and gloom.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Where I live? I don't know. It's five minutes from town, where I live – I don't know, it's just because I've always been brought up to think the people are nice from the Gorbals. But then, if you speak to other folk that don't come, they always think the Gorbals has got a bad name. But to me, it's not... No, I would say the whole area. The whole area is where I belong, aye.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Lack of attachment, identification and negative views

Some of the owners who didn't identify strongly with Drumchapel or Castlemilk were recent movers to the area and maintained a lingering identification with their previous area, or alternatively, they worked outside the neighbourhood and also sent their children to school outwith their neighbourhood.

I would just say it's one of the, the rougher bits of Drumchapel... I just live in here, I don't actually spend my time, if it's a nice day or whatever we just go – go away somewhere... I wouldn't, I don't associate really with any of them [neighbours].

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Em, I'd say, the new, up the new road in Drumchapel. That's it. Just the new road. No I wouldn't say that I lived in Drumchapel. I'd say I belong to Clydebank.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

In a noticeable departure from the generally positive identification with their neighbourhoods, a few renters in Drumchapel and Castlemilk had difficulty saying which areas they belonged to, they did not feel attached to their neighbourhood and felt negatively about it.

I want to move, I don't like Drumchapel, I've never liked it. Oh – I don't know. The worst part of Drumchapel.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Preferably won't stay here, I'm not a lover of housing schemes... I've stayed in this scheme since I was five years of age, so I've been here quite a few years and it's always the same problems, vandalism, not enough facilities, no shops.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Despite having significant negative feelings about their neighbourhood, some renters aspired to improve their lives and thus dissociated themselves from their neighbours and neighbourhood.

I would basically just say that it's nice houses and stuff but it's the same people that's in it, so it's a bit rough. Obviously a typical council estate... I feel like I don't want to settle for living here, I don't want to be, because most people here are just – I feel like the majority of people here are just basically living on benefits and don't want to better themselves but, that's not me.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Psychosocial impact of the neighbourhood

Respondents were asked whether they felt their neighbourhood had an impact upon their wellbeing and how they felt about themselves. In many cases however, respondents were unsure of how to respond to this question directly and it was in fact other parts of the interview that shed light on this theme, such as whether residents wanted to move out of their neighbourhood, what they liked about it, its reputation and their sense of safety. All of these interview topics touched upon the positive or negative feelings among residents about their neighbourhood.

Most residents of the three mixed tenure neighbourhoods interviewed felt attached to their neighbourhood and articulated very positive feelings and a positive sense of attachment to their neighbourhood. These residents still noted particular problems in their neighbourhood, such as antisocial behaviour, however these problems did not seem to detract from their overall positive feelings of attachment to their neighbourhood.

Owners

When talking about their feelings towards their neighbourhood owners in all three areas talked about the quietness of the area and having good neighbours. This was particularly so among segregated owners, with the implication being that the quiet, well-behaved neighbours were fellow owner occupiers.

Actually love this place at the moment, love being here... It's quiet and all the neighbours are nice. 'Cause they're all working people. So that's nice... It's a nice place... Yeah, I mean – I am happy, because it's my house.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

It's ideal here, couldn't have picked a better place... I would tell people, come and look at Drumchapel, you'd be surprised what there is here... Well, I'm comfortable with it, I like living here.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Owners in the Gorbals also noted the important role of their neighbours in their positive feelings about their neighbourhood, however they also tended to talk about the improvements in the area and its good links to the surrounding area as important factors in their positive perceptions of the area.

No I like living here. It's good. Most people know if you say the Gorbals they have this image, and you have to explain that it's actually the complete opposite. It's very friendly, it's new builds, there's a lot of new builds, there's still the high rises and all the rest of it, but it's just a very friendly place.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

I'd say it's friendly, there's a sense of community. It's good for families because of the schools and the traffic management within the area is good as well. You're close... it's good for the city centre, I'm like I don't have a car so we just... we can walk into the city centre, handy for buses.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Owners – mixed or negative feelings

Some owners expressed more mixed feelings about their neighbourhood. While they expressed some positive feelings and a sense of attachment to their neighbourhood, they also had concerns and negative feelings regarding problems in particular parts of the estate, which they thought had a detrimental effect on how they felt about living there.

...there are a lot of people with problems in Drumchapel and erm... it can drag you down, and you want better for yourself. Everyone wants better for themselves and their children of course, but you can't walk up to these people and say, you shouldn't be doing that. It can drag you down at times, but I don't let it get to me. I used to, I mean years ago, I was terrible. I used to feel sad and I was angry and, just because the way these people were, but now I've come to terms with it. These people have chosen that way of life and it's got nothing to do with me, so why should I let their actions affect my life?

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

It's a nice neighbourhood... It's a – it's lovely, there's a farm across the road, with all the spare ground and then the wee village of Carmunnock about two minutes up the road. It's lovely... Well it's not, I won't say it was one of the nicest areas, you know. But it was the size of the house and the price that suits. We've got lovely neighbours. They're all lovely round here. It's just I'm sure like across there... there's a few, yobs.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

Another interesting facet of neighbourhood attachment was that of the variously tenured residents in the Gorbals who have mixed feelings about their area, all said that they are from an ethnic minority and linked this to their having some problems settling into the neighbourhood. This, rather than their social rented or owner occupied tenure, was their chief concern when questioned about their attachment to the neighbourhood. These residents described feeling positive about their neighbourhood in terms of its appearance and the quality of housing and amenities, yet they also described feelings of loneliness, isolation and a lack of social

connections in the community, related to a lack of people in the area from the same ethnic group or due to people being unfriendly.

My kids are very settled in the school here. My son loves his school and my daughter loves her nursery because she just started last month... I'm not going to move... Very handy for me. I love to live here because – I don't know, I'm different from Asian people. I don't want to live with Indian peoples. I feel really private, I mean – how I describe is like – I feel like I have all my life rather than so many Asian people around me you know, and this is very handy, so many nurseries and school and GP and shopping area, everything is in your hands... Sometimes, sometimes I feel alone like because people come from very different communities and they're not very welcoming and sometimes I feel – but some people are really, the Scottish people are very honest. They are very welcoming and even in the high flats I have very good friends up there but all alone I feel, on the whole I feel alone.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Renters

While most renters felt positive about their area this did vary between the three estates with the most positive being the Gorbals renters. Like many owners, the social renters related their positive feelings about their neighbourhood to the social and personal links they had with the area because in most cases they had lived in their area for a long time. Renters also particularly mentioned the importance of having family nearby and the mutual support provided by family and neighbours.

You know they can just – you know all the other neighbours sort of look out for the kids as well you know, so it's nice, no it's great... For me it's certainly positive 'cause I work in the area and I know a lot of people and I've got a lot of friends in the area.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

I mean I do like the area like. I mean I wouldn't move out it, like it's because of what I'm used to. I just don't like change, but my husband would move out it in a minute, but he doesn't come from this way so... just, it's obviously what I

know and it's the people I know and my family stay round about it, so I've got help there with the kids, and it's everybody, like I feel safe, I could go out and leave my house kind of thing and I feel safe, I know that – know everybody round about it, that's mine.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Integrated renters in the Gorbals seem to articulate particularly positive feelings about their area, linked to feeling comfortable in their area and having a sense of pride associated with it.

Location-wise, it's great. I just don't ever see me living anywhere but here. In the quality of housing now – I mean, if I stay here the rest of my life, I'll be quite happy... Because I'm so happy and content here, that makes such a difference, obviously. I know I wouldn't be as happy. I feel quite isolated. When I first got married, I moved a couple of miles up the road and I hated it with a passion.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

A noticeable departure from the generally positive results, were amongst renters in Drumchapel, many of whom felt negative about their neighbourhood. Concerns were raised over living in the 'roughest' part of their area and a sense of being confined or 'trapped' within it, with no hope of being able to move away in the future. While this feeling was highlighted most in Drumchapel, it wasn't confined to Drumchapel.

...so I've been here quite a few years and it's always the same problems, vandalism, not enough facilities, no shops... It can be fine, it can be depressing, it depends what's going on round about here. If there's a lot of youngsters maybe fighting outside which you get on, quite a regular basis round about here. But it's no very nice when you look out of the window and see youngsters that are pulling knives out their pocket. That, that's not nice to live in, no.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Think it can [affect how you feel] can't it? Aye definitely. It's negative. It's the people, the area. But the area would be all right if the people were all right as well. But – I suppose you'll get that everywhere you go. It's not – it's because it's a housing scheme, you get all these alkie and junkies – trying to keep yourself to yourself and you don't want the weans out in case.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Impact of neighbourhood on children

Residents across the three areas discussed the perceived impact of the neighbourhood on their children. This was discussed more often by renters than owners with more discussion about likely negative impacts than positive views. Owners' views were more mixed. The issues raised were the effects of children socialising with others, amenities for children in the areas and the usually negative effects of unappealing or antisocial behaviour of adults.

Influence of the other children

Residents saw both positive and negative consequences of the influence of other children.

Oh totally, socially it's fantastic for them, you know just, really great fitness-wise, doing all this sort of football, running about thing. You know they can just – you know all the other neighbours sort of look out for the kids as well you know, so it's nice, no it's great... I don't think there's any long term – you know [daughter's name] speaks slightly rougher than her cousins do, just because you know she's mixing with kids every day that say 'aye', 'naw' or whatever, so she's – you know she's got cousins and she'll – you know you'll hear a slight, you know couple of wee words that – but whether that's – it's not a problem to me, whether that could be seen as a problem to anybody else I'm not sure.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

While physical group activities and friendships based in the neighbourhood were viewed very positively, others raised the possible negative consequences of mixing with children in the neighbourhood:

I feel like I don't want to settle for living here, I don't want to be, because most people here are just – I feel like the majority of people here are just basically living on benefits and don't want to better themselves but, that's not me... Definitely I think living here does [affect children]. I think it's actually quite scary to think that I'm going to put her to school with half of the wee brats that live here... just basically the way they've been brought up, they can do whatever they want. I mean I go down that street at eleven o'clock at night they're still running about the streets and they're themselves and we're like – you just don't see a parent in sight. And just annoys me.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Potential negative effects of undesirable adult behaviours

There were also concerns about the likely negative consequences of some adults' behaviour in the neighbourhoods specifically issues with drug use as well as having concerns over the impact the bad reputation of an area may have on their children's future.

I don't like walking down there, obviously with my young boys because, it's not nice to see, especially on a good day like this, the shops are full of them like, it's just people standing about drinking or – you can tell they're full of drugs or whatever, so it's not nice to see like... It's just not nice to see them about like that. Especially in the middle of the day. My wee boy said to me, 'why is somebody drinking at this time of day?' How can you explain that to a five year old kind of, like that sort of thing?... I worry about it like, what my boys going to be like when they grow up kind of thing. But they're still at a young age just now that I think well they're fine just now like. It's just as they get older.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

I thought they could have made some wee private booth where they can go into – ‘cause I used to have my kids. Not all times, once my youngest said to me, ‘what’s he doing?’ ‘He’s taking his medicine, son’, you know? ‘But why has he got medicine?’ And I don’t want to answer these questions to young kids. You know it wasn’t, he didn’t ask all the time – it was a one-off question, but I remember just feeling really uncomfortable with it... I don’t want to across with a snobbish reply – ‘cause it’s not snobbish at all. Because people were very much frowned upon from the Gorbals years ago, kind of looked down on... we used to have our own secondary school, and then they closed that down and moved them up to Holyrood, and they were kind of frowned upon because there’s a lot of people from, quote, nice areas, go to that school. And then, all of a sudden, they were letting all the weans from the Gorbals in and they weren’t happy – and that really gets to me. I hate that attitude.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

The Gorbals owners who expressed concerns about their children, had mixed feelings about the potential of neighbourhood impact, and tended to be aware of possible negative impacts of drugs and gang culture, but were hopeful that these would not be a major problem now that the Gorbals has improved.

Hopefully not. It’s just a normal area, I mean, I don’t see it as a drawback in terms of being the Gorbals whatever it carries in terms of its historical thing, but it’s hopefully, you know, doesn’t make any significant changes you know, whether we live here or somewhere else... Positively the schools are very good. And he’s made an awful lot of friends that’ll go with him all the way through. Bad things, you do – there are older children who do form a gang culture. Hopefully when he gets to that age, the pals he’s got won’t be the same because we’ve introduced other things and they’ll have moved away. But we’ll see.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Improved expectations and better local amenities

What really stands out from the results is that the Gorbals residents talked most positively about the effects of the area on their children, with residents of both tenures noting positive impacts. These residents generally focus on the improved expectations for their children and the positive effect of improved local amenities.

He's thinking of doing medicine – and I'm thinking, well do you know what, he really is, he really has done well... But I know there's a lot of kids go to uni, now, around here. In my time, university wouldn't have crossed our minds. It was never an expectation. Things have changed. Our expectations of ourselves have changed, and in turn, that affects the expectations of our children, kind of thing... Think growing up here, oh, you come out of school, you get a job in the factory, you get married and have your kids. But there was also no push to kind of do anything... but I think that's a kind of old, Gorbals, working class.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Well, like my daughter, she's fourteen I mean, like they go - she goes to a wee club that – she was at a wee thing the other night at one of her clubs, they had the beer goggles on and she thought it was quite funny, you know, they're banging into things, like the effects of drink and things, so they're trying to get them young enough to think, right, this is what can happen. And they raise drug awareness of that in a way that's no – they're not preaching, you know, it's on their level, so no, I would just think there's a lot of positives I mean, there's a lot – and they're trying to promote sport and that in the leisure centre for them so.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Among these residents, the fact that they had grown up in their neighbourhood seemed to be more important to their views on the impacts on their children than their tenure configuration was. All the Gorbals residents interviewed indicated an awareness that the area had improved since they were young, providing better opportunities for their children, and there seemed to be a sense of pride associated with this.

Summary

This section has examined residents' attachment to their neighbourhoods, their positive and negative perceptions of where they live, why they plan to stay or move; positive and negative psychosocial effects for themselves and their children.

A strong theme that arises from these interviews is the influence of the time residents have spent in these areas. Feelings of attachment to a neighbourhood are strongest, for either type of tenure, for those residents who have had a long association with the area.

Reasons given for staying or moving back to the area were in terms of social and family networks and feeling comfortable and 'at home' in the neighbourhood. For several owners, the pull of affordable housing was important, and for owners in the Gorbals the regeneration improvements to the housing and the neighbourhood more generally were also noted. Plans to move house were generally within the estate they lived in. Desired moves were for larger houses, closer to amenities or quieter areas in the estate.

The specific areas of an estate that residents identified with or felt they belonged to was also linked to how long they had lived there. Those who had lived in the area for a long time identified the estate broadly, while the majority (of owner occupiers) who were new to the area identified primarily with their immediate area. While identification with an area was generally positive, owners and renters were aware that some parts of the estate they lived in had poorer reputations. Some owners especially in Castlemilk and Drumchapel were keen to distance both themselves and their specific area from the perceived problems and unfavourable reputation of the estate as a whole and it is important to mention the contributory role that a segregated configuration played in supporting these perceptions. A number of owners identified with areas entirely outwith the case study estate in which they lived and this was often due to being very recent movers to the estate or conducting much of their professional or social lives in other parts of Glasgow.

Comparisons between renters, owners and tenure configuration

In terms of the composition of tenure configurations, integrated renters across all of the areas but particularly in the Gorbals were the least likely to plan a move in the next three years, closely followed by segregated owners predominantly from Drumchapel. Social renters in the Gorbals appeared to be the most settled in their neighbourhood, irrespective of tenure configuration, closely followed by mainly segregated owners in Drumchapel, and to a lesser extent, owners in the Gorbals and Castlemilk.

Effects on children

There were mixed views across the three areas regarding the impact of the neighbourhood on children. Renters in all three areas noted the positive impact of activities and friendships among children in the neighbourhood.

In terms of negative effects, some parents were concerned about their children mixing with children who did not have the same background and/or mixing with families who did not share similar parental attitudes. Other possible negative effects mentioned by owners and renters were: exposure to unwanted/inappropriate adult behaviours (drinking and drug use in public), gangs, and a lack of facilities or amenities.

The Gorbals residents were the only participants to talk about positive effects of the area on their children in terms of improved expectations for their children and the positive effect of improved local amenities such as school and clubs. There was a tangible sense of pride linked to the fact that their children would have good opportunities through living in the Gorbals.

The Gorbals is different

The responses from participants in the Gorbals differed from those in Castlemilk and Drumchapel. These differences may be due to the fact that a whole area of the estate has been redeveloped, giving the place a unique overall urban design and identity, which the peripheral areas do not have. Both renters and owners in the Gorbals mentioned the importance of the history of the estate and talked about its regeneration in the context of this. They were happy with the improved housing

quality, good area connections and adequate local amenities as well as social and family links in the area.

Results section 2: Mobility and use of local amenities in the neighbourhood

This section examines how residents move around their area – by walking, car or public transport – and whether they use amenities within or outwith their neighbourhood and why they do so. Residents' perceptions and experiences of the quality, provision, accessibility and use of transport and amenities are explored across spatial configuration, tenure and estate in tandem with their impressions of the ease and cost of accessing facilities for their children and other young people.

Getting around the area

Almost all owners had access to a car, while most renters reported no car access. The majority of renters therefore had to rely on a mixture of walking or public transport. Owners drove or walked depending on the accessibility of key amenities and areas by foot, and the accessibility and quality of amenities within the local area. The quality of public transport and the accessibility and quality of local amenities were important factors for residents.

For both owners and renters with car access, walking was an option but driving was often seen as necessary.

I would probably drive down. But if it's a nice day I would walk. I walk to the shopping centre. Takes me about, fifteen minutes walk? And about five minutes in the car.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

We're a wee bit remote here like for sort of transport routes right, the buses are, that come up Fettercairn and back down again, back, back down, is it Achamore, so it, it is a wee bit remote in that sense for like transport links, but it's only a five, ten minute walk, you know or I'd go by car... So that would take – in the car it would take you about five minutes, right, and the reason I would take the car because of the little one. The school, we try to walk when we can and the library and the community centre, we would take the car obviously because – the little fellow again, and the Donald Dewar Centre, you can go down there. That would take about a fifteen, twenty minute walk, and a fifteen, twenty minute walk back again, then you would take the car for that. Like to go to the city or the airport obviously, take the car.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

It is quite handy that – before I drove – like, was driving obviously, the bus terminus was down the road so that was quite all right and all... Well I've got a car now so, her nursery's just down the – down the road. But basically just drive.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Yeah, I think – you have to drive. You know if you didn't drive it would be a bit out the way. There's wee shops just up the road but there's not a great deal up there so you really have to drive. And I drive so.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Relying on public transport

Renters with no car access had to rely on public transport or walking but many noted, especially residents in Drumchapel, the poor quality of public transport services.

I'd normally walk but sometimes I take the bus. Because they [children] don't like walking. So it's a bus. A bus – it is a bus journey, it's only a couple of minutes.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

'Cause I don't like waiting up here for the buses, it's terrible to try and get a bus up here, it's like every half hour it'd be an hour. So it's no like a good service, so you're quicker walking.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

The, the local bus service is horrendous. We don't have one that takes us straight down the hill. The girls don't have one that takes them straight to - they go to Knightswood secondary school, so therefore, they have to walk down to the shopping centre to get a bus, well, nearly everybody – for access into Clydebank shopping centre or into the city centre.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

As discussed in more detail in the next section, having to rely on public transport to access amenities was an issue when local amenities were scarce. Many renters and owners in Drumchapel said that there were problems with the local shops and a lack of amenities for children and young people, forcing people to travel outside their area to access facilities.

There's nothing in Drumchapel Shopping Centre as a shopping centre, a Somerfield and that's it. So I'd wait till my husband comes home from work and we'll drive like to wherever we need to go to kind of thing... I think like as far as like the shopping centre...

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Residents' experiences in the Gorbals were quite different to the other two estates with most participants of both tenures, and independent of configuration, stating they walked or combined walking with public transport or car travel. The Gorbals' residents noted that many amenities were within walking distance and because there was good provision of public transport in the area.

Walk around, yeah. That's why I love this area because if I was going to buy a car, that's another expensive thing in my life and in Gorbals, I don't need to buy a car. I'm extremely happy, and walk around and do everything during my all day, you know. Don't need to use even bus.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

I've got a car but I walk, this is why I like it. Popping to shops only takes five minutes... This is why I like this area. This is why I like it. Yes it's good – I walk every single day, lots of exercise.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Well if I'm just going round to the shops or to town and stuff, I generally just walk. I do have a car, but that's like for getting me to work and stuff.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

No, my daughter goes by bus and no, I don't work... Aye, I use them [local shops] – but if I'm going to a big shop, it's Asda at Toryglen, and I get a bus up at the Citizen's as well, so it's no long. I mean I even walk, most times – so it doesn't take long.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Use of local amenities

Residents were asked about the amenities they used in their neighbourhood, how often they used them and whether they travelled outside the area for any amenities. As indicated in the previous section the use of amenities further afield depended on existence and quality of local amenities and car access and/or public transport. Use of amenities and, as we see later, quality of amenities, was different between the estates.

Castlemilk

Most Castlemilk residents of both tenures used their local facilities, whether exclusively or with amenities outside the neighbourhood. Most reported that the local amenities were of a good standard and bus services were good.

No the shops and everything is very handy here... Everything is good and the bus service and transport and everything you know.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

It's actually everything's quite good. You got the schools along there, buses are every five minutes, not a problem, and hopefully get a motor and be even better.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

This segmented renter feels that while local amenities are of good quality, access to a car would be helpful, providing more options and suggesting that there are some amenities she would ideally like to access outside the estate. The necessity of car access is highlighted by the only renter in Castlemilk with access to a car.

My daughter's nursery is just up the road as well so that's part of the, John Paul Primary School... There's the library, community centre, daughter – she's away to dancing... We generally do our main shop at Toryglen, or up to East Kilbride. There's a Somerfield in the shops just locally and it's fine, go there quite a lot as well.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

While residents were happy to use their local shops for some things those with cars travelled further afield for their main shopping, indicating that the shops within the estate do not provide everything residents need. Owners with car access used a mix of amenities and were able to easily travel to other areas making facilities more accessible for their children.

To be truthful we kind of go elsewhere... It's been closed for about a year and a half, two years, getting modernised so never really kind of use it. We work in the East End of Glasgow so, [daughter's name] is more used to going with us. And [other daughter's name], the school down at Trinity it's got a swimming pool, South Lanarkshire, you know just at Rutherglen. The other kids use that.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Drumchapel

Owners and renters in Drumchapel used a mixture of amenities within and outside their area. Unlike some of the Castlemilk participants, none of the Drumchapel residents relied solely on their local shops although they did use other amenities such as community venues, the library and so on.

The shopping centre's horrendous, so mostly if we were going to Clydebank... But then there's an Argo centre at the bottom of the hill that the girls use... they go dancing three times a week in there... At the shopping centre there is a library that my partner goes – he does a computer course on a Thursday night so we use the library facilities...

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

The shops are about five minutes across the road... But I'm lucky my son's got a car, he takes me shopping, but no everybody's got that luxury. The shops here, the most thing you can buy is food. That is it. And put bets on. So need to go elsewhere.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

There's a, there's a hall up there that has a tearoom, they've got like a café, there is that... I go further for the shops. The Somerfield down the road is not very good, I don't think. I don't like it. It's – I just don't like it. And in fact because I drive, sometimes I'll go to other supermarkets as well. Just to see what there is.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

As these quotes demonstrate, residents in Drumchapel tended to use some amenities within their estate but felt the need to travel outside the area, particularly for supermarket shopping and in some cases for their children's schools.

Well, there's a choice of different schools, there's I mean, the schools around here are ok, but my daughter goes to a school in Bearsden but it's easy to get to and it's a bit better.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Many Drumchapel residents noted a lack of local facilities for children and young people. Drumchapel is a large estate and access to amenities varies depending where in the estate residents lived, so while some residents mentioned the use of local facilities by their children, these were not easily accessed by those living further away.

Well I've been waiting on a house along the road, anywhere round about here, 'cause he'll be going to high school. So just another bigger house I'd like [to]...be able to get to the library easier and swimming, 'cause you'd be nearer it, and the big park, rather than being away up here.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

The only other thing that I don't really like is that there's not a lot to do for the kids. That's a problem. That's not so good, there could be a lot more stuff available but there's not. Somewhere for the children, the kids to go, not just my own, somewhere for – instead of the kids hanging about the streets and getting into trouble, I would rather that there was like – I mean, the community centre is up the other end of Kinfauns, there's a community centre local, the Phoenix centre, but it's hardly ever open, so –

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

While residents travelled further afield if there was limited provision of shops in their area, this did not necessarily apply to the lack of facilities for children and young people. In the areas of this large estate where there was a lack of these facilities, it seems that young people had no alternative but make do with what there was in their area rather than travelling to other parts of the estate or outside the estate. It is more difficult for children and young people to travel further afield and participants reported money for public transport or adult accompaniment as being potentially problematic.

...a lot of them they haven't got money. If there was more facilities I think it would be a lot more pleasant area, sort of thing. They haven't got money to do things so their idea is let's go and break something... There might be it's ok saying oh there's clubs and there's this and there's that, but by the time they count out what they've actually got to pay to get to these clubs, a lot of them

haven't got that. So it's non-existent yet again... We do have like football clubs, different things but I feel because the scheme is so big, that it's very little compared to the amount of people we have, if that makes sense. I feel that they could really be doing with a lot more you know.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Owners in Castlemilk and Drumchapel who reported using amenities predominantly outside their neighbourhood all used amenities in the area where they had previously lived.

Ok, and if we go this way, there's a school there, the children are going to Rutherglen for the schools. So there is further we have to go, you know... We are going to the library in Rutherglen because when we stayed over there we had this, over there. So we used to go to the library in Rutherglen. We go to the main shopping in Asda at Toryglen or Tesco, So, we have to go further.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

It's away down in Kings Park the school... The doctors is in Govanhill. So car again.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

I always go to Clydebank for shopping. Or Glasgow. But obviously I would go to Glasgow. I'd say I belong to Clydebank... In Clydebank, uh huh, they, this is their school along this road here... don't use anything here, all in Clydebank. Uh uh... So, again she's at school at Clydebank and things like that, but, she's never socialised in amongst here, ever, never, all her friends are back in Clydebank.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

The Gorbals

Once again the results from the Gorbals stand out from the other two areas because most owners and renters reported predominantly using amenities within their local area and both tenure groups reported there was a wide range of amenities of good quality.

Aye that's really handy, so it is. And then you've got like the chemist and stuff, you've got all that near you. So it's no as if you've got to go miles away to the shops... No, no really anything missing. 'Cause you've got the opticians, the butcher's the chemist, everything. So it's all kind of in the one wee place, it's no as if it's all separated. It's all near.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

A lot of amenities you know, the swimming pool, the library... I think it's – very friendly people, fairly central and a lot of amenities and they're good for families with young children, the school, the leisure centre – everything is within five minutes walk which is probably the best I could describe it... This is the park and then a lot of useful things around it you know and this is the main road with church in here somewhere, and then all this – all the buildings are off surrounding the park... school is just around the corner somewhere down here, and then the library somewhere down here, so it's all kind of – within what's it called – within a great system you know.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Due to the close proximity of the city centre and other amenities many residents included these in their definition of their 'local' area. Even though residents noted some problems with local shops, there was a plentiful supply of alternative shops within or very close to the Gorbals.

Walking distance to the town, lots of public transport, lots of swimming, gym facilities in the area, not far from the Citizens' Theatre and Glasgow Green... I tend to – there's – I use the local shop – I use the, I use Somerfield's quite a lot but I will go to, I'll go to Asda or I'll go to Aldi, or there's a Lidl across the bridge as well.

[SR, Integrated, Gorbals]

Basically, it's in dead – it's in a really good area so that's the main thing. We've got amenities everywhere – you've got the town, you've got the parks,

you've got subways, you've got train station – everything's right beside you... The shops to the street cleaning to the chemist and the doctor's and even things like Citizen's Theatre being – everything is beside you. Aye – and if you're unemployed you get reduced rates and things like that.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Oh they're [local facilities] good, they're very good now we've got the swimming pool and all that sort of stuff... But no it's good. I mean you're close to everything, you've got the library, you've got the use of the computers there if the kids need them and things. I like it... Yeah, you've got the buses that take you into town, you're only about a fifteen minute walk from the main train station, you've got the underground. If you're driving you're only sort of twenty-five minutes from the airport so it's ideal.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

While the residents generally noted the good quality and accessibility of local amenities, a few highlighted that this may not be the case in all parts of the Gorbals. Similar to the variation in the provision of amenities described in Drumchapel some parts of the Gorbals were regarded by several residents to be somewhat lacking accessible amenities.

See, I'm fine here because I'm out on a main street here and there's shops and facilities, right? But there's people further over – there's a lack of shops outwith the main street, and they've built all these new houses over at Oatlands, which look absolutely beautiful but they don't have a shop. They don't even have a corner shop. So you know, that doesn't affect me because I'm over here – but I'm just saying, so it's not for all the Gorbals. This particular part, absolutely fine.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

It's quite a shame for Oatlands because there's nothing in it, there's no a shop or anything in it... because the back road, Polmadie Road, is shut off so they can't even – because you'd need a car obviously, messages, you need to go

– Aye, so I mean, people have to go round so if you're old – not even old, I mean if you're young and you've got young children it would be hard to get to the shop, so they would need to address that.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Summary

Overall the results in this section demonstrate that the way residents get around their area and whether they use amenities within or outside their estate, depended on access to a car, the quality and accessibility of local amenities, whether key local amenities are within walking distance and the quality of public transport. While there was variation within and between residents in the three areas most residents irrespective of tenure, made some use of their local facilities, often in combination with those further afield.

Drumchapel residents seemed more negative about local shops and transport, than respondents in the other two areas. Issues of access to local amenities in Drumchapel were affected by the size of the estate and poor quality bus services. Thus while some residents were able to access the library, safe play environments and youth activities, others lived too far away to do so. This was particularly an issue for young people having to rely on walking or public transport to use these facilities. Participants reported that young people are also potentially restricted from movement within and between areas due to limited money for public transport and have nothing to keep them occupied, with some engaging in low level antisocial behaviour.

The Gorbals residents differed from those in Castlemilk and Drumchapel in that most residents included amenities outside their estate as 'local' amenities and positively highlighted the layout of the redeveloped areas. The close, walkable proximity of the city centre was clearly very important and perceived as a major benefit of the area for many residents. For many residents of both tenures, the benefits of the neighbourhood, such as accessibility of amenities and being in walking distance of the city centre seem to contribute to attachment to neighbourhood and positive feelings about where they live.

Results section 3: Perceptions of housing and the neighbourhood

This section presents the participants' views of the specific merits and demerits of their housing and their neighbourhood more generally. This is framed in terms of internal and external space, quality and spaciousness of housing, quality and provision of local amenities, the environment and social networks. It also reports respondents' perceptions of change and regeneration in their neighbourhoods, particularly in terms of the residents, appearance and reputation of the area. Similar to previous sections, these issues are explored within and between estates, spatial configurations and tenure types.

Benefits and problems of housing

Respondents identified several benefits that their homes provided them. These included internal and external spaces, and having their own front door. Similarly, the major problems identified related to internal and external space. Having good or adequate space or the lack of it was mentioned particularly in relation to the positive impacts on their children.

Well, it's a three bedroom house so they each, each have their own space, that's basically that was why we moved to a bigger house, to give them their own space, two girls.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

It's large, it's a nice area. And it's got gardens, which we've never had before. Basically just ideal for us.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Well, we have this flat – like, because I've got wee ones, the back – mine have been able to go out since they could toddle, you could like open the back door and they could toddle in the den, then this is a secure back, so then when they could walk – obviously, you wouldn't let them out unsupervised like when they were really young, but when they were like school age, they could

go out the back there and play with all different children and they were able to access outside, whereas if they'd been up the high flats, they wouldn't have been – I wouldn't have let them out, or I would have had to be out with them. So, they're getting the freedom, they're getting outside, a wee bit of independence.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Conversely for some, their house was too small for their family and/or there were issues with access to outdoor space. This was either due to design of the house or flat, problems with access to good outdoor space, such as not having access to a garden or problems with gardens due to rubbish or dog fouling. House size was a particular problem among owners and renters in the Gorbals.

Size ok, but because of my youngest son sharing a bedroom with his brother, it is not so good and being on the third floor can be difficult sometimes.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

We would move if we could for a bigger house, because four kids, you know everybody needs room. Because the house – we start to feel the house is small, for the four boys, and family of six. Sharing rooms yes. Two in one bedroom and two in one bedroom.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

I want to move because obviously I'm needing a bigger room, I was looking for a bigger room for my daughter. Obviously it's like everything else, you want your own back and front door.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

While issues with outdoor space were mentioned across all three study areas, they were especially noted by Drumchapel renters.

Well the – I would say, these buildings I would – I – they're not for kids. I mean there's nothing here, and she can't get out to play here. Well, when I've got that big garden, which is – we don't have that good weather. So can only

go in the good weather. Can only go down there in the good weather 'cause the gardens are pure swamped or else it's just round the back which is very tiny.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Across all the study areas owners tended to discuss issues relating to garden design, proximity to a busy main road and communal gardens, while renters were much more likely to relate their problems with outdoor space to their children and its lack of suitability for them.

This house in particular. When we came to buy this house it was the only one left. I'd have preferred to have been further up the estate, 'cause of the main road. Don't kind of like that idea, living so close to the main road. Didn't really have an option, there was only one left.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

The stairs. For the wee ones, especially – and they can't get out to play unless I go down with them... if all the houses were like, you know, the lower ones with the wee gardens, that would be better, rather than the tenement buildings... so for old folk as well, I think it would be better for, you know, kind of lower... as I say – because they [children] don't get out to play that much, and I feel that's not right. Kids should get out and get, you know, the fresh air and be able to run about.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Regardless of owning or renting the property, many residents were quick to highlight the importance of having their own front door to the house as opposed to the communal entrance of flats. Having their own front door provided greater privacy, security and a sense of having their own space.

I feel so much privacy rather than I'm living in high flats you know... Now, it's my own home and I'm not facing so many people. I just come in and open the door and I'm in home, you know.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

But I just think having you know like your own front door and having like a garden for the kids to play in, that was the drive for me. I came from a tenement... But I just felt I wanted a back and front door.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

The benefit of good quality housing and its effect on being able to properly heat the house was also mentioned.

In the quality of housing now... 'cause when I stayed in the high flats, and I'm only going back ten years ago – we had ice on the insides on our room windows. They were freezing. And because the condensation was so bad, and then it was so cold, it would actually ice up... so when you come down here and you've got central heating – I'll not say it's never on, but you couldn't even leave that on for a long time because it gets so warm because, now, they hold the heat, which is important.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Benefits and problems of neighbourhood

Benefits

Almost all of the participants were able to identify benefits of their neighbourhood. Owner-occupiers tended to identify more benefits than social renters. The benefits identified varied between locations as well as between owners and renters. The main benefits residents identified related to neighbours in terms of knowing people, security (keeping an 'eye out') and overseeing children.

And you do know lots of people, you get to know lots of people. And then when you do have nice neighbours, that's, that's the, that's the best benefit of it you know, good neighbours. And they watch out for your house and stuff like that, and vice versa, know what I mean?

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

...everyone, up this end anyway tends to talk to each other, we get on well, you know, it's, it's a nice place.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

See – the people round about are, are ok because we've all sort of grown up together... so you know a lot of people in the area.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

In a lot of people's minds it's – and because you don't come from here it's got a bad reputation, a reputation it doesn't deserve, because the people are nice people. They would help you. I mean you walk by them and they'll say, I mean everybody all knows everybody because we all come from here.

[SR, Integrated, Gorbals]

The child-friendly nature of these areas were described in terms of limited through-traffic making the area safe for children to play, as well as having neighbours who will look out for them.

My neighbours are brilliant, it's a cul-de-sac so there's no through-traffic, I've stayed in Drumchapel nearly all my life... I mean, I've got my nieces up here quite a lot and there's not a lot of traffic so I can leave my doors open and I know the weans can run about and nothing's going to happen.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

In this home, this street is very child-friendly, so it's all kids, I mean, like, all the houses here have all got like kids from maybe about two and up, so that's a great thing about here... Oh, they're out, they're out from first thing too, obviously you're out watching them or whatever, but very, this wee street's really, as I say is child kind of focused, so even, see the bigger kids that kind of stay next door or whatever, and they watch everybody just keeps an eye on each other, so it's, that is, it's definitely up here, I think, I don't think you get it in a lot of wee areas – anywhere, for the fact that this road, it's all the people that stay here that really comes in, so, it is really, really quite safe... It's normally, this is a lovely day, but normally they just all congregate out my

drive. And there's normally about 15 of them. And they just sit and they play. But it's good because they're all playing together and there's no trouble, and so it's, I like it.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

It's a new build area and it's communal facilities or common gardens, there's the park as well which is just near where – in the middle of it, so it's good for families I think.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

It's good for families because of the schools and the traffic management within the area is good as well.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

You know they can just – you know all the other neighbours sort of look out for the kids as well you know, so it's nice, no it's great.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Owners in Castlemilk and Drumchapel directly or indirectly alluded to the importance of their neighbours being fellow owner occupiers, generally by distinguishing them from the people who live in other, predominantly social rented, parts of the estate.

Actually love this place at the moment, love being here. It's quiet and all the neighbours are nice. 'Cause they're all working people. So that's nice... They work, yeah obviously – I mean because they buy the houses so, no trouble like. You know when people rented the house then they no, like tend to look after the property so the place can become a mess sometimes. But, right now no, it's nice.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

It's very friendly, it's new builds, there's a lot of new builds, there's still the high rises and all the rest of it, but it's just a very friendly place.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Links to neighbouring areas

Having transport links to neighbouring areas could be seen as positive or negative. In Castlemilk or Drumchapel many participants actually saw a lack of links as a positive aspect because they were close to the countryside and they had access to the centre of Glasgow but did not live too near it. This resident considered that the beneficial aspects of the area centred around what their immediate neighbourhood had to offer.

It's central for the city centre, because the bus route's there. But it's out of the city centre, know what I mean, you can take the dog up the Cathkin Braes. And you've kind of got, know like the green in the hills and that.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

In contrast, for the Gorbals residents, links to the surrounding areas were seen as one of the benefits of living there. As previously discussed, owners and renters in the Gorbals identified the quality and accessibility of amenities as an important benefit of the neighbourhood. Residents consistently highlighted the value of the area's proximity to the city centre to such a degree that the amenities in the city centre were often described by the Gorbals residents as 'local' when they were drawing the maps of their neighbourhood, which were used as an aid to discussion.

Southside of the city, walking distance to the town, lots of public transport, lots of swimming, gym facilities in the area, not far from the Citizens' Theatre and Glasgow Green... it's so central.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Gorbals residents related the benefits of their area to facilities and spaces for children and young people and the benefits of the schools, training and employment facilities in their neighbourhood.

Aye, there's clubs for weans here as well. There's a lot of clubs put on for kids. So, and they're all nearby. They either happen in the school or they happen in the leisure centre. So the weans have always got something to do as well.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

The kids, they've got a wee park quite close from us and the kids loved it. They've had a great time, living here. There's loads of wee clubs and different things for them, you've got the leisure centre. So for the kids it's been good... I mean sometimes you say to people, like through the summer holidays the kids are going to the mega club and they'll say 'oh our area doesn't have anything like that for the kids, you're lucky. The kids have got somewhere to go'. It's run in the leisure centre... it's a good pastime for the kids when they're off school.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Problems with the neighbourhood

Residents, especially those in Drumchapel identified a lot of problems with lack of amenities and facilities, and these have been presented in detail in a previous section of this report. Other neighbourhood problems concerned drug use, antisocial behaviour and problems with neighbours. The latter was usually mentioned by owners who perceived that such problems occurred in certain parts of the neighbourhood and sometimes explicitly linked these to social rented neighbours, as this Castlemilk resident articulates.

This scheme across the road and they're just trouble basically. It's council. It's part council I think, so it's some people who own their property I'm sure but there's a lot of it it's just council... Yeah, it's like, you know this estate's nice. But a few people down the hill on your left hand side, there's an estate that's not so nice.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

On the other hand, in the Gorbals the problems with neighbours were predominantly linked to issues with the high number of private renters in the area which meant differing lifestyles, and a lack of investment in the life of the neighbourhood.

They've allowed people to rent out their flats. You know they're allowing people now that buy them, they can rent them out... Well it makes a difference because it's not as family orientated. It means that you know there's maybe a lot of students coming in and different things like that. I think

it's a bad thing. Because I think it kind of takes the heart out of the community... now people have moved on and sold their flats and people are renting them out. So you don't get – you don't get to know the folk.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

The problems identified with lack of local shops and amenities were linked to problems of antisocial behaviour, and with people 'hanging around' and drug taking outside the local shopping centre.

...it's always the same problems, vandalism, not enough facilities, no shops ...the youngsters kind of running around in packs 'cause they ain't got much else to do bar fight with one another.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

...I mean they come from the health centre, they go to the chemist to get their methadone, and they're shooting up and going about with cans and that.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Because we don't only have our own drug users using our chemists here, they come from all over because of, there's a big drug workers unit down there – and so they get their prescriptions dispensed at the local chemist. They're not necessarily from here, but you see, it brings them all in – and then, of course, they congregate, no harm to them... you know what, if I meet my pals, I stop and talk to them outside the shops and what different are they? – they're just standing and talking outside the shop, but it's who they attract with them.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

In addition to the issues of fighting, vandalism and drug use raised by participants, other antisocial behaviours were also highlighted, such as dog fouling and illegal waste dumping (fly-tipping).

As you go out there's a green field across the road. The weans can't go on it because they all take their dogs there. Aye. And things get dumped there and things like that, so. Instead of phoning cleansing they'll just cross the road and dump it in the field.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Perceptions of change and regeneration in neighbourhood

Owners and renters identified a number of changes in their neighbourhoods. Unsurprisingly, residents who had lived in their neighbourhood for a long time noted more changes than newer residents. These changes were generally seen as positive with many noting improved housing quality, more attractive environments which engendered more care of the homes and environments and better neighbourhood reputation. Some residents felt that regeneration had not resolved all problems of these areas mainly because they either hadn't changed the people or their behaviours, or were attracting people such as private renters who were seen to care less and contribute less to their community.

Demolition of older, lower quality buildings from the 20th century was generally, although not always, seen as a positive improvement.

I mean all the buildings that they went and built, I was at school when they were building them, and they're all getting taken down. None of the buildings are here anymore... this time they've rebuilt – the buildings are going to be here for years.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

But it was damp houses that were here that were a mess. Queen Elizabeth Square was an eyesore, it was big grey flats that used to be along there... Well, they brought down the old houses and then built better houses.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

There's lots of new build houses and the old closes have been pulled down. It [the neighbourhood] looks better for it, yeah... I think it looks nice. The new houses.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Residents of both tenures noted improvements in the housing and general appearance of their area. New buildings were of better quality and existing buildings were also improved.

Oh, it's [the estate] changed for the better, yeah. Just the housing's been better, a lot more better – obviously modernised and we had – when we first moved in here it was like slums, you know, five apartment slums. And now it's a lot better.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

It's starting to look a bit better. Because the houses they're building are a lot nicer and they're all being done to a high standard... starting to build a lot nicer houses up there.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

And even like the old builds they're trying to get them up to spec, I mean a lot of like the maisonettes and houses down in Old Rutherglen Road, the wee GHA houses, they've all done them up. Even the high flats in Waddell Court that I thought were getting pulled down look all done up so I don't know... so they're trying to improve.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

New people

A few residents also emphasised that the improved appearance of the neighbourhood and housing attracted to the neighbourhood, residents who took better care of their surroundings.

This residential area looks nice and it's looked after – everyone owns up here so it's all well looked after.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Such improvements to the neighbourhood were seen as contributing to lessening the stigma that is often attached to the case study areas, by attracting different people and giving people some pride in where they lived.

I think it has changed. I think the housing, the type of houses that's here now, I think it has changed a lot. Because people that haven't been in the area for years come in and they're like, 'it's changed so much'. As I says, the houses up the road being at the price they're at, you know what I mean, and nobody would have believed you'd have bought a house in Castlemilk for that price, do you know what I mean?... it was all like tenement houses. I think that's why they pulled them all down. And then they – these were the first houses really here to get built.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

I would say that it was an area that used to get a bad name years ago, it's been a rough rundown area, and now it's an up and coming area... I think it's been better I think since you know they started building the houses. It's bringing people back to the area. Bringing families back.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Oh, it's no like the Gorbals anymore... It has – it's definitely brought a better class of people, is the wrong way of putting it, I don't mean that. It's brought in different opportunities and a different kind of people – so it's definitely a good thing, aye.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

It's a positive thing, the standard of the houses is much better than elsewhere so you don't find a lot of people building with sandstone but ours has a bit of sandstone... the area was looking like it was progressing it was coming up, you know, some new housing and so we decided to take the plunge.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Additionally, the renters interviewed in the Gorbals emphasised that the new and improved housing has allowed local social renters to live in a new house for the first time, and as a result, to invest and care more for their neighbourhood.

It's lovely. It's lovely. They've done a really good job with our houses. It is very, very nice. And I think there's a whole lot of folk that's – like my neighbour next door, her son went and got a new house, and he's got his girlfriend and a wee baby, and they've got a brand new house, and they're over the moon. [Neighbour name] next door, she was the first person in her family to get a new house. And her son is the only person in her family that's got a new house, it's only two people out of like five generations that's had brand new houses. And they're over the moon with theirs.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

One negative aspect of attracting different people into the areas, perceived by the Gorbals residents was the number of private renters, whom it was assumed would be transitory and not care or contribute to the community.

Oh well aye I see a wee bit of difference in the whole of the Gorbals. I would say that it's – the community thing's not there as much, there's a lot of obviously different people moved into the area and stuff. So you don't maybe know as many people as what you would have done. But a lot more houses being built. I mean that's a good thing, the new houses is good, a lot of the bought property and that's good as well. The houses privately owned. Sometimes there's a lot of people getting moved in that are sub-letting and they're not taking care of the area, which is quite a downfall.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

The Gorbals

Once again the responses in the Gorbals differed from the other two areas, as the majority of the Gorbals owners and renters framed the improved appearance of their neighbourhood in terms of the overall design of the redevelopment and also the estate's context within the wider area.

This area was developed by certain architects and companies getting a chance to actually create one and they kind of I suppose, had a bit more free run with the design and I think the actual – the architecture of the buildings is quite good. It's not – you know, they're all kind of different... it looks good because the houses are relatively modern so they've kind of not got into that kind of age look as such. It would be interesting to see what it's like in twenty years time.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Yeah, it's well designed – actually, yeah, because the design is the most important for the Gorbals, and – which is ok, which is very good actually, but apart from some small, small changes I think the, my area is quite good.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

The Gorbals respondents of both tenures also mentioned the sculptures and art work in the New Gorbals as positive contributors to the area's appearance.

And the other thing was they've – in that phase, they took one percent off the developments for the art works. I don't know if you were aware of that. So that's what, who paid for like the sculptures and there's – they've got an orchard in the garden there and that was actually part of the design of the development.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

...it's a sculpture of that – you know that famous picture, the three Gorbals boys, well there's a sculpture there now and it's spot right in the middle. Aye, it's lovely I mean, as much as the Gorbals has got a bad 'No Mean City' you

know, that – it's a wee bit of art everywhere which is quite nice. It is quite nice... I think it [the area] looks lovely. I think it's lovely.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

However, some of the design elements of the Gorbals were not always appreciated by the residents.

Aye it's – some of the houses are a bit odd, with that great big flying angel, but it's supposed to be art, I mean everybody's taste is different. I don't like it, but that's my personal choice. [Laughs]

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

I think some of the architecture is good, it's traditional you know tenement building, which is good but some of the new ones have started further down – like the Housing Association is coloured doorways on the balconies – that is ridiculous to be honest, it is people just taking it a bit too far. Well, it's money spent on the design, it's taking the mickey out of people really. I know it's not the people who are going to buy these houses made for the housing association. That is ridiculous... Maybe just the architect – giving him too much freedom.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

I don't like they big ugly faces they've got round there – they're horrific. They're horrible. They are horrible. I don't know what possessed anybody to do that one – but apart from that, everything else is fine. You should see them at night when they light up blue – they're, one of my weans was terrified of them for ages.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

New housing and regeneration not enough

While most residents noted improvements to their neighbourhood, some questioned the success of regeneration. They thought regeneration attempts were somewhat superficial, regeneration changed the housing, but not the people. It is worth noting that this wasn't a view of renters by owners, but the views of social renters.

I think that obviously it's got nicer houses and stuff but it's just put the same people back in it, so. It's a bit rough. Think you get your few good neighbours and then you get – just the idiots basically that just doesn't want to work and just drinks all day... It annoys me. To think that I can get up, when I was a single parent, get up and go to work and all that, and I watch people like that, they get a brand new house that doesn't work, doesn't do nothing. And that annoys me.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Aye, appearance has changed. But full of the same people, isn't it? They have tried to do some stuff, and all that.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Makes it look better, doesn't mean it's any different.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Some owners and renters had mixed feelings about the area's appearance and while clear that the appearance has improved, there remained problems in some parts especially issues of rubbish and a lack of care for the neighbourhood.

You'll probably see it when you're walking about, you'll see a lot of front doors that's made up of about six bits of patched wood that have been nailed together... You'll see gardens that look more like junk yards than a garden, it's full of prams and bits and pieces. You know you get a lot of that. And then you feel like you're kind of stuck in the middle. But it is improving but I think the biggest problem is it's not improving fast enough, I would say that's the problem. And that's down to money. It's always money. Always.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

No – I just hate people who leave rubbish lying around and stuff, but that's just, hopefully they'll soon catch up and use wheely-bins and not leave their bags lying around and stuff... I think it basically looks fine. For the most part – there's still problem areas, obviously, that'll come down. I mean, not that long

ago, there was big patches of spare ground – it was just horrible and unsightly, whereas, now, with all the new build going on, it's taken away most of that problem.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Summary

The major benefits residents identified of their homes included the spaciousness of the house, access to outdoor space, particularly in relation to positive impacts on children and having their own front door and a sense of their own space. The main problems for both tenures in the three areas were that occupants' houses were too small for their growing families and they had problems accessing good outdoor space.

In terms of benefits of the neighbourhood, neighbours were identified as being important for social networks and offering mutual support, especially regarding 'looking out for' children. Many residents who had lived for a long time in their areas felt they knew a lot of people. Segregated and segmented owners alluded to the importance of their neighbours being fellow owner occupiers. For the Gorbals residents, local amenities, facilities and spaces for children and young people and proximity to Glasgow city centre were described as benefits whereas, for the peripheral estates, being close to the countryside was considered a benefit.

Problems in the neighbourhoods differed in the estates. The Gorbals residents identified an issue of having a high number of private renters in the area. They felt private renters were more transitory and less likely to contribute to the community. Lack of amenities and facilities, especially for young people, were identified as problems in Drumchapel and Castlemilk.

Residents in all areas noted that the appearance of the area had improved due to:

- demolition of older, lower quality housing in their neighbourhood
- new build housing which made areas attractive and increased house prices in the neighbourhood
- bringing new people into the area
- reducing stigma.

While owners of different configurations noted the 'up and coming' nature of their area, some renters in Drumchapel and Castlemilk felt that attempts to improve the area had largely failed because the people living in the area had not changed and deprivation levels had remained the same.

Overall these results demonstrate some fundamental differences in the perceptions of change and regeneration between tenures and, in particular, between the different areas with the Gorbals redevelopment generally being perceived as the most successful by its residents. A key issue is that the benefits and problems in each area vary within the estate, particularly in Drumchapel and Castlemilk where there has not been a widespread redevelopment of the area. In addition, it appears that the tenure configuration may also have an impact on how residents perceive the benefits and problems of their neighbourhood, particularly among owners who want to distinguish themselves from social renters and also among renters who feel somewhat trapped in an area which is not getting better. It is important to note that while social renters in integrated situations were the ones who identified problems of others leaving objects and rubbish lying around the neighbourhood and appeared to be more critical of this behaviour, an important finding is that the majority of integrated renters perceive their area as up and coming, due to the combination of physical improvements to the built environment, alongside the integration of owners and renters, which many renters take as a sign in itself that the area is improving. The question remains whether these neighbourhood improvements have successfully incorporated mixed tenure.

Results section 4: Care for the environment, sense of safety and experience of antisocial behaviour

This section considers residents' views of environmental and social behaviours in the neighbourhood. The themes explored include: perceptions of care for the environment; direct and indirect experiences of crime and antisocial behaviour; residents' subsequent sense of safety; and the social climate in their neighbourhoods. Also examined is how these issues might have changed in recent years due to the varying levels of regeneration and redevelopment of the estates and the introduction of tenure diversification.

Most owners and renters felt that people in their area cared for their neighbourhood but some felt there were problems with particular neighbours. Some owners stated that social renters cared as much as owners, while others who lived predominantly amongst other owners believed people care more when they own their property.

Yeah, I think they do, aye... because even the ones that are renting are kind of looking after the place. So they seem to be – be all right as well.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

This residential area is nice and looked after – everyone owns up here so it's all well looked after. People care more about their homes when they own them. We run a residents' committee – we pay our own fees and so I know that everything is well maintained, and everyone cares enough to pay for that. We decided to get rid of the factors and to do it ourselves – everyone cares enough to do that.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

The few owners who noted problems with care for the neighbourhood tended to describe these problems as due to social renters living in the area.

You'll always get a small minority who don't give a damn right, now it, it's, it's a fact of life. You know they just – because they live in rented, they just think that everybody else is to do it for them. Which is wrong.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Social renters felt that most people in their area cared for their neighbourhood but felt such care was limited by setbacks or problems in the neighbourhood linked to particular neighbours or areas within the neighbourhood.

I think some do, yeah. You get your older people that's been brought up here, that try and take care of their house but then they just stick the young ones in the houses and it kind of gets –. But saying that, I'm not going to give all young ones a bad name because it's not just all of them it's just a certain – certain people.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

I think they actually care a lot but a lot of people are sort of frightened to voice opinions, because of like the vandalism, the big sort of drinking and drug culture and they're frightened to sort of voice, in case there's any backlash from that... You tend to get small bits improvement but nothing like you would sort of go, oh wow, you know they've done this or we've got that. It's very, very – well in twenty years it's no been improved very much.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

In the Gorbals social renters attributed the level of care for the neighbourhood to the improvements made to the area, particular the improved appearance and new housing. They cared more now because they had new houses for the first time that were of good quality, and therefore, they took more pride in where they lived.

...you can just tell. I mean everybody, everybody's all happy because they've all got a new house. The place is lovely and it looks good, and the people are actually looking after their stuff. So, aye it's.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Aye, and I always, my weans, I make sure that they don't drop litter or anything like that – so aye, most people that live round here are [caring for area], and a lot of them are people that I've grew up with and that lived in the worst house at the time, you know, when they had the wee houses that were all damp. So you give people a better class of housing and they will treat it better.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

I think it looks good, now... They had it all done up, and I think it makes it look a lot nicer, and it's bringing it up with the rest of the houses in the area... Well, I know from our close, I mean, our neighbours wouldn't let anything, you know – if there was anything wrong, then we would always do something about it. So I know, I mean, I think most people would be the same, nowadays.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

A small number of renters in Drumchapel and Castlemilk however, thought that most people did not care and that there was a sense of apathy among residents when asked if they cared about their neighbourhood.

No, I don't think so. No, I don't think so like. I don't think it bothers them. Like what happens or what they do kind of thing or what it looks like. Like, they can just do what they want kind of and it doesn't matter.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

There was also a sense that while the area and its appearance may be improving, this did not automatically mean people cared more for their environment.

It looks lovely but until you actually live here and you see the people that you live beside then it's completely different. As you go out there's a green field across the road. The weans can't go on it because they all take their dogs there. Aye. And things get dumped there and things like that, so. Instead of phoning cleansing they'll just cross the road and dump it in the field.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Similarly, some owners in the Gorbals felt that while most people cared for their neighbourhood there were particular problems with rubbish and dog fouling.

No. No, honestly, no. Because the government spent a lot of money but the people's attitude are not very educated. Especially, if you walk around the street, you can see dog mess everywhere. That's the lack of education or lack of people's – I mean, if they have dogs you know, they need to bin it if they are – they need to keep clean the thing and after government spending so much money. It's not very hard to us to keep this place to stay well clean.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

These problems were sometimes linked to private renters in the area, as opposed to social renters.

Half and half. I think the ones that stay in the houses and call it a home, do. The ones that rent it out as a business don't... It's mainly private rent and owners around here. Only the houses across there are council. The people that own the properties look after it, and the people that rent it out, ...just let their house out and that's it. It is a community to the people that stay here, to the people that were born and bred here. For the people that just rent, it's not a community. You know it's just – if people are just – it's just flats, they're just staying in it because they go to Uni and different things, to the people that own their houses it's a community... The ones that are bought, they'll have the clean windows and things you know. And the ones that are rented, they really don't care.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

The same participant then elaborates further:

I mean there's houses over there, they rent. And they're all great. I get on with them all well you know. Ninety eight percent of the people there are from this area anyway. Uh-huh. And they all take pride in their houses you know, and their gardens and things. So... the ones over there are – like council rent you

mean? No, they're all immaculate those houses, and the people in them.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

In the Gorbals, people believed most owners and social renters care for their area because they were settled and residents exerted both formal (e.g. residents' associations) and informal forms of social control.

Yes. Because they're out – they clean up their own mess, they're out looking after the gardens. You know, fresh coats of paint on doors, just making sure everything's – and if somebody is doing something, people are quite prepared to say, "going to stop that?" So it's good.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

I think they do, yeah, I think they must. There is actually you know, like a residents association in some blocks... there are neighbourhood watches and so on. I think a lot of people do care about the area.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Sense of safety in neighbourhood

Most participants said they felt safe, with some adding the caveat that they felt safe in their area most of the time but sometimes felt unsafe due to particular neighbours or areas or the neighbourhood. The reasons given to explain this general sense of safety varied between the areas to some extent but the main reasons were that they knew their neighbours, that people looked out for each other, especially the children, that areas were designed to minimise through traffic limiting the number of strangers coming into the area, and improved security to dwelling entries.

The majority of the Gorbals owners felt safe and most did not elaborate further.

Yeah. Well it's like everything else you know, there's good and bad regardless where – you don't know who stays next door to you. It could be anybody next door to you. You know everywhere's got problems. But no, I feel safe in my own area.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

The owners and renters in Castlemilk and Drumchapel who felt safe in their neighbourhood, tended to describe this in relation to the area being child friendly.

You know they can just – you know all the other neighbours sort of look out for the kids as well you know, so it's nice, no it's great.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

So, for many Castlemilk and Drumchapel residents, knowing their neighbours and having a sense of mutual support and trust was central to their sense of safety. In addition, owners in these areas mentioned the importance of their street or area of houses feeling like their own separate area, somewhat divided from their surroundings.

...for the fact that this road, it's all the people that stay here that really comes in, so, it is really, really quite safe.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

This sense of having a defined area within the estate meant that only people who lived there tended to come into it and allowed residents to be vigilant as to who belonged there.

Similarly, renters in the Gorbals highlighted the importance of the improved security in their buildings or block of flats, which meant that they had control over who could enter their building.

Well, I know when I come in that my doors are all locked and, you know, we've got the security entry, which I think is a good thing – and if everybody uses it. Because then you know there's nobody that's no' supposed to be coming in – you're no up and down the stairs and, I feel good because when I was younger, we used to stay in an old close and it didn't have any – so we had people wandering in, you know, to use it as toilets and things like that.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Several residents in all the estates mentioned that they have grown up in the area and so knew many of their neighbours and this was a key part of why they felt safe.

It's actually quite safe to be honest for kids, I don't know if you've noticed, there's usually scooters and bikes lying around about and nothing gets taken so it's a pretty safe environment... Well, I was brought up in Drumchapel as a child, I feel as though in this estate a lot of people know each other from when they were children. This, this, this actual bit here it's all private so then people tend to look after their stuff, you know, they're more vigilant, and everybody knows somebody. If you don't know that one, you'll know their sister or you went to school with their brother or whatever, so everybody keeps an eye out, therefore – so I feel quite safe here. Aye, I mean, there's been times that, you've went to bed and left the back door open... I feel safe in this, within this estate.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

I think it's safe. But like a lot of people are different. But I think it's 'cause I know everybody I think it's safe, I knew them when I was wee. Aye. So I feel safe.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

I feel safe because nobody really – know – I kind of know everybody but I think if, you weren't – I think it could, it could be quite scary uh-huh, if you didn't know anybody. The fact that I've grown up here easier for me uh-huh. I feel fine yeah, personally. But anybody else, God the wee pizza man was delivering my pizza and he got jumped and got the pizza took off him! That's pure terrible isn't it?

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

While residents felt safe in their neighbourhood because they know their neighbours, they were aware of problems of crime and antisocial behaviour and that other people who had not grown up there may perceive the area as unsafe. For some the awareness of these problems of crime and antisocial behaviour meant that while

they felt safe in their immediate area most of the time, they felt unsafe or were concerned for the safety of their children in particular areas of their neighbourhood and this was usually linked to problems of antisocial behaviour among young people from the area.

In the summer, it's horrendous, it's terrible... the young ones here down there and the young ones here meet in the middle of Fettercairn, and they throw bricks and people's windows have been smashed, people's cars have been smashed... Well, I mean they say up here it's kind of – and it is, it's like if your face fits, kind of thing.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Social renters described their concerns over safety in terms of problems with antisocial behaviour among young people from their own area, whereas owners who had concerns tended to associate these problems with social renters from outside their immediate neighbourhood but within the wider estate. As such, it seems that sense of safety may be linked to perceptions of different tenures in the neighbourhood and the way in which the area is defined or identified with, i.e. whether people feel they are from the whole estate or a smaller, more defined area within it.

Yeah, we feel safe, until these – these guys across come over – we're not scared but the children would be saying that's the Holmbyre [social rented estate] over and, they say, bad words and things, quite slang.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

I feel safe here but not in the centre, or in a council area.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

The renters in Castlemilk and Drumchapel who did not feel safe in their neighbourhoods at all talked about how unsafe their area was at night and problems of crime among young people.

You wouldn't go to a night out up here unless you wanted stabbed or – No, you definitely wouldn't.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

But the majority of young males round about here usually tend to walk about and most of them have got a knife on them. And that is scary – I wouldn't go out at night... But if you see twenty or thirty youngsters that are all walking down the hill with knives and big pieces of stick and batons and things, that's, that's not normal, that shouldn't be. But in a housing scheme that's perfectly normal...

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Perceptions and experience of crime and antisocial behaviour in the neighbourhood

When residents were asked about their experience or awareness crime and antisocial behaviour in their neighbourhood, responses focused upon the three main issues: people taking drugs, fighting and territorial issues, and antisocial behaviour such as vandalism. Both owners and renters noted problems with drug taking and 'hanging around' outside local shopping centres as a major problem.

But Drumchapel as a whole is horrendous, I mean, the shopping centre's just a nightmare, you see them all. I mean they come from the health centre, they go to the chemist to get their methadone, and they're shooting up and going about with cans and that, ...No I think it's got quite a big, unemployment reputation and quite a big drug problem actually.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

For the people that hang about the shopping centre, there's a lot of people that take drugs and drink and I don't like walking down there, obviously with my young boys because, it's not nice to see.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

As indicated above, residents talked about the impact of antisocial behaviour on their children and the need to protect their children by preventing them from going to particular areas of the neighbourhood. Renters in the three areas also specifically talked about restricting their own movements and interactions, as well as those of their children. Many renters mentioned the importance of 'minding their own business' and 'not getting involved' when it comes to antisocial behaviour in the neighbourhood.

Oh aye, they all carry knives and that – but it's not, as I say, it doesn't affect me because I know everybody and I basically keep myself to myself but it's, I've never been hurt through it – but I've seen other people hurt through it.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

In addition to drug problems outside local shops, fighting and territorial issues among young people was regarded as a major issue among several owners and the many renters in the three areas. These problems were generally explained in terms of the fact that there were high concentrations of young people in predominantly socially rented areas, who do not have enough to keep them occupied.

Junkies, alkies, hooligans, fighting. It's not – it's the whole thing know what I mean, but I mean parents are alkies or junkies so the weans don't know any different. There was just a stabbing in the street last week. The whole street was shut off.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

I think it's just- 'cause that's where a lot of people hang about and stuff. So, but apart from that I think it's all right. I don't really go over there [particular part of estate]. No I think it's just like – 'cause that's where mostly all the young people that live so – that's where most of them hang about.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

It's usually you get a lot of problems with the youngsters round about here. But that's the same anywhere. But housing schemes you just seem to get it a bit more. A lot of them running about in packs 'cause they ain't got much else

to do... But again, it's a, a whole host of young people that don't have any jobs, don't have any money... But the majority of young males round about here usually tend to walk about and most of them have got a knife on them. And that is scary... But that's all it is, there's just masses of kids in a housing scheme.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

More social renters in all three areas stated they had experienced problems of antisocial behaviour in their area, however levels of crime and antisocial behaviour had decreased in recent years due to the introduction of CCTV and improved policing.

In recent times to be fair there has been a few more [police] on the beat. You can actually sit and see them walking up and down. Whereas for a long, long time the only time you'd ever see anyone is if they were called out for something. And... they've put in all these cameras. But the cameras have really helped a lot. Because I don't get people standing out there anymore... And it was always the worst of areas, like just out there on the main road at the top of the hill that's a big fighting area there, big fighting area, so that was all camera'd... I think the cameras help a lot yeah. It's a deterrent; I think it's a big deterrent.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Renters tended to associate problems of antisocial behaviour with particular residents within their neighbourhood rather than linking the problems to the neighbourhood generally.

There is one, it's a, it's a family from hell up there. They don't bother us so much, they've bothered a few families down here. They've no bothered us 'cause we keep ourselves to ourselves... But there is a few, rowdy neighbours. The rest – round about here they're fine, but it's up top –

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Just like at weekends and stuff, you're always kept up with the noise like, people obviously fights and all that kind of stuff. It's always the same people.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

A nice area. It is a good area, but like everywhere else, it's got its problems, but that's mainly further up – and that's like fighting. That's nothing to do with the housing, that's just people, that's further up and that's all the young boys... It spills on down this road as well, but not that much, it's main – You can hear it, but nine times out of ten, it's coming from up there.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Most owners across the three areas had not actually experienced problems of antisocial behaviour first hand but were aware of problems within the wider estate, thus they associated these problems with people outwith their own immediate area.

Big boys and stuff, yeah. Bad boys on the street. But they're round the corner, so we don't really get much of that round here but it's – not unless it's round that corner – It's actually the ones further up, I'm not saying anything. Way at the top end.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

Not where I am. But I think in different areas of the Gorbals it's known to be bits of antisocial behaviour.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Many owners implicitly and sometimes explicitly associated antisocial behaviour with social renters, or predominantly social rented areas, by referring to or describing particular areas outside their own immediate area.

Yeah, just recently there's a few yobs hanging about, I'd see them outside – this scheme across the road and they're just trouble basically. Every time they come we just phone the police but they come back... It's just across the road that scheme. Holmyre I think it's called – It's just the name of the scheme – It's council. It's part council I think, so it's some people who own their property

I'm sure but there's a lot of it it's just council...

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

After here you've got the rest of Katewell and it just goes down onto Kinfauns and then along Kinfauns like you've got council houses. Now some of the people are fine, most of them – I mean, I've got a couple of friends that stay down there. Most of them are, you know, the people that hang about but you can tell these people straight away. They tend to stick out like a sore thumb.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Some teenagers, I think they come in and drink in the park at night time. Thank goodness we have double glazing so we don't hear them you know... So far we don't have any significant issue honestly, we don't have any problems. Some of them can be quite noisy especially during summer you know, drinking in the communal gardens and that can be antisocial but thank goodness the weather is not always good in Glasgow and therefore the opportunities for that happening is fairly limited, but there was a summer we couldn't sleep... I don't think they've got jobs, they're all on benefit and live in housing association flats so they're drinking their beer up until three or four o'clock in the morning.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Gorbals residents were more likely to associate antisocial behaviour with social renters and with private renters (particularly students) and to make a distinction between the New Gorbals and other parts of the Gorbals.

We did have some problems when we first moved in, but that was sorted. We had a problem with a boy up – one of the boys up the stair, with noise and parties. He's a student you see and just rents the place. But he's kind of learnt the hard way, you know he – having a party tonight and he's put a note through the door to let us know that he's having a party. You might have seen the sign outside.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Like the Gorbals is like separated in two bits. And like over that end, like that's where a lot of trouble happens as well. So like fighting and stuff. See how like where the old flats are, well it's like over that end... I think it's just – 'cause that's where a lot of young people hang about and stuff. So, but apart from that I think it's all right. I don't really go over there.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Summary

This section has investigated differences and similarities between owners and renters in the three areas in terms of their perceptions of care for the environment, their experience of crime and antisocial behaviour and who or why they consider such behaviour occurs.

The majority of residents felt that residents cared for their neighbourhood, and several linked this directly to the area's improved appearance and how settled people were in the area. The remaining residents who noted a lack of care emphasised problems with particular neighbours. Several owners associated this directly with social renters, although in the Gorbals, private renters were seen as those who did not care for their environment.

Feelings of safety depended on the length of time people had lived in the area, how well they knew their neighbours and therefore could draw on a sense of mutual support. The way in which the area was defined was also particularly important among owners, who often identified with their street or area as separate from the surrounding area and consequently felt safe in their immediate neighbourhood and unsafe outwith it. Residents in segregated configurations seem to feel safe in their cul-de-sac but unsafe elsewhere. Awareness or experience of antisocial behaviour did not necessarily make residents feel less safe, as other issues such as knowing neighbours were important, as well as not going into 'unsafe' places.

The different ways in which residents defined their 'own area' or 'where they lived', meant that their responses varied regarding their level of experience of antisocial behaviour and who they associated it with in their neighbourhood. Renters

associated problems of antisocial behaviour with particular residents within their neighbourhood, while owners tended to associate problems of antisocial behaviour with social renters in other parts of the neighbourhood, outwith their own immediate area. Once again, responses from residents in the Gorbals differed from the other estates as owners did not link antisocial behaviour with socially rented areas. This may indicate that the redevelopment of the Gorbals has helped reduce problems of antisocial behaviour experienced by renters and owners alike.

Results section 5: Experience and perception of mixing tenures

This final section examines residents' experiences and perceptions of tenure diversification and their positive or negative feelings towards it. It also focuses on how and why residents might be aware of the tenure of their neighbours, the basis for their reported social interactions across and between the different tenures, and the relative importance of children to these interactions. A number of issues are raised to highlight how residents' opinions of mixed tenures are formed.

Respondents were asked about their views of mixing tenures, in the same area and street and within the same building, and whether they regarded mixing tenures as successful or not. The majority of residents were aware of the mixing of tenures in their estate, either in their immediate area or, in the case of residents living in segregated areas, in other parts of their estate. Most could identify where the owners and the social renters lived usually because the houses or flats looked different, or residents had lived in the area a long time and knew the history of the areas' development, or it was assumed from people's behaviours and lifestyles.

Yes, you can tell. This street here, all the white houses, they're all rented. And all the brown houses down that side, are all owned...

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

It's a lot quieter round there, further down, because obviously it's like, if you have been round there you'll notice that it's like kind of blocked in streets. So the residents, and most of those houses round there are bought.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

You can tell the difference [between owners and renters]. Sometimes yeah. Like they don't look after the place, to be honest. And like noisy for most of the time, people are noisy more in rented places.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

Yeah. Well – I know that – they [rented and owned houses] look similar, because they're new build, they're quite similar. Nobody owns in this bit. No. Further up they are bought,

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Most respondents were not tenure-blind and very few expressed overtly negative views in relation to tenure diversification. Table 2 presents a summary of views of mixed tenure and reported interactions between the owners and social renters in the three areas. It is clear from this table that there is a difference in who interacts with whom in the three areas. The majority of residents in Drumchapel and Castlemilk interacted with residents of the same tenure whereas those in the Gorbals interacted with both tenure types. Furthermore, few people were unsure or unaware of the tenure status they interacted with. In addition, there was no obvious relationship between cross-tenure interaction and the view that mixing tenures was a 'good idea'.

In what follows we deal with several different reasons why people thought tenure mixing was a good idea.

Equality

Mixed tenure was perceived to be a good thing essentially because renters and owners are the same, and tenure mix provided the opportunity for people of different tenures to interact, thus promoting a sense of equality.

Don't think there's any difference between owners and renters... I'm fine with that... nothing wrong with it. I mean as long as you get on with people and people get on with you. I know a lot of people across the area – brand new.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

I think I know quite a lot of people. This block, the next block and the next block are all owners, from them down it's renting... I think it's alright [owners and renters living side-by-side], well, it works up here. Nobody treats anybody different.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Some are owners, some are renters, aye. Yeah [they get on well] – well I know I do, because I'm friendly with the girl that's bought in the bottom house. They go down sometimes and play with their wee girl. Through my back like her back is in my garden... I think it's [mixing tenures] alright. As I say, because we stay near owners – I've never heard anything, so I feel alright about it, anyway.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Care for the area, and good behaviour

Prominent issues raised especially by owners, regarding mixed tenure were the level of care renters showed and that they behaved well. The idea that the success of mixing tenures depended on renters' care for their area was mentioned by several owners across the three locations and was often raised to qualify respondents' initial positive responses about tenure mix.

No there doesn't seem to be [any problems with mixed tenure], because even the ones that are renting are kind of looking after the place... That wouldn't

bother me if they were renting... Think as long as they look after the place. If they look after the place even when they're renting – then I think it's all right. I wouldn't like them to kind of, no bother about it and let it get run down.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

A significant concern raised was that social renters could have a detrimental affect on the area and in turn a detrimental effect on owners through lowering the value of property.

I wouldn't like it – if they [social renters] weren't to look after it, it would affect the value of the property. If people were ok and didn't cause trouble then it'd be fine, wouldn't make any difference if they owned or rented.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

In contrast to the responses from other residents, one renter in Drumchapel felt that mixing tenures could put extra pressure on social renters in terms of maintenance and care for their home and area because owners have higher expectations for the area. As a result, this resident suggested mixing tenures could potentially burden social renters, who may not have the money to care for the area as much as owners.

Some residents thought that the possibility of property ownership for those previously renting had a positive impact on renters through owners setting an example with higher levels of care for the area and ensuring that renters care for the area through informal social control.

It's good, as long as, as long as the, the people that, that are renting and who – realise that if they can look after their part of the area, the owner-occupiers will look after their area. It's not all down to councils and housing associations, it's a personal responsibility.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Similarly, a social renter living in an integrated configuration in Drumchapel said that having owners living in the same area as social renters reduced problems of

antisocial behaviour because owners were more likely to do something about it and have a good influence on social renters.

Impact of private dwellings: increased aspirations; buying in the area

Residents noted changes in aspirations and expectations. Living in mixed tenure communities was perceived as having positive benefits for renters: by owners setting higher expectations of care of the neighbourhood, and by giving renters the opportunity to buy a home in the area. This in turn was seen as ensuring or encouraging people to invest in and care for their neighbourhood. For example, several renters, particularly in Castlemilk and the Gorbals, felt that mixing tenures encouraged local social renters to buy a house and, in turn, invest in and care for the area.

I think any opportunity for folk to rent in a place they might want to live, it's great. I don't see good or bad to it, I can't see – it affecting things too much.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Some residents believed that the expectations of social (and private) renters had been raised through the redevelopment of the Gorbals because it had resulted in many social renters being able to live in a new home and also live next to owners who themselves have higher expectations. This was considered a good thing for renters and it improved the reputation of an area.

History/time – sense of community

Another important aspect that enabled mixed tenure to be successful was the sense of community developed through length of residence. Here what was important was not whether you were an owner or a renter, but the length of time you had lived in the area. Thus renters in Drumchapel felt mixed tenure was more likely to work if the owners were from the area or had lived there for a long time because this meant they are more likely to interact with the social renters. For a number of residents in the Gorbals, there was a perception of there being a neighbourhood community among social renters and owners, but not with private renters as they had not grown up in the area and were considered to be more transient. In some respects this can

be seen as complementary to the previous point that allowing renters to buy property enables them to invest in the area.

Balance between owner occupiers and social renters

The balance of owners and renters was raised as another issue which impacted on the success or not of mixed tenure. One social renter in an integrated configuration in the Gorbals, said that mixing tenures works in the Gorbals because there is:

...a good balance of owners and renters in the area, as well as a balance of those who have grown up in the area and... those who have moved from elsewhere.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Others living in segmented configurations commented that the balance of owners and renters in the area meant that renters were less likely to be judged negatively by owners because they were not outnumbered, as they might be in some other areas. There was some thought that mixing tenures worked in areas where there were more owners than social renters because of the potential difference in care levels between owners and renters; if the tenure composition was reversed, mixing may be more of an issue.

Some owners and renters mentioned concerns over owners and renters being mixed within the same building, although generally these residents had no major problems with mixing tenures in the same area or street. They were concerned about sharing bills and maintenance issues, renters not taking care of their surroundings as much as owners, (which was deemed a greater problem when the building itself is mixed tenure), and owners have more rights than renters which may cause some tension.

Owners versus social renters

Views of mixed tenure neighbourhoods were far more varied among owner occupiers than social renters. The majority of social renters in Castlemilk and the Gorbals and half of renters in Drumchapel felt that mixing tenures worked in their area or they at least had no problems with it. Conversely, only a third of all owners in each location had no problems with mixing tenures, the majority having mixed

feelings about it and adding conditional or qualifying comments saying that the success of mixed tenure was dependent on particular factors and felt that mixing would not work if certain conditions were not met. A small number of owner occupiers believed tenure mixing to be a bad idea.

More renters in Drumchapel expressed mixed feelings about mixing tenures, than in the other areas. One concern was that people who had grown up in Drumchapel may be pushed out in order to ensure the separation of owners and renters. This may be a reaction to regeneration in the area which has seen the demolition of social rented housing and the creation of owner occupied cul-de-sacs in the estate. Others were concerned that renters could be viewed negatively by owners because owners might be unhappy living next to social renters.

Many owners in the Gorbals had no problems with mixing tenures, as long as particular conditions were met. For example, one owner felt that mixing tenures was a good idea yet felt that it did not work entirely because of the different views and attitudes of owners and social renters.

Yes, I think they [owners and renters] get along, yes... Yeah, I think it's [mixing owners and renters] better than kind of the segregation 'them and us' kind of attitude. No, I think, I don't think it works a hundred percent because I just think it's – there is a different mindset between renting and owning your house and it's hard to – you can't avoid that.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

In general, owners were more likely to note negative features of mixing tenures and these tended to focus upon concerns of the behaviour of social renters. Even those residents who thought mixing tenures was a good idea identified negative factors. These included antisocial behaviour, lack of care among social renters, and the lack of rights owners have when attempting to evict social renters if they are causing problems.

Owners did not always feel privileged or welcomed. An owner living in a segmented area of Castlemilk said she interacted with both owners and renters in her neighbourhood and felt that, on the whole, renters and owners got on well, however

she had previously encountered the negative attitudes of others while using facilities in the area which in the past made her feel somewhat excluded for being an owner occupier. This was the only owner to mention feelings of being judged negatively by renters.

When we first moved here and they built the community centre, I think we just had negative experience living here... The people that ran this community centre had this issue that we lived in a bought house and couldn't access services so, if there was pantomimes or anything like that, if you went over to access it, she would say "but you live in the bought house", and I says "but, my kids play with kids across the road".

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Differences by tenure configuration

Owners in segregated areas tended to be the most negative about mixed tenure with many of them making clear distinctions between where they live and the other socially rented areas. One owner stated she would not live in a mixed tenure area because of concerns over the possible behaviour of social renters and felt more certain of what to expect in an owner occupied area.

So, I can't really tell you because I've never been to those, streets and, as – because we've got like a mile strip of new build houses... I don't know, see the council housing, sometime you don't know what you're getting, you know what kind of people are going to be – come in. And the children – when people buy the houses it's totally different... These council, council housing I'm talking about... sometime you, you do see the people that are no very polite... I wouldn't live in a mix...

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

Some owners living in segregated areas generally seemed to feel that mixing tenures was a bad idea altogether and were very clear that they would not want to live next to social renters due to concerns over lack of care for the area and problems with antisocial behaviour associated with a small proportion of social renters.

Everybody obviously looks after their properties when they're owned, but, so, I mean a lot of people that's got rented are still the same, but there is that small number that obviously – that don't look after it. I mean where we used to stay, I mean, ours was a council, well it was all council, but, like two of our neighbours had bought and it wasn't, it worked, but it worked because it was the right people that was in the houses... But we knew up this, all this area, and up the back, we knew it was all owners.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Those living in integrated areas were more positive about mixed tenure and its positive effects on bad behaviour in particular.

It [the neighbourhood] used to be really bad but it's better than it has been. 'Cause like the police stepped in and the housing started moving people out of the area that wanted to move out. And they were bringing more people in from outwith – mixing people. And then started building housing to buy, that brought more people in, which was good, that's helped. Because they work. So they're going to come in – work, come home. Children are going to go to school together... It [whether someone is a renter or an owner] wouldn't matter to me. That's [owners and renters living side by side in same building or street] all right.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

If it's people that are perfectly ok you know you're fine with them as well. You know, that's fine... I would say it's [mixing tenures in the same area or building] a good idea because it does calm down a lot of the vandalism and a lot of the breakages and things yeah.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Differences between the three areas

There were some obvious differences between the three areas and residents' thoughts and experiences of mixed tenure, with the Gorbals residents being more positive in general. It appears that the redevelopment of the Gorbals specifically as a mixed tenure area has enabled mixing tenures to work more successfully. Nearly all

of the integrated renters in the Gorbals reported no problem with mixing tenures, however unlike other renters in the Gorbals, and those in Castlemilk and Drumchapel, these renters explained their positive views of mixing tenures in relation to specific aspects of the Gorbals development; the way it was planned and designed.

Aye well I've got friends that stay here aye... They own and rent... I think it's [owners and renters living side by side] a good idea. Well it means you don't feel kind of isolated, here, you can't tell. So you don't feel inferior, kind of thing if you know what I'm talking about. It's a good thing.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Most people who had moved to the Gorbals would have been aware that the area was designed to incorporate mixed tenure neighbourhoods and so chose to live there with the knowledge that the area was mixed tenure. It is likely that this was particularly the case for owners, many of whom moved to the area from elsewhere.

I've never felt that people felt they were better than you, in fact, the opposite, quite equal. It's just – I mean actually, one of them had said to me, it's just we're paying the money to the bank, whereas you're paying to yours like, your housing association or whatever. I think it works.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

The renter above indicated that there was an awareness, particularly among owners, that they were moving to a mixed tenure area, and as such, problems associated with owners' negative reactions to living alongside social renters were largely avoided. However, the integrated renter below felt that the redevelopment of the Gorbals as a mixed tenure area did not prevent problems from occurring in all cases and there were still issues involving the negative reactions of owners in relation to living next to social renters.

I like the idea of mixing owners and renters... But we had a lot of problems here at first, because those three rows round there were bought houses, right, and this was rented. They were here for about, maybe three or four years

before this row was added on – so they had the whole place to themselves and there's not a lot of kids round there. And of course, and in comes this row and there's a squad of weans and they think we're going to chew the place up. There were a lot of objections and a lot of fighting going on. They were often complaining if we blew on the grass, almost, you know, it was really pathetic stuff. But it was stupid things, you know? They shouldn't be playing football. Well, I know they shouldn't be – but they're boys. And see while they're out there and they're safe and they're contained, and they're no' out on the streets – they're playing out there... It's mostly all – it's mostly people, no, it's mostly renters that I talk to because they've grew up here and they've always lived here.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

The Gorbals – private renters

One issue raised by the Gorbals residents was the perceived increasing number of private renters in the area. There was a sense that the aim of mixing owners and social renters had been undermined to some extent by the increase in 'buy to let' properties. The transient nature of many private renters was unique to the Gorbals and was perceived to lead to a lack of investment and care in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, it was suggested that private renters did not contribute to the community and that it was difficult to know who to contact if there was a problem with a privately let house or flat. Additionally, one renter mentioned that locals could no longer afford to buy homes in the Gorbals because the house prices had increased so much in recent years, due in part, to the private rental market.

It's mostly renters here because believe it or not, people in the Gorbals who buy a house, they have to move outwith the area to buy – they can't afford to buy a house. They're so expensive the houses they build here.

[SR, Integrated, Gorbals]

Cross-tenure interactions

As shown in Table 2 there is a major difference between the three estates in terms of who interacts with whom. In the Gorbals most respondents interact with both tenures. In Drumchapel and Castlemilk, irrespective of tenure configuration, most interact with

those of the same tenure. The renters in these two areas explain that this is because they have grown up in the area or have lived there for a long time so have established relationships with fellow long-term residents, all of whom were renters.

Know, quite a few [neighbours], just round about here 'cause I've always stayed round this area – they're all renters... My friends aren't from here though. Renters again... my uncle, owns one of the houses over there, but other than that.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

I know hundreds [of people in the neighbourhood]. Aye, a lot. Because I've stayed here all my life, do you know what I mean...Majority of them are renting. I know people in other parts of the estate too, they're renters.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

See – the people round about are, are ok because we've all sort of grown up together. Basically a lot of the people at my age you'll find that their parents have moved us here, as well sort of thing so you know a lot of people in the area... I would say now, I've been here eleven year and there's maybe a dozen people that I would speak to, most of them are rented... I couldn't tell you half the people that stay that way and that's the way it is now.

[SR, Integrated, Drumchapel]

A few renters reported regular interactions with both renters and owners even though they lived in segregated areas. One reported her interactions with both owners and renters was due to her mother now being an owner occupier. Others reported that they worked in the area or just seemed to be very friendly.

I know everybody in this street well enough to speak to. And everybody down – yeah round about this – the bit that I use, uh-huh, I know them all... quite a few of them are owners. Like down my Mum's street, they're all like, they're all owners, in the wee cul-de-sac.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

Oh, neighbours are you talking about? Know them all. Most of them are renters but there's a few in there that I know and I get on well with them... I know a lot of people across the area – brand new. And they know people here. They get on fine.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

For me the area is certainly positive 'cause I work in the area and I know a lot of people and I've got a lot of friends in the area... Know more than fifty. I think it's all owned, mainly... I think any opportunity for folk to rent in a place they might want to live, it's great. I don't see good or bad to it, I can't see – ...You know I'd probably know or wave to most of the people in you know this wee estate, which is quite a lot, you know it's a lot of houses and a lot of people.

[SR, Segmented, Castlemilk]

While the majority of owners in Drumchapel and Castlemilk predominantly interacted with neighbours of the same tenure. There were some differences in terms of tenure configuration. Owners in segregated areas tended to only mix with other owners in the immediate areas in which they lived.

Oh I speak to the majority [of neighbours]. It's all owners, uh-huh... I don't well, let's just put it this way, I don't have any dealings with anything – any – I stay within the estate, we always keep ourselves to ourselves.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

We've got lovely neighbours. They're all lovely round here. They're all very friendly, the Grange, it's called the Grange. Carmunnock Grange... Just the people up here I know. Don't know Castlemilk at all.

[OO, Segregated, Castlemilk]

Owners living in segmented or integrated areas tended to mix with owners and renters. Who they interacted with depended more on proximity than any preference or antipathy to owners or renters.

Oh, quite a lot of them. At least about eight or ten of them... Yeah. In the street yeah... They're mostly all owners. No just – no any reason. No any reason at all for it. That wouldn't bother me if they were renting.

[OO, Segmented, Castlemilk]

Everyone, up this end anyway tends to talk to each other, we get on well, you know, it's, it's a nice place... I've got a couple of friends that stay down there... Mixing renters with owners, get to meet different people.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

Well, these four, three in the next block, one woman in the next block down, and then like maybe one or two as it goes down. I mean, the likes of – I've been here for 13 year and although – and the people I don't know, they've maybe just moved in the last year, maybe two year, but I think, I think I know quite a lot of people. This block, the next block and the next block are all owners, from them down it's renting.

[OO, Integrated, Drumchapel]

The Gorbals

Unlike Castlemilk and Drumchapel, almost all owners and renters in the Gorbals reported frequent social interactions with both owners and social renters, regardless of tenure configuration.

Oh I tend to go out and speak to everybody [Laughs]. There's an awful lot – we've made an awful lot of very good friends. Very good friends. Friends with the neighbours next door, and downstairs, and couple of blocks away, and in a couple of closes down... Some rent, some own. And we have friends in other parts of the estate, they rent and own, it's a mixture... Yeah, they [owners and renters] certainly seem to be getting on – we certainly do.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

For owners who have lived in the estate for over 15 years or grown up there, there is a keen sense that they know many people of different tenures in the estate because they have established links over a long period of time and these links can be

strengthened through joining in particular activities in the community, being active in the neighbourhood or through their children.

We've never had really any problems and we all kind of know our neighbours and we know them to say hello to and things... Get on with everybody. Yeah, yeah I know a lot of people here, and in other parts of the estate, they all own... It is a community to the people that stay here, to the people that were born and bred here... I mean there's houses over there, they rent. And they're all great. I get on with them all well you know. Ninety eight percent of the people there are from this area anyway.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Too many to mention. No, I mean, I went to school, primary school and secondary school here – so – Aye loads. And I mean, I go to the parish as well, so I know a lot of folk in the parish... Some are owners, some are renters, aye. Everyone in this building is renting. Yeah, you can't buy these yet... think there's a mix, I'd say I know a mix... Yeah – well I know I do [get on with owners], because I'm friendly with the girl that's bought in the bottom house. They go down sometimes and play with their wee girl.

[SR, Segmented, the Gorbals]

I know quite a lot of people in the area, to speak to. And that's again, we've been here for so many years. And then – with the kids as well, obviously they've got friends and stuff and their parents and – So there is, and the teachers, you know the teachers in schools and... They're both renters and owners... I wouldn't look at people and say oh they're the rent – you wouldn't speak to them, I mean I know there is people like that, that would – oh they stay in a council house, no – I did stay in a council house at one point so, no that would – People are taking care of the houses and stuff then it wouldn't make any difference to me what kind of house they're living in.

[OO, Integrated, the Gorbals]

I know a few, like I said before, because I wasn't born here and gone through school, education – I think you meet a lot of people if you go to school in an

area, so I probably know less than that but I – we got involved with planting the orchard over there so I know people from there, I know various parents from the nursery and the school.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

I know, I do know lots of people. And part of that is knowing people and coming from the area, and my friend lives in the owner occupier houses just on the main road, and so I know a lot of her neighbours and, with walking the dog I know loads of people through the dog as well, that I wouldn't have known before, maybe people who don't come from here... All the people in this cul-de-sac are renters, but I've got friends in other parts of the estate, they're a mixture, a mixture yeah.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

For these residents, growing up in the area, combined with other networking avenues, such as dog walking or going to the local parish, have allowed them to interact with a range of people of different tenures in the estate. For others living in an integrated tenure area has provided opportunities to mix with a range of people.

Oh, I know loads. Maybe too many! There's a mixture. Yes, definitely... one of my friends used to stay in rented and she bought a house over there so aye, I would say – It's a good mix, this block's worked. I don't know if other blocks work, but this block works because there's a bit of – like, if there's anything happens, people can approach each other. Like if [name], if one of the children or somebody – [name] could come to my door and say, listen, the wee one was up the tree or pulled – you know, it's quite – it's not that I'm going to be telling her to beat it of 'F' off or whatever, you know like, it's quite approachable. We're all quite approachable... I'm friends with people from other parts of the estate too, and they a mixture too. A real mix.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

For this renter, living in an integrated tenure area has contributed to a sense of community and mutual support between renters and owners.

The renters in the Gorbals who felt they predominantly interacted with other renters said they did so because they had grown up in the area, but unlike the renters who also interacted with owners, they did not feel they had a way of meeting owners in the area, such as through living in a mixed tenure building or taking part in certain local activities.

I couldn't really tell you very many people round there [referring to where owners live]. Just 'cause the nature of it – they go to work, come back, they're in a house all night. So unless they've got kids and they're out the back, no, you don't really – We're all renters, in this row... My friends in other parts of the estate.

[SR, Integrated, the Gorbals]

Basis of social interactions in the neighbourhood

As described in the previous section about the Gorbals residents, for most renters and some owners in all areas people socialised with a lot of people in the area because they had grown up there or lived there a long time so knew many people. However, many residents also recognised that they got to know their neighbours through their children and while they might not necessarily be 'in each other's houses' they provided social support in particular looking out for each others' children and helping with childcare.

Because they would look out for you, they're always there if you need anything... we're no in and out each other's house, but if I needed like them to look after [my son] for me if I had to go somewhere I would just chap on their door and go, and they would go 'right no bother'. And I'm the same with them with their kids. ...if someone new moves in well the kids'll go out and play with them and they you'll get to know their parents that way.

[OO, Semented, Castlemilk]

Many also made the distinction between simply being friendly and saying hello to neighbours, and socialising with them.

We're not in each others pockets right, we say hello and we'll talk outside in in the garden and the same with the next door neighbours there, across the road. I know them well.

[OO, Segregated, Drumchapel]

I wouldn't, I don't associate really with any of them. It would just be a chat.

[SR, Segregated, Drumchapel]

My neighbours I'll say hello and how are you doing, and pass the time of day, but I don't get involved with them or anything.

[OO, Segmented, the Gorbals]

Summary

Overall, both owners and renters thought tenure mixing worked because they believed that renters and owners were essentially the same and that therefore mixing tenures promoted a sense of equality. They thought that providing private dwellings gave renters the opportunity to buy, that the presence of owner occupiers increased the area's reputation and reduced the likelihood of bad behaviour, and that mixed tenure was not a problem where both renters and owners cared for their properties and communities. This caring may be due to having a history of living in the area which may be more important than tenure status, or literally allowing renters to 'invest' in the area.

Most residents were not 'tenure-blind'. They could identify different tenures in their neighbourhood by the style of housing or by being familiar with the area and knowing which houses or blocks of flats had been built as owned or rented accommodation. They also identified different tenures, rightly or wrongly, by their perception of level of care people took maintaining their homes. In the Gorbals, both owners and social renters tended to identify poorly maintained residence with private renters rather than with social renters.

Area familiarity was one of the strongest themes to emerge and those participants who had lived in an area for a significant period of time could accurately describe the

tenure configuration of their immediate area. This local knowledge could pose problems for those who support the idea of tenure-blindness as an equalising factor in future housing (re)developments.

Most residents were positive about mixing tenures and thought it was a good idea because:

1. it promoted equality between residents
2. it provided renters with the opportunity to buy a home in the area where they may have lived for many years as a social renter
3. it encouraged people to invest in and care for their neighbourhood
4. owners had higher expectations and set an example of care
5. it provided informal social control because owners were more likely to do something about antisocial behaviour and have a good influence on social renters.

However, while most were positive about mixed tenure many stated that several things were needed to ensure success. These included a sense of time and belonging to an area and a balance of owners and renters. Mixed tenure was generally seen to work well where residents had grown up, or lived a long time, in the area, and therefore shared a sense of community and willingness to invest in the area, and to a degree, this was irrespective of tenure. However, this positive view was stronger in the Gorbals and also seems to be tied to spatial configuration since long-term renters in Castlemilk and Drumchapel tended to interact with other social renters precisely because they knew everyone, and again this appears to be a function of the segregated configuration. It was also felt that if the owners were from the area they would be more likely to interact with the social renters. As such, a balance of owners and renters was seen to be important for success. For example, mixing tenures appeared to work in the Gorbals because there was a good balance of owners and renters in the area, as well as a balance of those who have grown up in the area and those who have moved from elsewhere. Having a good balance also meant that renters were less likely to be judged negatively by owners living in the same area because they (renters) are not outnumbered.

There were differences in views of mixed tenure in terms of tenure, configuration of the mixing and between the three estates. Owners were more likely to note negative features of mixing tenures, focused on concerns of antisocial behaviour and possible lack of care shown by social renters.

In terms of differences according to tenure configuration, owners in segregated areas tended to be the most negative with many of them making clear distinctions between where they live and other socially rented areas. Those living in integrated areas were more positive about mixed tenure particularly in terms of equality, co-operation and effects on behaviour.

There were differences between the estates. The Gorbals residents were more positive about mixed tenure than residents in the other estates and there was a marked difference in terms of interactions across and between tenures. In Drumchapel and Castlemilk most people interacted with residents of the same tenure whereas residents in the Gorbals interacted with both social renters and owners. These differences may be due to how mixed tenure was introduced in the estates (purpose-built versus incremental), greater tenure mix (51% social renters in the Gorbals compared with 74% in the other estates) and/or geography. Inner-city Gorbals may attract different people. Several owners and renters in the Gorbals talked about long-term residence helping them to know people of different tenures when asked specifically about cross-tenure interactions, but this is in contrast to Castlemilk and Drumchapel where long-term renters tended to mostly only know other social renters. This may be an effect of the different spatial configuration in Gorbals.

Social interaction between residents involved being friendly (just saying hello in the street) but not living in people's 'pockets'. For those who had lived in their neighbourhood for many years or had grown up in their neighbourhoods they were friends with people and socialised with them in their homes or at local amenities.

Children were seen as important for social interactions. People met each other through their children and neighbours looked out for and looked after each other's children.

Conclusion

Mixed tenure is expected to provide a range of social, economic, environmental and psychological benefits to residents by addressing issues such as neighbourhood reputation, providing better facilities and services, increasing social cohesion and community participation, providing role models for work and education, more job opportunities and contributing to neighbourhood sustainability. From this study of families living in three estates with different configurations of tenure mix we found some evidence that several of these expectations have been achieved, but not all.

Social domain

Mixed tenure, especially in the two peripheral estates, did not result in social interactions between tenures. There was some indication from both renters and owners that mixing tenures provided some informal social control and role models for caring for neighbourhood and, in the Gorbals, a sense of community. Most residents in all three mixed tenure neighbourhoods felt a positive attachment to their neighbourhood even though they were aware of particular problems such as antisocial behaviour. Feelings of attachment to a neighbourhood were strongest for those residents who have had a long association with the area irrespective of tenure and people stayed or moved back to an area because of social and family networks and feeling comfortable and 'at home' in the neighbourhood. Children were seen as important for social interactions in the neighbourhoods. People met each other through their children and neighbours looked out for and looked after each other's children.

Housing and neighbourhoods

Most residents agreed that the provision of new housing and regeneration, of which mixed tenure was a component, has provided better quality housing stock, larger homes, greater safety and security in the home, and access to good outdoor space. The benefits of the neighbourhood included: providing social networks and offering mutual support especially regarding 'looking out for' children. For the Gorbals, proximity to Glasgow city centre was described as a benefit whereas, for the peripheral estates, being close to the countryside was considered a benefit.

Importantly, residents highlighted the positive aspects of the considered approach to the layout of the Gorbals' redevelopment both in terms of ease of mobility and use of amenities in the local vicinity, as well as in relation to benefits of the neighbourhood design for children's safety and use of the area. Participants were especially positive about neighbourhood features like access and proximity to communal facilities and traffic management within the Gorbals. This was a clear set of benefits from the holistic redesign and layout of the Gorbals redevelopment versus the incremental changes that occurred in the two peripheral estates.

Problems in the neighbourhoods differed between the estates. The Gorbals residents identified an issue of having a high number of private renters in the area. Drumchapel residents seemed more negative about local shops and transport, than respondents in the other two areas and a lack of amenities and facilities, especially for young people, were identified as problems in both Drumchapel and Castlemilk.

Spatial configuration

In many ways, residents' views differed according to the spatial configuration of housing tenures. Mixed tenure was viewed more positively in the Gorbals and this appears to be directly related to the integrated spatial configuration of the redevelopment as well as the more equal balance of tenures. Generally, those living in integrated areas were more positive about mixed tenure particularly in terms of equality, co-operation and effects on bad behaviour in particular.

Owners in segregated areas tended to be the most negative with many of them making clear distinctions between where they lived and other socially rented areas. This was also a function of layout since, regardless of the configuration of tenure mix, new housing developments, especially cul-de-sacs, were regarded by participants as separate to the wider area and these developments were often given specific names. Residents highlighted the separateness of their immediate area by referring to 'up this end' or 'that estate over there', demonstrating the separation between areas. Furthermore, unlike the Gorbals where residents reported more cross-tenure interactions, long-term renters in Castlemilk and Drumchapel tended to interact mostly with other social renters precisely because they knew everyone, and

this appears to be partly a function of the segregated configuration whereby social renters live amongst other social renters.

While owners of different configurations noted the 'up and coming' nature of their area, some renters in Drumchapel and Castlemilk felt that attempts to improve the area had largely failed because the people living in the area had not changed and deprivation levels had remained the same.

Economic impacts

Mixed tenure or regeneration in general was felt to have had little or no impact, especially in the peripheral estates, on improving services and amenities, a problem exacerbated by poor transport connections to access alternatives. Shops were a particular deficiency in the peripheral estates, both their quality and insufficiency for the size of the estates. There is no evidence from this study that mixed tenure or regeneration activities in general have addressed the endemic unemployment problems in these areas. For some owners, the pull of affordable owner-occupied housing was important although there was some concern, again in the Gorbals, that the increased value of houses in the area might take home ownership out of reach of social renters.

Children and mixed tenure

Children were seen as important for social interactions in the neighbourhoods. People met each other through their children and neighbours looked out for and looked after each other's children. Renters in all three areas noted the positive impact of activities and friendships among children in the neighbourhood although the Gorbals residents were the only participants to talk about improved expectations for their children and the positive effect of improved local amenities such as school and clubs. There was a tangible sense of pride linked to the fact that their children would have good opportunities through living in the Gorbals. In terms of negative effects, some parents were concerned about their children mixing with children who did not have the same background and/or mixing with families who did not share similar parental attitudes. Other possible negative effects mentioned by owners and renters were: exposure to unwanted/inappropriate adult behaviours (drinking and drug taking in public), gangs, and a lack of facilities or amenities.

The study adds to the body of knowledge about the effects of urban renewal on the social determinants of health and has important implications for the evaluation and development of policy. We have found many similarities between the owners and social renters living in these three estates but there are also some clear differences, especially between the Gorbals and the peripheral estates. Incremental regeneration as experienced in the peripheral estates appears to have been less successful than the 'purpose built' regeneration experienced in the Gorbals. This may be for a number of reasons. By its nature, it is more difficult with incremental regeneration to properly or completely achieve integrated mixed tenure configurations. Perhaps a more likely reason the peripheral estates remain (more) problematic is the original and continued lack of investment in infrastructure – good public transport and quality shops and services. The advent of mixed tenure has not facilitated the development of such services. Gorbals success however may end up contributing to its downfall as house prices in the area rise and buying a house moves out of reach of the social renters. Mixed tenure is generally perceived as positive by residents and they see many benefits of living in their neighbourhoods and appreciate improved housing and neighbourhood environment, but they recognise new housing and improved environments does not address many problems in these estates.

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Appendix I. Interview schedule.

Respondent I.D. number for this project

INTERVIEW TOPIC GUIDE

Introduction

At the door

Hi,

*I would like to speak to the **head of this household**. (In case they are not, ask to speak to them or ask when they can be contacted).*

*I am doing a **study for the GoWell programme** conducted by University of Glasgow and Medical Research Council.*

*We have sent you a **letter** saying that we will be interviewing residents in your area.*

*We are studying **families' experience of living in [area name]**. It looks at resident families' views of their home, neighbourhood and surrounding area: housing, neighbourhood environment, services, and social life.*

***Your participation is very important to us**, in this way residents are given a voice in the study.*

*Your participation is completely **voluntary**, and if you accept to be interviewed you will receive a **voucher worth £10**.*

*The interview will take about **45 mins**.*

*As we are **looking to interview families**, I would like to know if you have children?*

*Are you **owning or renting** this property? For rent: private or social?*

Inside the home

Give the information sheet to read if necessary, or read it with the resident.

Sign the consent form.

During this interview, please give answers that first come into your mind. There are no "good" or "bad" answers.

I am interested in knowing your personal opinion about the place where you live (home, neighbourhood, surrounding area) and people who live there.

1. How long have you been living in this estate for?
2. Do you think this estate has changed over time? For which reason? How?
3. How long have you been living at this address for?
4. Where did you move from? What were the reasons?
5. Are you planning to move elsewhere in the next 3 years? Where? Why?
6. What is good about your home for your family?
7. What is not so good about your home for your family?

Let us talk now about your neighbourhood

8. If you were asked to explain to a stranger where you live, what would you say?
9. By using paper and pencil, please show: Where you live in this estate? Which spaces you use? What is the area that you feel you belong to?
10. How do you get to school and to work (car, public transport)? How much time does it take?
11. Does living in this area affect how you feel about yourself and your life? What is positive? What is negative?
12. Does living in this area affect the future of your children? What is positive? What is negative?
13. What kind of reputation does this neighbourhood have? How do you feel about it?
14. Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood? Do your children feel safe? Are you concerned with problems of antisocial behaviour?

15. What do you think of services/amenities in your neighbourhood? What is good/not so good?

16. What do you think of the way your area looks?

17. Do residents in this area care about it?

Let us talk about people who live in this neighbourhood

18. How many people in your area do you know well enough to speak to? Are any of these owners or renters?

19. Are you good friends with: neighbours next door (Are they: OO or SR)?

20. And with people from other parts of this estate (Are they: OO or SR)?

21. Where do you get together with friends in this estate? Which places?

22. Could you describe relations between people in this neighbourhood? Are they like a community or rather not?

23. Can you tell which houses are owned or which ones are rented? How do you feel about it? *[Add this to the drawing]*

24. Can you tell which people in your neighbourhood are owners or renters? How do you feel about it?

25. Do social renters and owner occupiers get on well together in this estate?

26. What do you think of them living side by side in the same building? Is that good? Bad?

27. And in the same street?

28. And in the same area?

29. *Sample characteristics*

To finish, I have a couple more questions for you...

a	How many people live here including yourself? CIRCLE AS APPROPRIATE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	INITIALS	Self								
b	GENDER. And is ... male or female?									
	Male	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Female	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
c	Can you go through each household member and give their age last birthday – starting with yourself?									
	WRITE AGE IN EACH COLUMN									
	IF REFUSED/CANT REMEMBER LEAVE BLANK & PROBE: Which of the following age bands apply? SHOWCARDS									
	LESS THAN 16 YRS	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	16 – 17	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	18 – 24	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	25 – 39	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	40 – 54	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	55 – 64	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
	65 PLUS	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
	DON'T KNOW	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
REFUSED	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	
d	What is the relationship of each household member to you? ONE CODE ONLY PER HH MEMBER									
	Spouse/partner/cohabiter		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Son/Daughter (incl step/adopted)		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Grandson/granddaughter (incl step/adopted)		3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
	Parent/parent in-law		4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	Other relative		5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
	Other non-relative		6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6

30. Can you tell me what is the highest level of educational qualifications you've obtained? SHOWCARDS

School leaving certificate	1
O Grade, Standard Grade, GCSE, CSE, or equivalent – grades D to F	2
O Grade, Standard Grade, GCSE, CSE, or equivalent – grades A to C	3
Higher Grade/A Level, AS Level, Advanced Senior cert, CSYS or equivalent	4
GSVQ or SVQ Level 1 or 2, BTEC First Diploma, City and Guilds Craft or equivalent	5
GSVQ or SVQ Level 3, ONC, OND or SCOTVEC National Diploma, City and Guilds Advanced Craft, RSA Advanced Diploma or equivalent	6
Apprenticeships or trade qualification	7
HNC, HND, SVQ levels 4 or 5, RSA Higher Diploma or equivalent	8
First degree, Higher Degree	9
Other technical or business qualification / certificate	10
Other qualification – write in	11
None	12

31. How many rooms are there in your house not including bathrooms, kitchen, hall and toilets?

32. Do you own or have regular access to a car or van? Yes / No

33. To which of these groups do you consider you belong? SHOWCARDS

White	Scottish	1
	British	2
	English	3
	Northern Irish	4
	Welsh	5
	Irish	6
	Any other White background (please write in)	7
Mixed	White and Black Caribbean	8
	White and Black African	9
	White and Asian	10
	Any other Mixed background (please write in)	11
Asian or Asian British	Indian	12
	Pakistani	13
	Bangladeshi	14
	Any other Asian background (please write in)	15
Black or Black British	Caribbean	16
	African	17
	Any other Black background (please write in)	18
Chinese or Other	Chinese	19
	Other (please write in)	20
Do not wish to disclose		21

Appendix II. Response rates.

Information on addresses	The Gorbals		Drumchapel		Castlemilk	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Study respondents	16	4.6	12	8.3	9	7.4
Refusal to take part	11	3.2	7	4.5	7	5.7
Interview scheduled, but resident not in	2	0.6	4	2.5	0	0.0
Could not do interview at that time	13	3.8	14	8.9	12	9.8
No answer at the door	46	13.3	40	25.5	69	56.6
Not a family	200	58.0	46	29.3	22	18.0
Inappropriate tenure type	47	13.6	0	0.0	3	2.5
No information about the address	10	2.9	33	21.0	0	0.0
Total addresses contacted	345	100.0	157	100.0	122	100.0
Response rate	55.2%		52.2%		56.3%	



GoWell is a collaborative partnership between the Glasgow Centre for Population Health, the University of Glasgow and the MRC/CSO Social and Public Health Sciences Unit, sponsored by Glasgow Housing Association, the Scottish Government, NHS Health Scotland and NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde.

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