



Policy-maker and practitioner perspectives on mixed tenure communities: a qualitative study

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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

For the last twenty years, mixed tenure has been favoured as a means to create 'mixed communities' in the UK moving away from what are seen as disadvantaged, often stigmatised, mono-tenure housing estates. The expected benefits of mixed tenure range across economic, social, environmental and psychological impacts. 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. These reviews have reported: little or no evidence for expected effects of mixed tenure; little attention to the way it is delivered; and little attention to how mixed tenure might affect existing housing areas, as opposed to new housing estates.

Research aims

The aim of this study was to compare and contrast the development of mixed tenure 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. Furthermore, the study aimed to explore with professionals and practitioners who have been involved over time in the development or management of the estates:

- How the redevelopments, including tenure diversification, were carried out.
- The successes and challenges of tenure diversification regarding: wellbeing and health of resident families; social climate; education; employment; area reputation; safety and antisocial behaviour; environmental quality; services and amenities and transport infrastructure.
- The challenges to creating tenure diversification.

Method

The three localities were Drumchapel and Castlemilk, two peripheral estates, built as mono-tenure social housing in the 1950s-1960s, and the Gorbals, an inner-city

estate. Key informant interviews were undertaken with 16 professionals who worked in Drumchapel, Castlemilk or the Gorbals.

Key findings

Tenure diversification was generally one component of regeneration in these areas designed to address poor quality housing, little or poor quality amenities, residualisation and resulting stigma, deprivation, unemployment and population decline.

Informants identified the following benefits/achievements of tenure diversification across the three estates:

- Better housing quality and improved housing standards.
- Better amenities, commercial space and environmental improvements.
- Better management and maintenance of buildings and people.
- Greater levels of pride in houses and open spaces.
- Improved reputation.
- Stable communities.
- Improvement in the physical environment and streetscape.
- Socioeconomic enrichment.

They also identified continuing issues:

Castlemilk:

- Continued deprivation.
- Unemployment.
- Difficulties associated with first-time owner occupiers.
- Inherent and persistent residualisation.

Drumchapel:

- Poor amenities.
- Persistent stigma.
- Lack of an economic base within the locality.

The Gorbals:

- Management of the area and sub-letting to private renters.
- Relatively low levels of a genuine mix of social renting and privately owned housing.
- Unemployment.
- Substance use.

Summary

Tenure mixing in these three communities appears to have contributed to some extent to improvements in housing and wider environmental conditions, improved area reputations, and sustainable communities. However, these outcomes have not been attained equally by all three estates. Further, it was clear from participants in this study that policies and activities that provided better housing as well as policies aimed at producing mixed tenure communities were necessary but not sufficient to improve the health and wellbeing of the residents.

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": "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"; subject to practical limits, the use of 'pepper-potting' was suggested. 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.*¹⁹ concluded 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:

- How were the redevelopments, including tenure diversification, carried out?
- What are the successes and remaining challenges of tenure diversification regarding:
 - Social relations and antisocial behaviour on the estates.
 - Economic outcomes: opportunities and levels of employment, buoyancy of the local economy.
 - Housing outcomes: including residential stability and housing demand.
 - Level and quality of the local environment, amenities and resources.
 - Area reputation.
 - Wellbeing of families and children, including educational outcomes.

- What are the inter-relationships between physical and social outcomes of tenure mixing?

Interviewing practitioners allowed for expert insight into the historical and developmental factors that led to regeneration that included mixed tenure in the three estates. Furthermore, practitioners could provide an in-depth exploration of the merits of tenure diversification in union with persistent issues and by listening to the accounts of these participants we can better understand contextual factors and how the evolution of policy decisions affected these communities.

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, recently redeveloped and comprising mostly low- to medium-rise tenements and other kinds of flats. Each estate is briefly described below.

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 the city council's New Neighbourhoods Initiative²⁵. Unlike Castlemilk, Drumchapel was not

the subject of a major government regeneration programme, instead 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 tenement 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' 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.

Recruitment, fieldwork and achieved sample

Stakeholders were identified and recruited from across the three case study sites. A purposive sampling strategy was used and several channels utilised to identify potential participants: through contacts at the Glasgow City Council, snowballing through the research participants themselves, and identifying schools in the study areas and directly contacting relevant senior teachers. The following categories of participants were selected and recruited.

- In order to investigate the questions of estate planning, development, management, tenure configurations and neighbourhood outcomes, key individuals who played a role in planning decisions in the 1990s as well as those working on the areas at present were interviewed: Urban planners (Development & Regeneration Services (DRS) (N=3), Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) stakeholders (N=5), Architect (N=1), Community chair (N=1).
- In order to look into the questions of socioeconomic outcomes of tenure mix and social regeneration, we interviewed: Regeneration Agency stakeholders (N=2), Socioeconomic development officer (N=1).
- In order to investigate the questions of education and family-related outcomes, we interviewed senior teachers (N=3).

Interviews typically lasted between 45-60 minutes. 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. Interviews were conducted in October 2009 and participants were interviewed in person at a time and place that suited them. The interviews were digitally recorded with participants' consent, stored securely, and anonymised.

A total of 17 interviews were conducted, as shown in Table 1. Since the Regeneration Agency respondent was the same interviewee for both Castlemilk and the Gorbals estates, there were 16 participants in total. The overall sample was fairly evenly balanced between the three estates. Of the participants, 11 were male and five were female and the response rate was 84%.

Table 1. Achieved sample.

Respondent category	Estate			Total
	Castlemilk	The Gorbals	Drumchapel	
Urban planner DRS	•	•	•	3
GHA (worked in Estate in 1990s)	•		•	2
GHA (working in Estate at present)	•	•	•	3
Regeneration Agency	•*	•*	•	2*
Teacher local school	•	•	•	3
Socioeconomic Development Officer			•	1
Community Chair		•		1
Architect	•			1
Total	6	5	6	

*Same interviewee.

Content and analysis

Semi-structured qualitative interviews focused on the opinions, experiences and perceptions of respondents variously related to estate planning, development and management, planning decisions, the socioeconomic outcomes of tenure mix and social regeneration, education and family-related outcomes and the positives and negatives of tenure diversification overall (see the Appendix for the Interview Topic Guide). The first part of the interview focused on the questions related to area regeneration in order to avoid bias relating to exploring mixed tenure issues, while the second part focused explicitly on mixed tenures. The interviews were professionally transcribed verbatim and analysed thematically. In what follows, we make use of quotations from the interviews where they are most relevant to illustrating the views held by stakeholders about the process, impact and issues surrounding tenure diversification.

Results section 1: Problems on and with the estates

This section draws on the perspectives and experiences of the stakeholders to describe the state of the three areas prior to the current regeneration work which included tenure diversification as one strategy for improving these areas. It initially focuses on changes from the late 1970s to the present and explores the issues that affected the estates pre-diversification. This section briefly discusses the major problems that existed in the estates at that time and how and why mixed tenure emerged as a potential solution.

The environment

The three case study areas were part of the clearance and redevelopment of Glasgow's pre-war slums in the 1950s and 1960s and the establishment of what were termed new peripheral estates. From 1945 to 1961, 62,000 new homes were completed by Glasgow Council, three quarters of these (46,600) were built in the four peripheral estates of Easterhouse, Castlemilk, Pollok and Drumchapel³⁰.

As described by some participants, the new estates offered or could have offered good places to live:

It was built, Castlemilk was just built all wrong. Castlemilk had the most wonderful location... because you look right across Glasgow, right across to the Campsie Hills, to the Trossachs – the views of the mountains and things are absolutely spectacular from Castlemilk. And, of course, you've got the Cathkin Braes as a kind of playground, Linn Park and things like that. So Castlemilk had a lot going for it – ...but it rapidly started to go downhill as all the economically active people moved to East Kilbride as part of all the overspill.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

I think originally, 1950s, Drumchapel like other parts of Glasgow, it was developed to reflect a housing need. You know, there was slum clearances going on within the city. So I think originally when it was built, largely people say that the housing... the houses that were built were far superior to what people had been living in previously, particularly in inner city areas

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

The Gorbals, on the other hand was described by one respondent as:

horrible, brutal, concrete sort of environment... it was the 1960s, if you like to call that redevelopment, finished round about the 1970s – and I was seeing it about ten years after that, and it was incomplete. This area, where Crown Street was at that time, it was, there were 759 empty flats, in seven-storey blocks, which are interconnected with sort of aerial walkways and things like that...

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

However, while these participants indicated that the changes were initially positive and improved the areas, they didn't stay that way. The areas were characterised by poorly-designed, unattractive houses and flats, poor housing conditions, often poor, sometimes non-existent local amenities leading to stigma, residualisation and segregation, chronically high unemployment rates, and high levels of deprivation.

Architecture and physical conditions of homes

The problems associated with the estates were, by 1980, manifold. Initial impressions were of unattractive appearances of the houses, flats and open spaces.

The number of houses per acre or per hectare was much higher than it is now, It was badly designed and not properly maintained, over the years.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

So essentially you have a number of Drumlins or hills, and that, if you like was a constraint on the planning of Drumchapel. ...Most of the areas that were

unbuildable, became open space by default. So, they weren't originally planned out as – you know with the exception of Drumchapel Hecla park, these green space areas weren't really planned out as, green space and parkland.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

These impressions were reinforced by the poor physical conditions and general state of disrepair of the houses or flats, due largely to the speed of construction and methods of construction.

The history of Drumchapel as one of the four peripheral housing estates in Glasgow... - Castlemilk, Easterhouse, Drumchapel and Pollok. ...They were really designed at speed and volume. So, the impetus, if you like, was to build as many houses in the shortest time frame possible, which allowed people to be moved from the inner city slum areas.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

The housing was not necessarily designed to cope with the environment or weather:

A lot of the properties in Castlemilk were built of what's called Wilson-block, which is pretty porous and lets the water in. There's a lot of dampness. A lot of dampness in the multi-storey flats too, just because of the prevailing winds... So they were damp, they were hard to heat – not all of them, there were some different constructions, but that was in the main, what was wrong with the properties.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

So, these houses would have been poorly insulated, they would have had – originally been, coal fire would have been the main source of heating, metal window frames, which by that time, would be corroding and inefficient.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

During the sixties and the seventies when replacement houses were built there was an issue about construction. Not necessarily just quality but also

design... it wasn't relevant to the west of Scotland damp type housing, you know, because from what I can understand, some of the designs were based on houses in Morocco.

[GHA (working in estate at present) - Gorbals]

Amenities and commercial space

All three areas had problems with lack of amenities such as shops, schools, and transport, although the two peripheral estates were worse off than the Gorbals. Prior to the most recent regeneration of the Gorbals it did have a shopping centre, albeit an unattractive one:

There was, in the centre of the area was a shopping centre with an open – well, a sort of half-roofed-over shopping centre with tower blocks above it. It was a very windy, unpleasant place to do your shopping. ...the wind would blow people off their feet sometimes – cause the design, it was on stilts. The tower blocks were on stilts, and the wind would go underneath and the shopping centre was there – and it was as horrible, brutal, concrete sort of environment. And a lot of, it started off quite well occupied, the shops – but as time went on, the number of shops declined because people didn't like shopping there.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

It also had five primary schools and two secondary schools and reasonable access to transport:

[Transport was] probably basically the same as what we have now. I think, though, at one time, there was actually a bus going through the middle of the area, which doesn't happen anymore. ...it's very close to the city centre, you can just walk over.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

One feature of the two peripheral estates was that they were built with almost no public amenities or commercial space.

What is interesting is that the school development was the next priority and followed the housing development, followed by community centres. But the Drumchapel township centre itself, wasn't started until about 1961/62. Which, effectively, was about seven or eight years after the housing construction had started.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

And there were no resources, no community facilities there. There were two community, community is the wrong word – there were two public places there. One was an Orange hall with all of that history, and the other one was the Phoenix Tenants Hall.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

But when the... when Drumchapel was built, many people will argue that it was built without facilities like schools, recreational facilities, shops were limited to a degree. Even churches for people to attend. There was no swimming pool, no library, so you know, the houses were good, it solved a problem but it was after a period of time that additional facilities were created.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

The two peripheral estates continue to suffer from poor transport links especially if residents want to travel to places other than Glasgow city centre:

The area's [South Glasgow] quite disconnected, in terms of its transport links – our main rail links stop at King's Park. There's nothing as far out as Castlemilk – it's bus services from Castlemilk, whilst there, those bus services are reasonably well connected if you're coming into the city – to cross the area, at all, is virtually impossible. And if you take some of the – the reason I mention that is, if you take recent employment opportunities in places like Silverburn, where there was a new retail development – during the construction phases of Silverburn, whilst it's a relatively short distance, as the crow flies, from Castlemilk, it was hugely difficult for people to pick up

employment in somewhere like Silverburn, simply because of the transport infrastructure.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Being areas of high deprivation, few residents can afford cars and therefore rely on public transport:

Drumchapel still is an area of very low car ownership, I think still the lowest in Glasgow. So, Drumchapel has always been a community relying on public transport.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

Unemployment

Unemployment was a problem in all three estates and was exacerbated by inaccessibility (as shown in both the above quotes) and significant deindustrialisation that occurred in the 1970s. The effects of deindustrialisation was felt most by those living in Drumchapel, where the estate went from largely full employment to unemployment in just a few years.

[Previously]... generally one parent being in full time employment and although it was a large, a very large working class area, my personal view would have been people were in employment, people were earning money and they might not have been... you may not have described them as being rich but in my view, you would not have described them as being poor. That was my impression of Drumchapel, but it was very much a one-tenure estate.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

However, the story's well known – the collapse of shipbuilding and engineering and the Singer factory and the Goodyear factory... and the impact of unemployment in Drumchapel, for me, is the single most significant determining factor that led to the decline of the estate. ...it was significant – but it was significant over time. It was a gradual process, not everyone who lived in Drumchapel worked in the shipyards or worked in Singer's or worked

in Goodyear. That isn't true. That's too simplistic – but the shakeout of jobs from the core industries, the old industrial working class was the class that lived in Drumchapel – and that was the class that was losing all the jobs, and therefore, it had a tremendous impact on Drumchapel. People's behaviour changed.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

[Drumchapel was] fine until, you know the decline of shipbuilding and heavy engineering in the seventies. So, the problems with Drumchapel really started to emerge, in the late 1970s and the early 1980s.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

Unemployment in Castlemilk and the Gorbals was a problem but the extent to which it caused a failing in the estate was less significant than in Drumchapel.

Deprivation, population decline and sustainability

The poor quality and poorly maintained housing stock, lack of amenities and services, and the isolation of the peripheral estates contributed to population decline, further exacerbating the issues for residents in these estates, creating areas of multiple deprivation and increased perceptions of stigma.

Castlemilk was built in 1955, from then onwards ...people were still wanting out. They were all wanting back to their roots. A lot of the older people wanted back to the Gorbals, wanted back to Govanhill, wanted to better themselves – or so they thought – by moving to Cathcart. We used to have a lot of people wanting that. They thought, because the houses were bad here, but the houses were bad everywhere, you know? All over Glasgow city, the houses were run down because there was no money to invest in them. So they thought their quality of life would be better by moving to, or going back to where they came from because they, you know, there wasn't very much in Castlemilk.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

The population of Drumchapel had peaked in 1971 at 34,000 people. And, by the time the Drumchapel local plan was adopted in 1992, the population was down to about eighteen and a half thousand people. So, it indicates the scale of depopulation that occurred from about 1971 to 1992

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

...with the highest levels of unemployment, and long term unemployment. So I think it's fair to say that the physical decline of Drumchapel was noticeable by the early 1980s. The economic decline and the subsequent effect that had on the community, and on the health and education and attainment and so on, you started – the things that you would notice with areas of multiple deprivation - Drumchapel could have been considered a classic example, of an area of multiple deprivation by the 1980s.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

[There was a] reduction in population from about 90,000 in 1930s to 12,000 in 80s.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

The estates encountered stigma. This affected people's self-perception, their job prospects and how they were viewed by others.

Local people had no self respect, it was, they had no pride, Castlemilk, sometimes the buses used to stop at the entrance to Castlemilk because of the reputation of Castlemilk. There was a lot of violence – not so much the gang warfares that were around in Easterhouse but there were some. But basically, everyone was trying to get out of Castlemilk. So there were pockets of the area that were very, very difficult to let, though the stock was in reasonable condition.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

[Houses] were quite often difficult to let. Castlemilk was not popular. It was difficult to get anyone from outside to come into Castlemilk and it was kind of before the time where the families grew up – the original families.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

The growing unpopularity and weakening of housing demand caused problems for housing management on the estate.

So Drumchapel, in a sense, became destabilised by lack of investment, and that would then have a knock on effect, of creating large amount of voids and present difficulties for local housing management, because people were leaving the area. So, what you would end up with was a patchwork of, large number of void units, which would then contribute to the breakdown of community, because you could have two or three, vacant tenement flats in the close, and then the other ones could be occupied by people who were statistically, you know considered to be deprived and within the worst areas of deprivation. So, in order to break that down, you had to really have a look at the big picture for Drumchapel. And the big picture was there were certain neighbourhoods which were unpopular, partially due to the way that Drumchapel was planned in the first instance.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

Summary

This section has touched briefly on the variety of problems faced by the case study estates. Some of the problems were specific to one estate, or just two; others occurred across all three, as well as other places in Glasgow. Many of the problems were common to the peripheral estates at Drumchapel and Castlemilk but not applicable to the Gorbals, due to the fact that Drumchapel and Castlemilk were conceived, developed and built at broadly similar times as two components of an overall housing strategy, built in the 1950s and 1960s. The Gorbals was quite different being centrally located and overall has experienced much higher rates of demolition and rebuilding. Design and maintenance of buildings was a problem with all three estates; none were renowned for the quality and/or longevity of their

domestic architecture. Maintenance difficulties also arose due to the nature of the buildings and inadequate funds with which to carry out maintenance. A feature common to all three estates was an exodus of the population. Poor housing conditions, peripheral locations and generally negative perceptions of the places all encouraged people to leave. In Drumchapel's case, large-scale reduction in local job opportunities (an initial rationale for the estate) was also a major factor in the estate's decline. Population decline resulted in vacant homes, under-used shops and the loss of what in many cases were those citizens with the most social capital to feedback into the community. By 1980 it was clear that the existing estates could not continue in this state and the resulting developments form the basis for section 2.

Results section 2: How did mixed tenure emerge?

By the early 1980s, the problems on the case study estates were significant and numerous. A number of factors paved the way for the subsequent diversification of housing tenure. These included a recognition that council housing wasn't working, changes in politics, financial pressures, impact of legislation such as Right to Buy (RTB) and the rise of housing associations. There were also social reasons put forward for mixed tenure, such as, to create healthy, sustainable communities. These influences were not mutually exclusive. Our participants talked about the move to tenure diversification in terms of a recognition that single tenure places needed to change and also recognising that these changes occurred slowly.

If we were starting on day one, the idea would be to mix tenures, I would have thought – that would have been a rational approach to it. So when you haven't got a blank canvas and you're starting with an area that's a hundred percent social rented, then the change is much more difficult to implement. But I don't think I've met anybody who would dispute the objective that we should be trying to mix tenures more.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

It [Castlemilk] was one hundred percent council housing. And that clearly wasn't working. ...Castlemilk was always known as the best of the peripheral estates. But if you actually looked at the deprivation data, then Castlemilk had widespread multiple deprivation across all the enumeration districts in those times.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

[the main purpose of regeneration was]...really to improve the housing conditions... and the environment and the facilities.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

Early tenure mix and local resistance

The move towards mixed tenure was influenced by the realisation that the existing method for housing provision wasn't working, but also there was increasingly less public money available as this planner describes:

It [tenure mixing] increasingly became seen as good practice – not just because of the fact that the government weren't going to subsidise as many social rented houses as in the past. Also, people were beginning to realise, a bit late in the day, that having single tenure housing areas wasn't a great idea.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

Right to Buy in many ways represented the original tenure mixing process. Whilst RTB was the outcome of a top-down policy its emergence was in many ways more pragmatic; the government wanted to save money. The major downside of RTB was that it was inherently residualising. Mortgages would only be available to better-off tenants with the more appealing properties and council discounts were largely based upon tenants' length of tenure.

The tenure diversification came around probably in the 1970s, where the first housing co-operative in Drumchapel to my knowledge, ...in the 1990s, but although the tenure began to diversify, it was still very much, still very much social housing although in my opinion, the introduction of Right to Buy also began a degree of tenure diversification, although the Right to Buy was stronger in certain parts of Drumchapel than others. It wasn't straight across the board.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

There appeared to be quite strong opposition by communities against the move to have private housing in council estates. A manager for Castlemilk housing estate explains:

It was very difficult to persuade the residents' associations that we needed to do something different, and Castlemilk Tenants Association ...they had very

fixed views that, you know, this is a council housing area and it should be council housing. ...So we came up with the idea that, within every neighbourhood of Castlemilk, we would have fifty percent of the stock would be council, thirty percent would be housing association, and twenty percent would be privately owned. And to my knowledge, that was the only – and we stuck to that really, really rigidly. Well of course, the tenants made us stick to it as well, but...

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

Some residents were also sceptical that offering private housing would work:

Everyone, initially, was saying, 'No-one will buy – what's the point of having this formula in every area because no-one will come to Castlemilk, no-one from Castlemilk will buy'. And I remember standing up at the public meeting and saying, 'How long have you – let's see how long some of you have lived in Castlemilk'. And there was huge numbers that have lived in Castlemilk for over 25 years – since it was built. And then it started to get much less, because people who weren't kind of born and bred Castlemilk would, they always aspired to leave – and then you spoke to the folk who had, you know, twenty, twenty-five year tenancy and said, 'Right, where are your sons and daughters? What have they done? Are they living in Castlemilk?' And yes, some were living in Castlemilk – but huge numbers had bought their own houses, and lots of them were living... so they were still quite close, or they had bought in East Kilbride. And we kind of said, 'Well, if they'd just bought there – what's the difference with buying in Castlemilk, where they can be much closer to you, provide support?' And that started to get people thinking. And then they said, 'No builder and things would ever come and build houses', and of course, we had to prove them wrong there.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

The rise of housing associations

The ascendancy of housing associations on the estates followed RTB by a few years, but their importance in the tenure mixing process was also seen as significant by our respondents. Housing associations became established as the main provider of social housing in Glasgow. Housing associations emerged as a response to new constraints in funding.

I think the housing association movement was able to access funding that benefited Drumchapel and the residents of Drumchapel, that at that time the City Council couldn't access.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

...started around '83 or '84, just as I was taking up employment in Drumchapel. I think that was the first housing ownership co-operative in the city ...Personally, I don't believe the imperative was community ownership. I think the imperative was financially driven. A positive means to a positive end. There was a Conservative government ...establishing ownership co-ops was a way of fast-tracking significant funding that wouldn't otherwise have been available. I think the significant point is, the initiative was top-down, financially driven, not bottom up, community driven, right? That was important. I had no illusions about what was going on.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

Social regeneration and sustainable communities

Respondents explained why and how they thought tenure mixing came about but they were also quite clear that the focus was not just to diversify tenure but also important to diversify housing stock to encourage people to stay in the areas.

I mean, there was a range of objectives in the early days which, I suppose, still apply and that was to, not just diversify tenure, but also house type and house size. The majority of housing in Castlemilk was flatted accommodation and the majority was three and four apartment – three and four rooms. So part of the Castlemilk Partnership's objectives was to not just change the

tenure, but also make sure there was more availability of smaller and larger accommodation, and also to make sure that there were more houses with gardens, as opposed to flats. Just to increase the range of choice, and to make sure that people who wanted to stay in Castlemilk had the opportunity to do that.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

They explained why they thought mixed tenure was good in terms of allowing those who are successful to stay in the area which meant the communities were sustainable and successful:

... it's to do with people's aspirations and things like that, isn't it? I'm not really an expert on this – I'm not a social engineer or anything like that, but I think it was, I mean, in the first place – people would have to move out of their area if they do better in life. And generally speaking, if you do better in life, you want to buy your own house – that's the way it works in this country, so it gives people the opportunity to stay in the area and not lose all the people with the most enterprise, maybe the people who do better at school and all that kind of thing. So it can create a more mixed, and more successful community. I think that's really what's at the heart of it.

[Urban Planner DRS - Gorbals]

Tenure mixing however, was not considered by the participants to be sufficient in itself to improve the residents' lives:

The three things are inextricably linked. We are never likely to improve people's health if we don't improve the housing conditions that they have, nor are we likely to improve their health if we don't improve their employment prospects. And I think that the three things are inextricably linked. The objective is to have a healthy society, but I think that is predicated on good housing and quality employment.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Summary

This section has highlighted the emergence of tenure diversification as a general principle of regeneration and discussed mixed tenure in relation to a few dominant factors across the case study sites. It is clear that the emergence of mixed tenure was multi-factorial. There were significant challenges and considerations in delivering mixed tenure in these estates including; stigma, scepticism, ideological battles and financial concerns. A variety of elements were in evidence across the areas such as; area based partnerships or co-operatives, holistic approaches, large-scale remodelling, Right to Buy initiatives, the emergence of housing associations, general economic development and resident involvement in new plans as well as the recruiting of new residents to the areas. To varying degrees, each of these factors played a part in the emergence of mixed tenure.

Having presented some of the issues relating to the development of tenure diversification as a main tenet of housing concerns, attention is now turned to its intended contributions and subsequent achievements as reported by participants.

Results section 3: Tenure diversification: intended contributions

The second aim of this study was to determine what our stakeholders considered were the successes and challenges of tenure diversification in the case study areas, with respect to wellbeing and health of resident families, social climate, education, employment, area reputation, safety and antisocial behaviour, environmental quality, services and amenities and transport infrastructure.

Section 3 presents what the participants considered tenure diversification would contribute and Section 4 focuses on what they believed had been achieved in each of the case study areas.

What was tenure diversification intended to contribute?

The participants identified a number of things that tenure diversification was supposed to contribute, the obvious being better houses and amenities but this was seen as leading on to an overall or holistic improvement in living conditions, by developing more sustainable communities or neighbourhoods by improving area reputations, by giving people the opportunity to aspire to home ownership, obtain employment and remain in their area.

Better houses

The obvious aim for the regeneration of these areas was to improve the quality of the homes and local amenities. Better quality and more suitable housing was a part of the regeneration strategies. Three key objectives were to: provide a better range of house types and sizes; offer houses to social renters of better quality and providing garden access; and remove the large distinction between social and private housing.

Yeah – well I suppose one of the objects was, at the time, to try and make it appear that social rented housing was of an equal quality and style to private.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

Largely, although there has been some refurbishment, largely what has happened is that there has been clearance and demolition of the three and

four storey tenements which have been replaced by new build housing that has been built to very good standard and also it's creating housing that people have got an aspiration to live in. It's either terraced houses or block-type houses. Houses where families have got their own space, they've got their own... I don't know how people how people talk in Glasgow about having their own back and front door. They have their own garden area at the back, they have their own garden area, it's their space. And people seem to take quite a pride in that ...if the housing conditions have been improved, there has been less density, less number of people living. Maybe you've got... you could have six or eight families in the one tenement so you know, the new housing that's been created I think has been a benefit, an absolute positive.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

It's just about... it's about creating better houses, creating better conditions, enhancing living conditions. I think it's been good.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

In New Gorbals, tenure blindness was a major feature of the proposed mix. The previous flats had been visually obvious council properties and as a result, had been stigmatised. The New Gorbals would avoid this by ensuring that the type of tenure could not be determined from the external appearance of the buildings as the Gorbals Urban Planner asserts:

That's right – we've continued that right the way through to Oatlands, and we're doing it that way... They should all be the same – the design should be the same.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

Better amenities

As described in Section 2, the amenities in all three areas needed improvements and this was one of the aims of regeneration in these areas. Better amenities were part of the package on offer to create a new sense of place alongside mixed tenure. In the case of the Gorbals, the use of a traditional street pattern, inherent to the mixed tenure design, provided an opportunity for a better provision of shops as well.

Mixed tenure would accompany the development of the new shops the Gorbals. The design of these was more traditional and much less radical than the 1960s designs, being based in a conventional parade on a conventional street and according to the Gorbals Urban Planner, have been relatively successful:

It was agreed that the shopping centre be moved to Crown Street, where it is now – it's a traditional shopping street, which, again, has been quite a success and is far better than what was built in the 1960s, albeit, designed by Sir Basil Spence, the well-known architect.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

In Castlemilk there was a concerted effort to change the image of the area, and make people aware of the new amenities, similar to those one might expect in an average Glasgow suburb.

Well, it's a council area – the perception is, you know, the council estate is something that's ingrained in people. Yeah – so the imaging marketing efforts were to try and move away from that. It's not just a housing area – it's got its sports centre, it's got its swimming baths, it's got its health centre, it's got, you know, it's a community and it's a residential suburb of the city.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

Holistic or overall improvement

In all areas tenure mixing was considered to be a constituent part of a wholesale regeneration package.

Tenure mixing was part of a wider package of improvements. The aim was to make the place more viable and desirable.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

In Drumchapel, the Glasgow Alliance aimed for easy-to-access, successful low-density, tenure diversification, accompanied by investment in social rented housing,

economic development, amenities and commercial space and accessibility to other parts of Glasgow.

I don't know, maybe you know... you've got a better home, it's built to a better standard you know, the windows are good designed in such a way. Houses will have central heating, the fabric of the building, it will be warmer than what it had been previously, so that can have an impact on you know, a good, you know, warm, safe, protected environment gives people more peace of mind. ... If you live in a pleasant environment, I think people are more relaxed about that, they're not worried about noises from neighbours, they're not worried about youths congregated... and it just makes life less hassle than what it may have been before.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

One Castlemilk respondent summarises the holistic approach succinctly:

At the end of the day what we're trying to do is basically cheer the place up a bit.

[Architect – Castlemilk]

Sustaining the population/community

One aspect of tenure is related to the aspirational nature of the UK owner-occupied housing market. In Britain, socioculturally, home ownership is something to aim for and the 100% council tenure, restricted occupants to the perceived failure of the council rental market.

One crucial aim of diversifying Castlemilk's tenure was emphatically not to move its previous residents out of Castlemilk and replace them with 'successful people' but retain the area for the existing residents.

What the partnership always tried to do was to rebuild Castlemilk for existing residents, and you know, there was a lot of decanting involved in the case of new build and refurbishment, where people moved out and then were moved back into their own, previous accommodation – to try and ensure that people

stayed there and that the other elements of the strategy, other than housing, were pursuing the social and economic aims as well. We were building Glenwood Business Centre, for example, in this area. We were trying to improve employment links to the city centre, to Drakemire Industrial Estate and to East Kilbride out here.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

Regarding the physical changes resulting from regeneration in Drumchapel, one respondent said:

Largely, although there has been some refurbishment, largely what has happened is that there has been clearance and demolition of the three- and four-storey tenements which have been replaced by new build housing that has been built to very good standard and also it's creating housing that people have got an aspiration to live in.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

However, another participant highlighted that the social composition of Drumchapel remained the same:

Well – I think the population didn't change that much. I think the population mix didn't change that much. I think you would have the core, stable, historical Kingsridge Cleddans and Drumchapel population welcoming modernised homes – why wouldn't they? And I would, I think that the new homes would attract fresh people – at least in the short to medium term – but would they settle there? I didn't see any of that. I didn't see economically active people coming to settle in Drumchapel.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

Improving area reputation

Reducing the stigma associated with the areas was a major consideration and an essential component of a tenure diversification strategy. As a behavioural objective, introducing home ownership to previously mono-tenure areas would, it was hoped, increase residents' stakeholdings in the area and in turn promote higher levels of

responsibility and social connectedness. A better reputation was one of the main aims of the process.

The partnership, Castlemilk Partnership, particularly in the nineties, worked pretty hard on image and perception and a lot of money was put into that aspect of it. It was one of the key issues – imaging marketing.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

The Castlemilk Partnership aimed to change the perception of the area from that of 'estate' to 'suburb'. This involved having a more typically suburban range of tenures to the area as the Urban Planner below explains:

Around 30% was the target – or should be owner occupation.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

Reducing unemployment

As previously discussed, unemployment rates in Drumchapel and Castlemilk were high, due to their relative isolation, inaccessibility and lack of any real economic base. Various measures were taken aimed at reducing unemployment as part of the diversification process.

In Castlemilk, one aspect involved strengthening connections with neighbouring employment centres as highlighted by the Urban Planner:

We were trying to improve employment links to the city centre, to Drakemire Industrial Estate and to East Kilbride out here. That probably, in hindsight, wasn't as successful as it could or should have been.

[Urban Planner DRS - Castlemilk]

Advanced by Castlemilk Economic Development Agency, another initiative attempted to utilise the employment potential provided by building and refurbishment works:

What happened in the 1990s was Castlemilk Economic Development Agency

was set up and CEDA, as it was known, was subsumed into Glasgow Southeast Regeneration Agency. And that was only in the relatively recent past. That was only about four years ago, possibly. And CEDA's objectives have always been to encourage people into employment, set up training, ensure that developments in the area had training. Obviously, there was lots of house building going on and environmental works and suchlike, to ensure that local residents got the first bite at training opportunities and employment opportunities.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

Summary

This section has detailed the intended contributions of tenure diversification as outlined by participant stakeholders. Tenure diversification was not only intended to develop the estates in terms of social regeneration and community connectedness but also to improve resident wellbeing and improve employment opportunities. Respondents were clear that the diversification of tenure must necessarily go hand in hand with diversification of housing stock, in order to encourage 'remainers' in the estates and to develop popular sustainable communities. Respondents reported that creating uniformly designed higher quality housing was intended to lessen the stigma associated with social housing and to create places in which people would aspire to live. The pre-emptive aims of mixing tenure, it was hoped, would be concomitantly part of holistic overall change in these neighbourhoods and the improved diversified housing would not only contribute to developing the local economy in terms of improved amenities and reducing unemployment but also form a safe environment for residents. Participants explicitly reported that the intention was to create pleasant communities of mixed tenure housing which in turn would positively impact on people's health and wellbeing by ensuring warm protected environments, free from extensive antisocial behaviour and provide a sense of safety and nicer surroundings than existed previously, thus reducing resident anxieties and enhancing relaxation. Having highlighted the intended contributions of tenure diversification within a wider programme of regeneration, the next section discusses the success of these plans and the relative achievements of mixing tenures.

Results section 4: Tenure diversification: achievements

What did tenure diversification achieve?

While the most obvious improvements to the environment were physical, the achievements of tenure mixing were varied but often hidden or indirect. This section explores the achievements of tenure diversification in the three study areas, individually.

What has tenure diversification achieved in Castlemilk?

Personally, I think Castlemilk ended up being a much better place than it was.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

The account of achievements in Castlemilk is substantially broader than the description of initial aims. This might reflect the fact that tenure mixing was something of an organic or incremental process.

Better management and maintenance of buildings and people

One manifestation of this is the successful diversification of ownership, management and tenure. In economic terms, this has increased the elasticity of supply and demand and led to a more responsive and congruent relationship between residents and landlords/vendors.

At one time, there was nearly ten thousand houses, you know, that were all council. I think there were seven that were private, right on the edge there. The rest were all council owned and managed. So what has been achieved is not just diversification of broad tenure, it's the, how many different landlords have we got, social landlords have we got in Castlemilk? Probably about ten or eleven, if you count all the housing associations. So you know, that's been something that has been achieved.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

According to the Castlemilk Architect interviewed, maintenance standards have generally been high:

Certainly when I've passed them in the car they look as if they're reasonably well maintained so I suppose that means – and they must be getting on for fifteen years – some of them getting on for fifteen years old. So that's a fair time.

[Architect – Castlemilk]

One of the reasons for this is the straightforward approach to the architecture and construction of the new houses, as well as the design of the neighbourhoods themselves as highlighted below:

Through redeveloping neighbourhoods, and through making them more attractive places, both by introducing lower density new build housing, by streetscape schemes, by traffic calming measures, we were making areas more attractive, easier to manage, easier to look after and maintain.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

Maintenance issues have also been assisted by having more experienced, locally-focused management. It is also recognised that public housing does require constant management and that it is unlikely to become 'self managing' in the same way that owner-occupied houses typically are, a point addressed by the Housing Officer:

We need to make sure that, now that we've improved all the houses, that we continuously improve them. We don't just leave them to sit and rot again. We have to have a cyclical maintenance programme where, every so often, the paintwork outside is done, the gutters are cleaned, the outside is kept, the gardens are kept up to a standard, the closes are cleaned... and because we've reached that standard now, and we have to keep doing it, we are actually renewing kitchens we renewed fifteen years ago, or ten years ago, or whatever the time – so we're going back, now, and doing it again. We're not saying, 'oh, you got a new kitchen'. We're saying, 'here you go again', you know? We realise that, after so many years, you need it again.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

Highlighted by the same respondent, a final indication of improved management is through agreements signed between managers and tenants:

Responsibility, accountability and choice. So where tenants are responsible for looking after their home, behaving well – we are accountable for providing services to a standard that we set out, and there is a choice in services, a choice in tenure and a choice in the improvements... And we got people to sign contracts for good behaviour, but you know, it's all very well for public money to be spent doing up the houses – there is a responsibility on people to look after that. So we had management agreements at that time, with all tenants that were subject to improvements to their homes.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

Pride and ownership

These new management arrangements have helped deliver a more balanced relationship between landlords and residents. There are now many more opportunities for residents to be involved in running their housing, for example through residents' associations, or housing association committees. Residents can thus take ownership of change, maintenance and upkeep of standards. Coupled with the improved housing, two of the respondents note that this has delivered a substantial increase in people's pride and sense of wellbeing.

So folk owned the change, had a huge amount of pride in it and they felt good. People would say, you know, 'I feel so much better about – it's not just that I'm proud of my home – I feel so much better. This is good'.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

People feel better about their own locale within Castlemilk... They generally do feel more confident in themselves.

[Teacher – Castlemilk]

Another aspect of pride comes from owner occupiers who tend to maintain their homes themselves and take good care of them. People see this as helping to generate what is commonly known as a 'good neighbour effect', where the fact that

households are taking better care of their properties makes people develop greater pride in their neighbourhoods and carry out their own maintenance.

I'm sure, if you've got nice houses round about you and people are looking after their houses better because they have bought them, rather than rented them, then you would have to think that people feel better about their own locale within Castlemilk, and therefore feel better.

[Teacher – Castlemilk]

A better reputation

As Castlemilk has become better maintained, more stable, and less unpopular, its reputation has improved. Just as residents see themselves as better off than they were in the past, so too do outsiders as this quote suggests:

Much of the evidence that I have is anecdotal, you know? You're in a taxi and you're speaking to a taxi driver – not that they're the world's experts, but you know, that kind of anecdotal evidence. They'll say, spontaneously, to you, 'Hasn't Castlemilk changed?' And you know, that makes you think, 'Well good, it must have'.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

This again relates to a greater sense of pride-of-place and according to this teacher's response during interview, people now feel better than they used to about being from Castlemilk.

I think people do generally, and again, you'll pick up on the report – they generally do feel more confident in themselves, and there's a feeling of pride in if a child goes to this school to be associated with it – and I think people do feel that, to say that you come from Castlemilk has a better feel to it now than it may well have done in the past.

[Teacher – Castlemilk]

Better infrastructure and amenities

In common with Glasgow's other peripheral estates, there was a dearth of amenities in Castlemilk. Very few commercial or public amenity spaces existed and the transport links were relatively poor. While this might have been ameliorated pre-1980 with the aid of well-placed investment, Glasgow City Council did not have the resources to allocate here. As the Housing Officer observed, tenure diversification opened up new sources of finance for investing in infrastructure:

Tenure diversification absolutely helped changing the infrastructure of Castlemilk, because the council would never have had enough money to do it.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

The impact of improved infrastructure has been significant and provides more reasons to live in Castlemilk; people can accomplish more without having to leave the area. Compared with 1981, it has a much improved shopping centre and two supermarkets. This type of improvement has made it a more popular, and easier, place to live.

We have one of the lowest turnovers of empty houses in the city, here, because people are not leaving except for the odd problem case – but people are not leaving the houses because the houses are good and the area's good and the transport links are good. The facilities, the shops, there's a couple of large supermarkets in the area now, youth club that – they don't want to go anymore.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

Another important aspect that has improved is the educational infrastructure. Castlemilk's original schools were in need of major works by the 1990s. While not strictly a component of tenure diversification, the investment in new school buildings have improved the built environment and contributed to a greater sense of wellbeing.

This is the oldest educational building in the scheme and it was opened in 2001... there's no-one being taught in leaking roofs, windy conditions or anything like that... Castlemilk High had an inspection in 1999 into 2000, and

then we had an inspection in March 2008, and the difference between the two inspections was colossal – absolutely colossal. So much so, that when the inspection team arrived here in 2008, two or three days into the inspection, they said there is something remarkable happening in this school.

[Teacher – Castlemilk]

Creation of a housing market

Prior to the 1980s, Castlemilk did not have a housing market as such. While ostensibly equitable, this led to a situation where supply did not reflect demand and choice was limited. Private housing was partly limited due to ideology; it was also restricted because it was felt that no one would want to buy in Castlemilk, producing a self-perpetuating situation where no private buyers would ever look at the area because there was nowhere to buy. Through Right to Buy and the development of new private sector housing, the tenure mixing process altered Castlemilk's housing to approximately 30% private owner-occupation. An increased range of housing sizes and styles allows a wide range of would-be owner occupiers to stay in the area as the Castlemilk urban planner illustrates.

The 30% private housing – well, it allows people who aspire towards their owner occupation that live in Castlemilk – they didn't have the opportunity, in the 1980s, to stay in Castlemilk if they so wanted – they had to move elsewhere.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

The willingness of people to 'buy in' to the area is a statement of confidence in the area's prospects; people do not buy houses if they think they are going to fall in value. Also, by providing houses in Castlemilk, the economic base has been strengthened. Interestingly, this has not come from economically-active newcomers moving to the area, as is evidenced in the Gorbals, but from more prosperous Castlemilk residents taking the opportunity to buy their own house in the neighbourhood. Additional purchases have come from ex-residents seeking to re-establish their connections with the area. With a wider range of dwellings and tenures available, Castlemilk has improved.

By the usual measurements, Castlemilk is still not a prosperous suburb of Glasgow. However, there seems to be a general professional consensus that the area has progressed markedly in the past two decades. People are enjoying a better quality of life, stemming largely from the fact that the area has moved from functioning as a residual area to becoming more like a typical modern south Glasgow suburb. This phenomenon is captured by the following respondents:

A lot of the locals are moving in to the houses for sale. If they're getting good enough jobs to be able to move on, a lot of them are moving up within the area, rather than moving out of the area, so I've seen a big, big change that way.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

I couldn't have foreseen the changes that have taken place. They're far in excess of what I thought were possible – so that's good.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

What has tenure diversification achieved in Drumchapel?

Improved housing standards

The most obvious achievement of tenure mixing in Drumchapel is arguably the significant improvements in housing standards that have taken place as illustrated by the respondent below:

I think in terms of Drumchapel as well, the physical regeneration of Drumchapel itself probably from our perspective of having been here seven or eight years, that's certainly something that's very visual and very obvious, isn't it? That the housing situation has improved a lot.

[Regeneration Agency – Drumchapel]

Many of the 1950s tenements have been extensively refurbished or demolished and replaced with houses that have, as people prefer, a front and a back door. People now have homes that are better suited to their needs and preferences.

There is also a better housing conditions [sic] for residents, a better fit between household type and dwelling type.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

Greater levels of pride in houses and open spaces

The improvement in housing standards has been significant and this is reflected in people's quality of life as reported by the Housing Officer at interview:

A good, warm, safe, protected environment gives people more peace of mind.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

Pride in clean open spaces has been helped by the use of Community Janitors, who help keep open spaces tidy and help preserve a link between residents and management. This is an initiative run by GHA and the Local Regeneration Agencies (LRA) as expressed below:

Community Janitors is the Glasgow project with GHA and the LRAs and they're basically linked to various housing associations and they work with the housing associations and residents to clean up the areas so they go round doing various things, tidying gardens and... they just basically support... they don't duplicate what the Council do already or what the GHA are doing already. They're there to provide extra support for people.

[Regeneration Agency – Drumchapel]

As well as keeping the area looking neat, the Community Janitors project also helps provide employment for local people and involves them in the care of their surroundings. Rather than complaining about the Council's inability to keep the area tidy, they can go and help remove rubbish themselves and earn money doing so. The partnership approach that was used to deliver tenure mixing has been used in a similar fashion to deliver and run this well-regarded programme.

It's a popular programme with the participants as well and it's successful. It gets people on the ladder to work.

[Regeneration Agency – Drumchapel]

Stability

The introduction of owner-occupation has brought greater stability to an area previously characterised by high turnover rates. This greater stability suggests that people might have a longer-term commitment to the area and a greater interest in behaving properly.

Yes, well it's [owner-occupation] a positive contributing factor because it's a stability.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Drumchapel]

Stability has also been helped by the fact that many of Drumchapel's more established residents have been able to stay in the area. According to the Housing Officer, this has preserved social networks and has been made possible by the incremental nature of the area's improvements:

She's [an older resident] really happy with having her network of friends, so if she was to... if she had moved to another part of Glasgow then it might have been... okay, 'I've got a nicer house, but where's my friends, where's my family? Where's everyone that I know'. And I sense that, you know, older people within the community here are quite happy to be here.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Drumchapel]

Similarly, stability is also established by measures to increase people's employability and help them develop the local economy. This in turn relies upon the multi-partner approach used to co-ordinate efforts in Drumchapel.

[Name of colleague] particularly works with the Social Economy Organisation so it's not just about employment. She works with them to encourage them to take volunteers from Drumchapel so local people who want work experience, we work with the local organisations to provide that for them and... a bit like self-employment, they can use it as a stepping stone into employment if that's what they're looking to do.

[Regeneration Agency – Drumchapel]

Dispersal of problems

By introducing a greater mix of tenures to Drumchapel, problem tenants, are more evenly dispersed across the area, reducing the likelihood of a 'critical mass' of problem tenants in the area. This makes management of the place much easier as highlighted in the quote below:

What you're doing is you're making the place look nice, you're giving the place a better feel, you're making people proud to live there, and you're not just – and if you're doing that you're not concentrating all the social problems in the one area. You're diluting them across a whole lot of areas. So if you're going to do that, it's easier to tackle one or two, than it is to tackle hundreds and hundreds.

[Teacher – Drumchapel]

Improved reputation

Physical regeneration has also boosted people's perceptions of the area. Where visitors to the area in the past might have few positive things to say about Drumchapel, they now tend to be a lot more complimentary:

When people come in, visitors come in, that's always something that they comment on, about how much it's changed and how you know, how much nicer it looks.

[Regeneration Agency – Drumchapel]

Tenure-blind architecture seems to have had a similarly beneficial effect on perceptions:

It's a nice wee estate, nice wee sort of estate of private housing that looks exactly the same as wee estates of private housing right across the city.

[Teacher – Drumchapel]

Amenities, commercial space and environmental improvements

Drumchapel's paucity of facilities received a much-needed boost with the construction of the Donald Dewar Leisure Centre. Opened in 2003, this well-equipped sports centre provides a useful venue for Drumchapel's residents as well as a reason for outsiders to come into Drumchapel. While not strictly an outcome of tenure mixing, the respondents' view was that the willingness to invest in such public facilities reflected a renewed confidence in the area which Drumchapel arguably lacked previously. This is something that was partly attributable to tenure mixing according to the urban planner interviewed:

We've built the Donald Dewar Leisure Centre, a brand new sports centre, and we have a new children and family centre under construction, and we have an approved masterplan in place to redevelop the town centre.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

Drumchapel sits on a series of hills and was well-known for being overexposed to the elements. However, protective efforts have been made to counter this.

There's been environmental improvements – there's been tree planting all around the periphery of the area to try and green up the environment, soften up the environment.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Drumchapel]

Another longstanding problem associated with Drumchapel was the near total lack of business and industrial space that was likely to put off potential investors or entrepreneurs from establishing any business operation in the area. The Garscadden House Business Centre and Dalsetter Business Village have helped to provide space for new and existing firms to locate in Drumchapel as detailed below.

That's to encourage business to locate into Drumchapel so that then obviously increases the economic prosperity because if businesses come, you automatically have jobs coming. Sometimes they come with the people to fill the job, but sometimes they don't and people do leave, so it means proximity-wise you should benefit from any job opportunities here for our

clients... one of the problems always in the past has been that people... there was a lack of premises in Drumchapel for people, even if they did want to move their business into Drumchapel, there was a real shortage of available business space for them.

[Regeneration Agency – Drumchapel]

What has tenure diversification achieved in the Gorbals?

Improvement in the physical environment and streetscape

The 1960s Gorbals layout consisted of deck access flats, buildings on stilts, abstract placement of buildings and large swathes of open space. While impressive as a design form, it failed as a landscape and living place and clearly needed significant re-modelling by the 1980s. The New Gorbals however, is characterised by traditionally-designed streets, incorporating street trees and on-street car parking. These are grid based and flanked by three- to four-storey perimeter block tenements. The area is permeable and legible, making it easy to traverse and is summarised succinctly by one of the respondents below:

The physical environment, I think, has improved dramatically.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

As well as having a successful overall form, the streetscape of the New Gorbals is notable for the extent to which it was designed to work well on a pragmatic level, as well its level of attention to detail:

The first thing I was impressed with was the attention to detail that the planners had used. There were a lot of small parks, or areas where there's little bits of artwork – and they'd obviously tried to make each street different and give it a bit of identity, and also create places that encouraged people to be out, other than the shops – so they were encouraging people to sit outside and play outside.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

As a teacher from the Gorbals notes, the combination of a well-thought-out street layout and careful design of public spaces has had the effect of making it easier for people to mix with their neighbours, reducing the chances of isolation and making for a more pleasant community as she further remarks:

People seem to mix very well, you know? The houses that I'm talking about maybe don't have children. They still know their neighbours and they mix with them. I don't have a car, so I walk through this part of the town every night and there doesn't seem to be any friction between people who own the houses and people who don't, or people who have a car and people who don't, you know? People tend to mix well.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

The introduction of housing associations, which are run with management committees, has given people a greater chance to become involved in the running and control of their neighbourhoods. This ensures that place management is more reflective of the wishes of those that live there. It also means that problems are more likely to be dealt with swiftly before they get out of hand. It gives people a sense of ownership and responsibility without actually having to be owner-occupiers. This is a sentiment articulated by the following respondent:

When people are on the management committees of housing associations, they feel it as though it is theirs, but they've got an investment in it. They've got a commitment to it. And if you look at the social rented housing that we have now, under the ownership of the housing associations, things like zero tolerance to graffiti, zero tolerance to litter – that's the management committees that have made these decisions.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

New houses that people liked

Of the three study areas, the Gorbals has undergone by far the greatest change to its housing stock. Almost none of the 1960s flats remain in the redeveloped areas. There is now a much greater variety of housing available and this is more reflective of the variety of preferences that people tend to have regarding their housing:

A lot of the tenemental housing in Crown Street has ground and first floor maisonettes with their own garden at the back.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

Importantly, this success is not confined to just a few developments; the general standard of design has been high throughout as reflected by the Urban Planner:

I think that most of what's been built in the last twenty years is good and worth keeping. I don't think there's much that I would say wasn't a success.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

Not all of the successful housing stock is new. There are some 1960s tenements that were retained. These have proved popular enough for many people to want to invest their own money into them, increasing stability and providing some sense of continuity between the modern and postmodern components of the Gorbals:

There are some, along the southern edge of Hutchesontown, there's some of the better 1960s housing stock that was built by the Scottish Federal Housing Association – not by the Glasgow Corporation, and that's actually lasted quite a while. Apart from two towers having been demolished, there's a lot of four-storey tenemental stuff, or maisonettes, and that's been very popular. People have a lot of these – we had a lot of Right to Buy purchases in that area, so it's quite stable. Quite a success, actually, that.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – the Gorbals]

Additionally, the following respondent perceives the tenure-blind architecture to have been delivered quite effectively and believes it is practically impossible to determine the tenure of the Gorbals blocks by sight:

I think this is what's been successful about it is how they've built the houses so that you're not too sure, is that private, is that block private or is that block not private? In this area where I worked before it was like, it was the them and us, although that's the private, that's the owner-occupied and there was an

attitude towards, 'oh yeah, the owner, oh, they think they're better than us' and, you know, there was a similar kind of other way round where the owner-occupier... 'well, that's, you know'... so you don't have that kind of real division.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – the Gorbals]

The increase in owner occupation has resulted in many more people having a stakehold in the worth and upkeep of their own property, as well as the surrounding area. The idea is that this prompts a snowballing 'good neighbour effect', as outlined in the interview with the following respondent:

People are far more likely to look after their own property if their own property is nice. So they will actually spend money on it themselves, or keep the garden nice. If you live in a horrible house you're not going to bother keeping the garden nice – you're just not in that frame of mind. But if you're in a nice house, you think, this is nice, I'll keep it nice and your neighbours are keeping their house nice and so it snowballs. Everyone begins to think, 'I'll try too', so hopefully that will happen.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

Socioeconomic enrichment

One inherently appealing feature of the Gorbals is that the area is within walking distance of Glasgow city centre, a major source of employment. This makes the location an attractive consideration for centrally-based workers. Similarly, the presence of the city centre provides an underlying economic base for the Gorbals of a scale that is far in excess of anything that could be expected in Drumchapel or Castlemilk. This in turn increases the size of the market for local businesses.

You have people who work in the city, and instead of working out in the outskirts in the city, where they would need to commute, they can live here and walk to the city.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

The influx of professional, often young, first-time buyers has also enriched the variety of the community and diluted the concentration of deprivation that might be expected with entirely social housing though it remains unclear how much this group uses and supports the local economy. It has also increased land values; research by Glasgow City Council shows that property prices in the New Gorbals have risen faster than the Glasgow average:

I do believe that the tenure mix and the change has helped, because then you don't have an over-concentration of a certain type of group of people... you've got a community that can be a working community, you can have a community that's an ageing community but you can also have a community that's a young community and that's coming up, so I think that has helped to rebuild a variety of people within the Gorbals.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – the Gorbals]

One fear of tenure mixing often articulated by commentators is the expectation of tensions between owner occupiers and social renters. The Gorbals respondents failed to articulate tensions such as these which suggest that antagonisms between the two groups have largely failed to materialise. Indeed, from the following participant quote, we could tentatively posit that there is increasing integration and contact between different groups of people taking place via schools in the areas. This phenomenon is sometimes referred to as 'mixing at the school gate' and shows the potential importance of the educational environment to underpin positive area change:

There are great families in the area who very much know the difference between right and wrong. They want a better life for themselves and their family. A lot of the immigrants have a very high respect for education and they see it as a golden ticket, you know? Their homework's always done, they're in uniform, they attend everything, they support you with the children's behaviour – but the behaviour's usually very good anyway, and that's been a bonus for the school because then, other people are saying, 'well some of these people have come to our area of the city with nothing and they're managing to make something of their lives and they become friends with each other'. And there

are sometimes racist incidents, but on the whole, the different cultures mix quite well.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

Quality

One outcome of the tenure diversification process has been an increase in the quality of the surroundings. In addition to the well-thought-out street design, many of the buildings are at least partly built of stone, rather than brick. There are also many well-placed public artworks. According to the following respondent, this was a direct consequence of having a long-term, dedicated body in control of the creation of a new neighbourhood, supported financially by the Glasgow Development Agency (GDA):

There was money put into it through the Glasgow Development Agency to achieve better standards of building, like stone and better materials in the roads and that, some public art and things like that – which has been continued to a lesser extent, right across the area.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

In interview, the current Gorbals Housing Officer notes that this increase in quality has been reflected in higher levels of pride across the neighbourhood and a reduction in the stigma associated with the area:

Well, I think it's positive because what you have... it's helped to raise the overall quality of, you know, visual appearance, it's taken away the kind of stigma of poor housing, particularly where we were in the eighties.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – the Gorbals]

And according to the Community Chair, quality is aided by a good relationship with the police:

We have got a very good liaison with police in this area. The police are very, very good.

[Community Chair – the Gorbals]

This improvement in quality should help ensure that this incarnation of the Gorbals lasts longer than previous incarnations. Underlying socioeconomic difficulties aside, the fact remains that the buildings themselves are more attractive, popular and successful than what existed before and the built environment as a whole is more resilient.

Summary

Many of the achievements of tenure mixing explored above might in reality be due to substantial improvements of housing standards and public amenities in Castlemilk, Drumchapel and the Gorbals. However, the previously-existing system had had 30 years to prove itself and was clearly in need of replacement or at least needed a major overhaul. Tenure mixing provided a way to reform the existing situation and concurrently obtain monies for improvement. As such, tenure mixing was probably the best response to the situation and constraints in the 1980s and 1990s and while it is not considered a panacea, most of the stakeholders that were interviewed regard tenure diversification as part of the solution to estate-wide problems.

To date, the achievements on the estates have not been entirely due to tenure mixing, but can also be attributed to a number of other factors, including better dwelling design and construction, and in the case of the Gorbals, better street layouts (of course, these things are in parallel with tenure mixing). In addition to the tenure mixing of owners and renters, there has also been simultaneous diversification of the social rented sector which has improved standards in housing management and given local people an involvement in area management. Improved sustainability of the communities since tenure mixing has provided a mixture of working and non-working households in the areas. Improved area maintenance was also a benefit, attributed to better design and construction standards, local management of the areas by housing associations, and the peer effect of owners on others.

In terms of residents' wellbeing, interviewees spoke about a number of elements including: enhanced local pride, which was related to 'feeling better' and being more confident; enhanced feelings of safety and 'peace of mind'; increased social

interaction due to tenure-blind design and street layouts (the Gorbals) and maintenance of social support due to residential stability (Drumchapel).

With regard to Castlemilk specifically, interviewees reported that maintenance issues had benefited from more experienced, local management. There was increased pride and ownership with participants reporting that residents would tell them that they not only felt proud of their homes but that it made them personally feel better and more confident in themselves which has clear implications for residents' health and wellbeing. According to respondents, to say that you are from Castlemilk has a better feel to it now than in the past so the reputation of the area appears to have improved. While not strictly components of tenure diversification, the increased investment in shops, youth clubs and new school buildings was offered as a sign of improved infrastructure and amenities. Lastly, participants highlighted developments in the local economy and the local housing market shown by the willingness of people to 'buy in' to the area as a statement of confidence in the future prospects of Castlemilk.

According to interviewees, Drumchapel has benefited not only from the improved housing standards brought by the very visible physical regeneration but also the 'better fit' between household type and dwelling type. It was reported that there were greater levels of pride in houses and open spaces giving residents more peace of mind and the introduction of owner-occupation allowed for the preservation of social networks leading to increased stability in an area previously characterised by high turnover rates. This has apparently been allied with a deconcentration of social issues and problematic residents. In comments similar to those about Castlemilk, Drumchapel's improved physical regeneration meant people are more complimentary about the area and tenure-blind architecture seems to have had a positive impact on perceptions. A willingness to invest in Drumchapel's public facilities suggested a renewed confidence in the area, resulting in amenities, commercial space and environmental improvements. New business opportunities and industrial space was reported to have attracted potential investors and entrepreneurs to establish business operations in the area.

The Gorbals participants noted that the carefully-thought-out street configurations and redesign of public spaces were perceived to be far more desirable and made it easier for neighbours to mix. The increase in the quality of the surroundings lead to higher levels of pride across the neighbourhood and a reduction in the stigma associated with the area. The introduction of housing associations run with local management committees was viewed positively and was purported to offer residents more of a chance to have a say in the running and control of their communities. It was reported that unlike the previously poor construction in the Gorbals, the buildings of the last twenty years were considered to be of good quality, worth keeping and a success. A snowballing 'good neighbour effect' was also noted by participants and attributed to the increase in owner-occupation. It was mentioned that socioeconomically, the Gorbals was enriched by the diversification of its residents, particularly in terms of age and employment.

Despite some context-specific factors in Castlemilk, Drumchapel and the Gorbals, there were significant similarities between what tenure diversification was intended to contribute in all three areas: more successful areas with better reputations; better houses; holistic improvements; increased employment; improved amenities and so on. In reality, and within a wider programme of neighbourhood regeneration, while tenure mixing has variously assisted with the improvements already illustrated in this section, these improvements have been realised with varying degrees of success. Tenure diversification is generally regarded as a success but by itself, tenure mixing was considered insufficient to improve the lives of the residents and as the following section shows, a number of problematic and salient issues remain.

Results section 5: Mixed tenure communities: outstanding issues

Tenure diversification as a process is quite hard to unpick from the rest of the changes wrought over the past three decades. Its benefits, scope and effects are often confused or difficult to single out and as a result, the myriad ways in which tenure diversification has been successful or not must be discussed in the context of the specific areas. This final section examines the remaining difficulties and deficiencies pertaining to tenure mixing, followed by a look at what remains problematic.

One overriding problem of tenure mixing is that it suffers from a degree of inherent unpredictability that afflicts many aspects of public policy which can result in policies that are very successful or significantly deficient. All three case studies were subject to measures intended to bring about a holistic regeneration of the area and it could be argued that tenure diversification must be part of a holistic package if it is to be truly successful. Regeneration of this kind has been almost impossible to deliver in the UK for a variety of reasons and this has led to cynicism in some quarters regarding tenure mix as this participant observes:

Don't do it unless it's attached to a package that tackles unemployment and health and antisocial behaviour, and people talk about that – I'm saying people talking about that – governments talk about holistic development. I've worked in regeneration since 1983, all over the UK. There isn't a significant in size, single project, that's been holistic, anywhere in the UK, delivered. But they still talk about it. They still talk about housing and health and education and jobs and security.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

Peripheral Estates remain peripheral. There have been some minor transport improvements but people who live in Drumchapel and Castlemilk are still relatively isolated from the main areas of employment in Glasgow. This is less of a concern for residents of the Gorbals since the area lies directly south of the city centre where most of Glasgow's employment is located.

Management remains a difficulty in all three estates. The fact that ongoing management is required indicates that the areas have remained relatively unstable; they do not 'self-manage' like other more established affluent Glasgow suburbs. Management requires continuous inputs of time and money and for mixed tenure neighbourhoods, it is a necessity owing to the challenges associated with continuing high levels of unemployment and deprivation.

Poverty and deprivation are frustratingly intractable and tenure diversity needs to be aligned with a stronger economic base if rejuvenated estates are going to have any long-term credibility. Justifiably, attention seems to have been focused on housing and 'community infrastructure' but this appears to have been at the expense of local business concerns as the following respondent argues:

Let's try and build that capacity. The economic base – there needs to be significantly greater investment in industrial and business premises in Castlemilk and in the Gorbals.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Additionally, in all three areas, some of the tenure diversification has emerged through council tenants exercising their Right to Buy, particularly the better and more popular properties in an area. This has brought ownership and stability to portions of the sites but has created problems of its own. RTB has also reduced the stock of social housing available and that which remains is statutorily allocated to some of the most vulnerable people. The social housing which remains runs the risk of being even more oversubscribed than before.

Internal parochialism was identified as a particular problem within the two Peripheral Estates and it has endured. This is partly an inherent consequence of the incremental manner in which the estates have been redeveloped. By ensuring that the existing community is maintained, longstanding attitudes and rivalries also persist. Additionally, leaving an area, be it temporarily for work or permanently for any reason, is comparatively rare.

Underlying socioeconomic problems in the estates and Glasgow itself remain and the local economies are still relatively weak and fragile. The situation has not been helped by the global economic downturn in recent years and at the resident level, this has perpetuated unemployment and poverty. From developers' perspectives it has reduced confidence, devalued land, shrunk the supply of credit and undermined the feasibility of previously-profitable developments. This Urban Planner based in the Gorbals explains:

Unfortunately, the credit crunch is having an effect, and money's just not coming in at the moment to pay for everything. So the builders are very heavily in deficit at the moment – I think, probably around about fifteen to twenty million pound in deficit, at present. And they're desperate to get the housing market back

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

The economic base remains weak because transport links are still relatively poor. Orbital journeys by public transport are still particularly difficult. More investment is needed in transport infrastructure (particularly Castlemilk) because the southeast of the city is not well connected to the rest of Glasgow.

What are the remaining difficulties or deficiencies in Castlemilk?

Parochialism and the risk of polarisation

From the interviews, it would seem that parochialism is a less severe problem in Castlemilk than in Drumchapel, but it is still very much the case that people only tend to move to Castlemilk if they have roots or connections in Castlemilk. Similarly, those from Castlemilk tend to stay in the area:

You don't generally get people from Castlemilk moving over to Milton or Drumchapel, unless they're fleeing violence. They just don't move over the river. It tends to, they tend to stay locally.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

Based on the following participant statement, parochialism seems to have persisted in Castlemilk for many years:

But I worked in the central letting team, years and years ago, and I found that anyway. Nobody ever wanted to go anywhere outwith their own area, you know?

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

This was reflected when the first owner-occupied housing was developed in Castlemilk. The same respondent explains that most of the buyers had strong connections to the area:

It was people returning to Castlemilk – but it was then also people who would have left Castlemilk were also staying – one, to either be in a housing association, or two, to buy and buy locally, close to their parents and things like that. So we didn't, there weren't a huge number of new people, really.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

The bifurcation of Castlemilk's housing market has led to the possibility of the community continuing to be split between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' and is a potential long-term concern:

Castlemilk could become even more polarised into two communities: a stable work-rich owner-occupation sector, and a more vulnerable work-poor socially-rented sector.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

This is exacerbated by the attrition to the council's housing supply stemming from people exercising their Right to Buy on the new council houses that have replaced flats, negating the investments made by the council. The Housing Officer explains that while this does extend ownership, it means that better quality housing is increasingly likely to be in private hands, increasing the divide between tenures:

That's the trouble, when we build main door stock in nice areas is they buy them again. So you lose your nice, family homes and your nice parts of the area to owners.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

Parochialism has taken on a new form with the rise of new, often area-based, housing associations so there is the possibility of further internalisation:

There are small pockets of very self contained groups, and you know, if you take people who are, and to a certain extent, the housing associations have contributed to that. There are people who are members of Castleton Housing Association, people who are members of Ardenglen Housing Association, people are Craigdale, people are Thenue, and they don't – they identify more closely with their housing association as their area, than they do as people from Castlemilk.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Additionally, it has been suggested that some areas might be resistant to even the most concerted efforts to improve them.

I would doubt very much that Tormusk would ever be successful. But I know that there has been a fair amount of private development up there, but I don't know how that would change things.

[Architect – Castlemilk]

Castlemilk is not self-sustaining

While Castlemilk is in many ways better off than it was in the 1980s, the mixed tenure estate is not in a socially sustainable 'end state'; it requires constant nurturing to maintain the improved standards and continuous attention is still very much required.

We have to make sure that people care for their area and we care for the houses, you know? If we don't do that, it'll go back the way it was years ago,

and we do have a programme for that now, and hopefully we will continue to get the income to do it.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

The success of refurbishment is seen as being dependent upon a continued supply of resources, effort and labour. Removal or reduction of support (e.g. austerity measures), could result in a loss of critical management to the detriment of the estate. This suggests that current improvements are only partly sustainable and are dependent upon the funding and successful operational management. Residents remain dependent on management to carry out repairs, manage disputes and so on.

We still have to deal with the people, from day to day, you know? If there's a repair needing done, they might report it to us, or if they want to complain about a neighbour or if a neighbour complains about them, we still have to take a certain amount of responsibility for them.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

Castlemilk has radically changed over the last 30 years but requires collective attention to retain a positive direction:

But it's got far more facilities than it had when I started back in '81. It's just got to continue doing more of the same – but it has to, has to have significant chunks of community involvement and community pride to be successful.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

The success of Castlemilk is reliant on this type of community action and where it is absent, significant barriers appear. An example of this was the dissolution of the Castlemilk partnership in 2006. This removed strategic management from Castlemilk, making it more difficult to maintain the suburb's progress and ensure its continued success. This is a notion articulated by the Castlemilk Urban Planner:

I think if there was an opportunity, one of the things that Castlemilk lacks now, ever since '06, has been a dedicated body that looks at Castlemilk itself and looks at it in a strategic manner. And that's unfortunate; I think... the area is

suffering from not having local residents and officials from various agencies getting together and hammering out the problems and trying to find solutions.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

Castlemilk remains deprived

Castlemilk requires an above-average level of management because the area still experiences high levels of multiple deprivation. Even though the housing stock has undoubtedly been improved, many other wide ranging problems persist.

The HMI [Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education] report, the background says that we've got a number of issues of alcohol abuse, drugs, gang cultures, poor diet, breakdown in relationships between families... there are many, many families with social work connections – and that's not always to say it's because there's something wrong, but because there's support of some description needed. So that was the profile – and when we were doing this in 2007/2008 – so it's as recent as that. So I think, in terms of the regeneration, there may well be houses out there that are better stock, and healthier places to live in – but I think it's things like the diet, the social and emotional wellbeing of adults and young people and I think that's still a factor.

[Teacher – Castlemilk]

Achieving regeneration in Castlemilk has been difficult due to a number of inherent area features. Isolation is a particular problem; the neighbourhood is relatively separate from the rest of Glasgow (though boundaries are less obvious than in Drumchapel). While there are bus links, car ownership is very low³¹ and the nearest railway station is two miles from the estate. There are no nearby areas of major employment growth and other than personal or familial connections; there are very few economic reasons for those not living in the area to venture to Castlemilk. Even where new amenities have been provided, the money might not be there for people to use them. As such, in spite of the increased levels of investment, deprivation remains a significant issue for residents of Castlemilk. This hurdle is highlighted by the Housing Officer:

Yes. So they want a football game, a badminton game or whatever it is they're into. But it's going to cost them a few pounds every time. So for a single parent, perhaps, with a limited income, if they have to hand their son and daughter three or four pounds to go and play football, then it's a drain on their pocket. They can't afford that. And plus the football boots and the attire that goes with it, you know.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

It appears that physical improvements do not automatically translate into social improvements and this remains an issue for residents and developers alike as asserted by the following teacher.

There are a third generation of workless people living in Castlemilk, this cannot be improved immediately by renewing houses. And nothing can be done alone, there is a need of partnerships.

[Teacher – Castlemilk]

There was a level of concern from the Castlemilk Housing Officer regarding funding streams in the area, suggesting that money directed solely towards housing regeneration was improving the veneer of Castlemilk but didn't address salient underlying issues:

We do not want any more housing money because, unless we start to really tackle the key issues in Castlemilk – in terms of educational attainment, and also what I call the kind of 'underclass' we still had families who moved every four to six months, for whatever spurious reason, you know – whether it was relationship breakdown, running from debt collectors, whatever.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Castlemilk]

This is contrary to other respondents in Castlemilk who viewed housing regeneration as an important improvement in the area, but similarly the caveat was that those changes are enacted in union with whole area socioeconomic improvements. While the critique of the focus on housing monies is valid, there are areas of Castlemilk

that appear to have benefited from the funding. Despite this however, some housing associations still have unpopular hard-to-let housing.

We are now left with the housing stock that people want, and people wait for. Whereas, there's other housing associations in Castlemilk that don't have that – they have the stock that nobody really wants.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

In addition to the unwanted stock, the Housing Officer highlights that there is also a shortage of large family houses; possibly due to the continued risk of the area as perceived by developers.

They're rarely building large family homes, which means there's a struggle to find – so there are still overcrowded families living in Castlemilk who can't get a larger house because they're not there. There's not enough of them.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

Unemployment

Unemployment in Castlemilk remains high, suggesting that regeneration has not been as comprehensive as some commentators might believe. The Urban Planner summarises this concern:

From Castlemilk's point of view, as I've said earlier, the incidence of multiple deprivation hasn't necessarily reduced. So maybe we've failed.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

Labour market attachment is exacerbated by Castlemilk's geographical location and lack of economic base as detailed by this participant:

It's that issue of proximity to where the economic base actually sits. We have a business park in Castlemilk which has got seventy businesses on it. They employ around seven hundred and fifty people, and about sixty percent of those are Castlemilk residents. And that's fabulous – but outside of that,

there's very little employment in terms of an economic base.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Castlemilk's low level of car ownership combined with a weak public transport infrastructure mean that destinations can be difficult to reach and orbital, peripheral and suburban journeys often require multiple changes and take a long time as explored below:

It's bus services from Castlemilk, whilst there, those bus services are reasonably well connected if you're coming into the city – to cross the area, at all, is virtually impossible. And if you take some of the – the reason I mention that is, if you take recent employment opportunities in places like Silverburn, where there was a new retail development – during the construction phases of Silverburn, whilst it's a relatively short distance, as the crow flies, from Castlemilk, it was hugely difficult for people to pick up employment in somewhere like Silverburn, simply because of the transport infrastructure.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Difficulties associated with first-time owner occupants

Residents who had been used to the services and support offered to council tenants were, by many accounts, quite surprised at the extent to which an owner occupier was expected to look after their own house. Expectations regarding utility bills often also tended to be somewhat unrealistic.

I know some of the owners that buy our houses expect an awful lot for nothing because they were used to getting everything for nothing, you know? And they don't like getting the bills, they argue about the bills they get. They expect to get the standards that they had for very little money, you know?

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

Common repairs have also been a problem for residents making the transition from renter to owner; many buyers were not made aware of their responsibilities as a homeowner and this has caused difficulties.

I used to be astonished how little owners knew what they were taking on – especially when it was a tenement property. They thought they were paying forty pounds a year, which is actually a minimum admin cost to the council, as was, as the landlord – and we would say, ‘what did your lawyer tell you your responsibilities as a home owner about common repairs and all the rest of it?’ They’d know nothing at all.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Drumchapel]

It would appear that better transparency, guidance and communication during the transition would go some way to ameliorating these issues.

Inherent and persistent residualisation

Council housing will always be home to a certain percentage of homeless referrals and other vulnerable groups in society. According to the following respondent, an over abundance or concentration of residents with chaotic life situations risk stigmatising an area and is effectively a way to ‘institutionally residualise’ an area.

Dare I say it; many of the people who might be referred in that way are suffering from poverty and other issues in their lives. So you know, in a sense, that’s putting at risk the regeneration of Castlemilk. In Glasgow, it may well not be the case in other countries, but in Glasgow, there is an association between deprivation and, you know, social renting.

[Urban Planner DRS – Castlemilk]

Tenure-blindness in Castlemilk is limited, making the residualisation visually obvious. Public and private housing in Castlemilk largely remains in separate pockets and the tenures are not fully integrated or ‘pepperpotted’ throughout the development as the Housing Officer explains:

They’re only mixed within the areas where we originally owned the houses. If you get, the areas that have been built for owner occupation are aside from our rented areas. There’s not a house next door that’s rented and one private.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

What are the remaining difficulties or deficiencies in Drumchapel?

Holistic community renewal hasn't happened

Tenure diversification in Drumchapel appears not to have led to a wholesale renewal of community, nor has it addressed the underlying causes of deprivation, particularly unemployment:

*The community as a whole being improved, simply by tenure diversification?
Never seen that happening anywhere, including Drumchapel.*

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

This suggests that tenure diversification has never had an all-encompassing positive effect, although it could be argued that this is not its principle objective. Mixing tenure was conceived as one aspect of area regeneration:

Right. Well, I think, for me, I mean, tenure development in Drumchapel and monolithic estates is absolutely necessary. But it's absolutely insufficient on its own.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

The difficulties faced when attempting to address underlying issues remain a barrier to improvement in Drumchapel:

Well, I mean, you can sell houses in Drumchapel and have people who own houses in Drumchapel, but if the value of the house doesn't increase – if it's decreasing, they'll leave and, you know, a sprinkling of home owners doesn't really affect the chronic unemployment and the deprivation – it drags people's health down, it seems to me.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

In terms of holistic community renewal and considering the conceptual purpose and practical achievements of tenure mixing, the following respondent summarises it best:

Tenure diversification should be the icing on the cake. It certainly ain't the cake.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

Poor amenities

Relative to other parts of Glasgow, Drumchapel is still short of commercial and public spaces. Shopping facilities in Drumchapel have been improved, but remain under-developed.

There is a limited... we've got a café here, but there is a limited amount of things available for social interaction in terms of you know, where mothers could meet or you know, take their kids you know, for a coffee of things like that. That's quite limited in Drumchapel. The shops are very limited so you couldn't wander around.

[Regeneration Agency – Drumchapel]

In interview, the teacher from Drumchapel expressed that food shopping is particularly poor and that at the time, there was nowhere to buy fresh food within Drumchapel.

If you look at the shopping centre, there are no good quality food shops. You've got Farmfoods, which sells processed frozen food, cheaply. The nearest supermarket is Sainsbury's. Sainsbury's is one of the most expensive supermarkets. There's nothing in Drumchapel Shopping Centre where they can go and buy fresh fruit and stuff like that. So. And if you're not very rich, you've not got a lot of money and you've got to feed your child, and you've got to bulk your child up so that they're not hungry, then pies and- frozen pies and chips out of Farmfoods is – and bread and butter, or bread's an easy way to do that. So there's that.

[Teacher – Drumchapel]

The Housing Officer however maintains that the perception of a lack of amenities is exacerbated by people's tendency to express dissatisfaction, for instance with a lack of amenities even when these are provided:

Kids will say, 'oh, we've nothing to do'. ...kids are saying there's no entertainment – well, actually, there's a great new sports facility over here in the Donald Dewar Centre, and Drumchapel's always had a proud reputation for sporting achievement.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Drumchapel]

Parochialism and territorialism

Parochialism and territorialism have been a feature of Drumchapel for decades and it has not been eliminated with the advent of tenure mixing:

I was working with them in an enterprise project and one of them didn't turn up for one of the days. It was because he couldn't afford a taxi. He wasn't going to walk up here because he lives in Yoker and he used to fight with a group of boys from Drumchapel and he wouldn't actually walk so he had to get a taxi to access our services.

[Regeneration Agency – Drumchapel]

This can be seen as the downside of a strong sense of local attachment; parochialism often results in the emergence of gangs:

Just from the Youth Diversionary Work that we've done, they definitely have a new sense of place and attachment to Drumchapel, but it tends to be a particular part, whichever part they come from.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – Castlemilk]

Stigma remains

Despite the very real improvements that have taken place in Drumchapel, the area is still poorly regarded within Glasgow. It is not seen as a particularly desirable area and those with the option to leave often do so as detailed by the participant below:

We've got lots of – we've got a member of staff who grew up in Drumchapel, which a whole lot of others, he's a Deputy Head in the school, but he moved out of Drumchapel because of the perception that it wasn't a good place to raise a family.

[Teacher – Drumchapel]

Drumchapel still lacks a real economic base

While Drumchapel has benefited from an indisputable increase in the quality of its housing stock, it continues to have high unemployment and this is due to the fact that the underlying economic base has not been rebuilt in any significant way since the 1980s:

They get a better home, or a modernised home – but long term, in my view, what's happening is not sustainable development, which is a big buzz term – but sustainable hopelessness. And my opinion is, Drumchapel, like many other places in the UK, are victims of sustainable hopelessness driven by governments and middle class professionals like me. I've done well out of it.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

The private sector investment has been built with limited integration with the rest of Drumchapel.

Yeah – well that kind of Berlin Wall approach to communities is what it is, and that started with the development of the Great Western Retail Park. If you look at the layout of the Great Western Retail Park, you'll see that it's deliberately sanitised from Drumchapel. ...The principle of sanitising the development of Great Western Retail Park, almost to protect it from contamination by Drumchapel residents, was exported to these new houses.

[Socioeconomic Development Officer – Drumchapel]

The perceived separation of the new houses from Drumchapel is a sentiment that might be held by the residents of the private estates:

I would say that there's a pretty healthy number of private houses out in this

area and the northern edge. But they might not think they're part of Drumchapel.

[GHA (worked in estate in 1990s) – Drumchapel]

The current economic climate has slowed investment in new housing and commercial development:

Drumchapel Business Village still hasn't been completely developed; it is currently a partly-vacant serviced site. All the infrastructure's in place, waiting for a developer to come along to a serviced plot.

[Urban Planner DRS – Drumchapel]

What are the remaining difficulties or deficiencies in the Gorbals?

Management and sub-letting

Sub-letting matter was cited as a threat to the future success of the Gorbals. Having private renters, and therefore, having no control over who was moving into the area was perceived as a problem as it could lead to polarisation of the community and possibly resentment on the part of owner occupiers who might feel unhappy at the unknown elements of tenure diversification.

It's not amazing, it is disgusting to people who have saved hard to buy their own property. And they don't know who's moving in next door to them.

[Community Chair – the Gorbals]

Other developments have used covenants to control sub-letting but at the time of the interviews in the Gorbals there were not any sufficiently strong mechanisms to enforce the rules.

Relatively low levels of genuine mix

Translating the policy of tenure mix into reality can be difficult. It may be more manageable and more convenient for a housing association to take only one type of tenant, leading to polarisation rather than mixing as explained by the Urban Planner:

Sometimes [it is] very convenient for housing authorities to shove everybody together of the same type, which of course, leads to ghettos in some areas where you've got antisocial tenants all in the one place. They also sometimes do it the other way, where they put all the elderly – I'm just guessing. If what you're saying is right, I'm sure that was done deliberately.

[Urban Planner DRS – the Gorbals]

Another issue that must be considered is the extent or depth of transformation.

I think the slight downside with all the new buildings is that it's put a little bit of a veneer over the area, because there are still problems that, compared to other areas of the city, are higher in number than it looks. ...The buildings alone haven't transformed the area completely... if you have these houses in some other areas of the city, nobody would hesitate to buy them.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

Relative isolation and lack of social rejuvenation

While the Gorbals is close to the centre of Glasgow, its connections to other areas are severed or impeded by major roads, a large area of waste ground, railway lines and the M74 motorway extension. As a result, some perceive the Gorbals as a standalone place:

There are no, you know, people in Gorbals now live in a very, very small proximity. Gorbals used to be linked – it was Laurieston, it was Gorbals, it was Oatlands, etc. Oatlands is now absolutely separate – and people in Oatlands object that they've got to go to Gorbals Cross to shop...it's virtually no distance in terms of what people would have expected to do in, you know, the fifties, sixties, seventies and even probably the early eighties. So there's a different mentality in terms of the way that we've created this infrastructure, and created the tenure. And I'm not convinced that it's absolutely right at the moment. What I think it does is, it's created a very sterile atmosphere.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Another participant believes that while the new surroundings are undoubtedly more successful than what existed previously, the community is absent:

The housing has been significantly improved, but there are no people moving around. If you go into the central square of Gorbals, sorry, New Gorbals – there are people moving around. If you go less than a hundred yards away from there, there are no people. It doesn't connect in a... – I don't feel it connects as a community in the way that it did previously.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Another reason given for the lack of social chemistry is the dearth of business premises integrated with the rest of the urban area. This reduces activity and limits reasons to use the space. More business space is needed and it needs to be managed on terms that are suitable for locally-based firms:

It's a market failure in terms of, is the business space available at the right price, in the right location, in the right condition and under the right management arrangements? A five year tenure lease – nobody's interested anymore. We do ours month to month, and we've got people who have been with us for thirteen years. They don't default. If you behave reasonably with them, they'll behave reasonably with you. So investment in industrial and business premises more is required.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Suitability for families

Several participants questioned whether the area was suitable for families. This may be because of the style of housing. While there are some houses and ground-floor maisonettes in the Gorbals, these are relatively rare. People with a choice in housing often choose to move away from the Gorbals to suburban Glasgow where it is cheaper and easier to get a house with a garden.

It would be unfair of me to comment on that, but you get a feeling there is probably an element of people coming to the Gorbals for the type of accommodation that's there, and as they move, you know, the family

circumstances change, they will have to move to some other form of housing.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Another reason that this area might not be considered to be appropriate for families is its city centre location:

There does seem to be a feeling that, if you're moving here with children, there's more to consider about whether or not you'd want to come here. So, some people are quite happy being single, or being a couple with no children, having their friends, wherever they are – and not needing to feel fully engaged in the community because it's where they live and maybe they know other single people in the area, or maybe they know other childless couples in the area. So I'd say there is a difference there.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

Others commented on the lack of schools in the area although this was not seen as an issue for everyone.

If you're a proactive parent, and you've got the leisure centre and the library and the city centre, itself, has a lot going on, the transport's very good here – there's an underground just along the road – there's very good bus services, there's nothing to stop you bringing up a family here as best as you want to.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

Unemployment

Despite its proximity to Glasgow city centre and the economic activity in the area, unemployment rates in the Gorbals are still quite high.

The [Gorbals] area is quite interesting in its economic base. It's got around two thousand six hundred to two thousand eight hundred businesses. That employs, probably, around thirty-five to forty thousand people. It's interesting just to get that.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

This would suggest that, in the case of the Gorbals, the problem might not be a lack of work *per se*. Just as in Drumchapel, this suggests that the improved surroundings have not contributed to a wholesale elimination of the area's problems and while geographical factors are important, there are other significant issues to be addressed as the following respondent points to:

We've got sixty-four percent of children living in workless households in the Gorbals. That's people who are traditionally Gorbals born and bred. That's the Gorbals, that's the Gorbals.

[Regeneration Agency – Castlemilk & the Gorbals]

Substance use

A further issue was drug and alcohol problems and in particular those on methadone programmes which can make people feel vulnerable and unsafe:

There's still social problems in the area. There's people who have methadone, the methadone programme, and they use the local chemist for that. And we're aware – either officially or unofficially – that some of our parents, and some of the people in the community have issues with alcohol and drug use. And I'm aware, myself, just because I walk through the area and I do see people that are obviously have that kind of problem, and I notice the proportion of that number of people is higher here, as I walk through the city to the other side of the town, and you quite often see people who obviously have that kind of problem.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

Deprivation and the commonly existing associated social problems reach across neighbourhoods and transcend refurbishments. The participant quotes above alert us to the fact that increasing the socioeconomic mix of an area alone will not necessarily lead to any absolute reduction in poverty rates or the issues that are correlated.

High dependency on benefits, there's been other issues, drug, alcohol, that side of it as well during those years, and that has its impact on a lot of

communities, not just within the Gorbals but it has its impact across the city and probably across the country.

[GHA (working in estate at present) – the Gorbals]

Reputation of the Gorbals remains poor

For many outsiders with a vague knowledge of Glasgow, the phrase ‘the Gorbals’ might not conjure the images that supporters and stakeholders of regeneration would hope for.

Although the Gorbals has got a bad name, it shouldn't have the bad name. The bad name's from years ago, for being rough and violent and crime – a crime-ridden place. The actual statistics for crime is very, very low here.

[Community Chair – the Gorbals]

This has been attributed partly to be a reflection of Glasgow's general image problem, as highlighted by one teacher.

If you think of Glasgow before any regeneration, you think of the Gorbals. It's one of the areas that's synonymous with, that's what Glasgow was like and that's how Glasgow was known across the world.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

What remains is the concern over the depth of change and transformation wrought by regeneration. For those with more direct and informed links with the Gorbals, this is the real issue as suggested below:

I think it's not changed as much as people think. It's definitely changed. It's certainly not as bad as it was before... but it's not quite as transformed, in my opinion, as people who have nothing to do with the area think it has.

[Teacher – the Gorbals]

Summary

As was highlighted in sections 3 and 4, mixed tenure and area regeneration more generally, have positively contributed to Castlemilk, Drumchapel and the Gorbals in a number of ways. In this section we have highlighted the extent or reach of the improvements while considering the outstanding issues still faced by the areas as mixed tenure communities as well as the remaining difficulties that persist according to the policy-makers and practitioners associated with each area. As suggested previously, it is difficult to distinguish the changes attributed to tenure diversification from the changes brought by the programme of regeneration as a whole. The areas which remain problematic encompass many elements. All three areas were subject to processes it was hoped would deliver holistic regeneration and it would appear that tenure diversification must be part of a holistic package if it is to deliver maximum benefit to residents. Conceptually, financially and logistically, this has been difficult. The Peripheral Estates remain so, and despite improvements in transport links, the relative isolation of Castlemilk and Drumchapel continues to be an issue. The Gorbals residents suffer far less than residents in the other estates in this respect. Again, despite improvements management remains a difficulty in all three estates with continuous inputs of time and money needed due to high levels of deprivation, poverty and unemployment. Across the three estates, tenure diversification has developed as a result of council tenants exercising their Right to Buy, which is positive in terms of the associated ownership and stability, and negative because it reduces the available pool of social housing. Issues of internal parochialism persist with existing attitudes and rivalries remaining. Underlying socioeconomic problems and the relative fragility of the local economies continue.

In Castlemilk, the risk of polarisation appears to be a serious concern for the future of the area. The division of Castlemilk's housing market has led to the possibility of the community continuing to be split between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots'. With the rise of new, often area-based housing associations, further internalisation and area parochialism is a possibility. In the case of both Castlemilk and Drumchapel, there are references to local identity and territorialism within the estates, as well as complaints that tenure diversification through housing associations may have helped perpetuate this problem.

There were significant concerns voiced about Castlemilk's ability to positively sustain itself. Residualisation is still an issue and the fact that tenure-blindness in Castlemilk is limited is making residualisation visually obvious. In Castlemilk's case, there is mention of a lack of strategic management of the estate and lack of local control of social housing allocation (especially to vulnerable groups).

Lack of co-ordination of agencies is also referred to as a problem in Drumchapel's case. In Drumchapel, the problem of poor amenities persists, and it was reported that the estate still suffers from a dearth of adequate commercial and public spaces, with food shopping being particularly poor. While private sector investment has contributed towards Drumchapel's stock of housing and commercial space, it remains tangential and the limited integration is indicative of recent developments. Interviewees reported that parochialism and gang territorialism remain problematic.

The issue of local control manifests itself in a different way in the Gorbals, where tenure diversification has lacked a means of controlling the sub-letting of private dwellings. In the Gorbals case, the tenures are more spatially integrated but it is suggested that the owner-occupied housing was either aimed at, or attracted, younger couples and professionals. Therefore a social mix has not developed to any great extent within local schools as there are not many private sector families, and so this precludes one of the potential gains of tenure mix (according to other studies). Concerns over the management and sub-letting of properties and the associated lack of enforcement mechanisms seems to be one of the most significant concerns with regard to the future of tenure diversification in the Gorbals. This appears to be an unanticipated weakness in the Gorbals model of development. Despite its geographical proximity to the economic hub of the city centre, unemployment rates in the Gorbals are still quite high. Long-standing educational issues and the availability of suitable dwelling types and schools were mentioned as barriers to attracting or keeping families in the area.

In terms of remaining difficulties, the overall message emphasised by participants seems to be that there are two sets of problems. Firstly *what* wasn't done: little development of the economic base in or near the two Peripheral Estates (and by implication, social networks via tenure mixing cannot sufficiently reduce

unemployment); lack of transport links in Castlemilk's case; lack of shops and social spaces in Drumchapel's case; lack of a high school in the Gorbals' case. Secondly, *how* it was done: lack of spatial integration of tenures is seen as a barrier to progress in the case of both Castlemilk and Drumchapel.

Conclusion

In this report we have outlined the historical and developmental factors that led to regeneration and more specifically tenure diversification in Castlemilk, Drumchapel and the Gorbals and used interviews with practitioners and policy-makers to show the achievements of mixing tenure and highlight other issues that need to be addressed.

Respondents overwhelmingly viewed tenure diversification positively but were aware that it needed to be delivered as one aspect of a holistic regeneration package.

Each of the areas continue to face the types of barriers which many areas of deprivation in UK cities encounter, such as high levels of unemployment, continued deprivation, a weak economic base, poor amenities, inherent and persistent residualisation and relatively entrenched stigma. While there is some evidence to suggest that tenure diversification in union with other aspects of neighbourhood renewal has lessened the severity of some of these outstanding socioeconomic issues, holistic community renewal appears to be the ideal rather than the reality, and there is still a long way to go.

Other issues raised by respondents relate specifically to the developmental or geographical idiosyncrasies of the area in question. As highlighted previously, the Gorbals is different to Drumchapel and Castlemilk in a variety of ways so some of the highlighted problems were associated with both Peripheral Estates and less so with the Gorbals.

In Castlemilk and Drumchapel, parochialism continues to be an issue. It emerged in interviews that the strength of attachment to a residential area meant that there was very little dynamism to the flow of residents in or out of a neighbourhood. For younger groups this area attachment could materialise as fighting between gangs from what are viewed as 'opposing' areas.

It was suggested by some respondents that Castlemilk is not a self-sustaining area and similarly it was stated that Drumchapel still lacks a real economic base on which

to build. In fact, even when new private sector developments are established in Drumchapel, it was suggested that they are often deliberately poorly integrated with the rest of the area. More so than the Gorbals, respondents associated with Castlemilk and Drumchapel highlighted the potential difficulties associated with first-time owner occupants who were previously social renters. It could be argued that a more transparent, possibly incremental, path from social renter to owner occupier is needed with supportive guidance and communication so that those new to the transition do not feel overburdened at the outset of ownership and the individual responsibilities that it entails.

In interviews relating to the Gorbals, the strongest themes to emerge from participants were issues over the management and sub-letting of properties and an associated concern regarding possible polarisation, relatively low levels of genuine mix, the potential for new buildings masking old or underlying problems, sterility and lack of social rejuvenation. The perception of family suitability was also raised as a potential issue by some of the respondents.

From the accounts of participants, it is obvious that these individual contextual factors require consideration when delivering the broader spectrum of area regeneration and neighbourhood transformation and renewal.

Tenure diversification was seen as important and 'the thing to do' but it was insufficient, by itself, to improve the wellbeing of the community.

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Appendix

Interview Topic Guide

Introduction

Description of GoWell programme and of the study by the interviewer, and explanation of the consent process.

1. History of the estate (re)development

- What was the situation before the redevelopment?
- Tell me how different parts of this estate have been (re)developed? Which key dates seem to you most important? For what purposes?
- How do different parts of this estate compare to each other? (use map)

2. Estate in the present

In your opinion, what influences the different aspects of life in this estate (showcards):

- Wellbeing and health of resident families with children
- Social climate
- Education
- Employment
- Area reputation
- Safety and antisocial behaviour
- Environmental quality
- Services and amenities
- Transport
- Housing

3. Views on the tenure mix

- Does tenure mix intervene in these? (showcards)
- In which aspects did the estate change for the better with the introduction of mixed tenure; which ones became worse? (showcards)
 - Do they communicate?
 - Do they learn from each other?
 - Does this vary at different scales (i.e., when owners and renters live side by side in the same building, same street, same area)?

4. Estate in the future

- What could be improved in this estate in the future? (showcards)
- Which aspects are worth being maintained? (showcards)

5. Sample characteristics

- Estate – N of years on the estate
- Occupation of the interviewee – what do they do?



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