



Context Briefing 2

Progress with housing and regeneration interventions

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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 the Scottish Government, Glasgow Housing Association, NHS Health Scotland and NHS Greater Glasgow and Clyde.

Context Briefing 2

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Introduction: Intervention Area Types (IATs)

GoWell was designed to study the impacts of a number of housing and regeneration policy actions across 15 communities in Glasgow. The study communities were grouped into five Intervention Area Types (IATs) according to the predominant policy action of interest within each area, as enacted by Glasgow Housing Association (GHA) and/or Glasgow City Council (GCC) as the lead instigator or planner of the action concerned. The location of the study areas is shown in Figure 1 and the distribution of the key policy actions of interest across the IATs is shown in Table 1.

Figure 1: GoWell study areas in Glasgow.

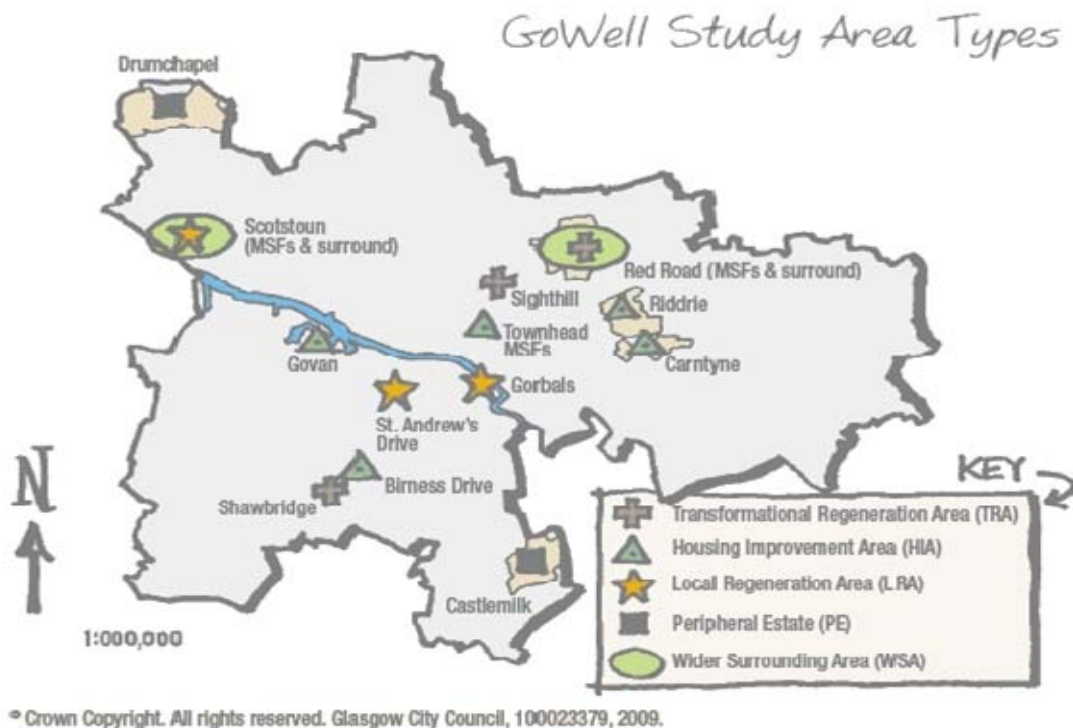


Table 1 Housing and regeneration policy actions by Intervention Area Type (IAT).

IAT	Study areas	Policy actions of interest
Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs)	Red Road Sighthill Shawbridge	Large-scale clearance and demolition of existing housing. Redevelopment of a mixed tenure estate through social sector and private sector new-build housing developments, and the provision of neighbourhood amenities. Development of a new community comprising some Remainers (pre-existing residents) but mostly comprising Incomers.
Local Regeneration Areas (LRAs)	Gorbals Riverside Scotstoun multi-storey flats St Andrews Drive	Improvement of existing housing stock. Small-scale clearance and demolition. Neighbourhood improvements.
Wider Surrounding Areas (WSAs)	Red Road WSA Scotstoun WSA	Relocation of Outmovers from TRAs into these areas. New-build social housing developments. Improvement of existing housing stock.
Housing Improvement Areas (HIAs)	Birness Drive Carntyne Govan Riddrie Townhead	Improvement of existing housing stock.
Peripheral Estates (PEs)	Castlemilk Drumchapel	Further development of mixed tenure housing structure through new-build private sector developments. Community adjustment through Incomers. Improvement of existing housing stock

There are a few things worth noting about the IATs and particular study areas as follows:

Transformational Regeneration Areas (TRAs):

Glasgow has eight TRAs, of which GoWell is studying three. The TRA regeneration activity across the city is divided into three phases. GoWell is not studying any of the first phase areas, but is studying two of the second phase group – Sighthill and Shawbridge – and one of the third phase – Red Road. Thus, we would expect policy actions to be further progressed in Sighthill and Shawbridge at any point in time, than in Red Road. All three TRAs being studied had masterplans produced in 2006 to guide their redevelopment, in consultation with the communities. However, only in the case of Shawbridge has the original masterplan served its original purpose; in the other two areas, as we shall see, debates about how to redevelop the area have been ongoing and the original masterplans could no longer be said to be applicable.

Local Regeneration Areas (LRAs):

Local Regeneration Areas were defined by an expectation that they would receive a mixture of housing and neighbourhood improvement actions, and possibly some demolition. They are also much smaller in size than the TRAs. In the event, Scotstoun MSFs has experienced demolition on a larger scale than envisioned. Thus, the distinction between Scotstoun MSFs and the TRAs is less clear than it was, apart from the fact that Scotstoun MSFs do not comprise an 'estate' in the same way as the TRAs and have not been subject to a master-planning process.

Wider Surrounding Areas (WSAs):

Relatively large areas were selected as the potential receiving areas for people relocated from the mass housing estates being demolished within the TRAs. The WSAs would not contain all the relocatees, but we expected them to receive the majority of them. The WSAs each contain several identifiable neighbourhoods. Much of the existing social housing in these areas is also subject to improvement works, making the WSAs somewhat similar to the HIAs in housing terms, though with the added intervention of receiving 'outmovers'.

Housing Improvement Areas (HIAs):

The Housing Improvement Areas are of more mixed housing tenure structure than many of the other study areas. This is mainly because they comprise relatively popular social housing, much of which has changed to become owner occupied through the Right-to-Buy legislation over the past 30 years, and subsequent property re-sales. Two of the HIAs (Carntyne and Riddrie) consist mostly of low-rise buildings (up to two storeys), one (Govan) comprises medium-rise buildings (<5 storey height) and two consist of high-rise flats (Birness Drive and Townhead), thus giving us the opportunity to study the effects of housing improvements in different types of buildings.

Peripheral Estates (PEs):

The two Peripheral Estates we are studying consist mostly of low- and medium-rise buildings. The estates are mixed tenure, though not to the same extent as some of the HIAs. The private sector housing has been produced both through Right-to-Buy and by private sector developments, both in-fill and estate-edge developments. Incremental additions to the private housing are ongoing, and in the case of Drumchapel, a large amount of private sector housing development was planned across half a dozen sites within the estate as part of the City Council's New Neighbourhoods policy, which aims to attract middle-income family households to return or remain living in the city, rather than in the surrounding districts.

1. In the remainder of this chapter, we will review progress up to 2011/12 with each of the main housing and regeneration interventions of interest to the study, looking at developments within each study area by IAT grouping. The interventions to be considered are as follows:
 - Clearance and demolition
 - Relocation and community in-movers
 - Housing improvements
 - New build housing
 - Housing tenure change

Clearance and demolition

Four of the study areas have been subject to large-scale clearance and demolition of buildings owned by GHA: Red Road, Sighthill, Shawbridge and Scotstoun MSFs. The first three of these are TRAs and the latter is an LRA. The composition of each area is briefly described below:

Red Road TRA: comprises the main Red Road estate – which contains two triple-block high-rise buildings plus six other high-rise buildings – plus some adjacent areas of tenemental housing. All the high-rise flats and some of the nearby tenemental housing were slated for demolition.

Sighthill TRA: comprises two halves of the estate – Fountainwell to the North and Pinkston to the south – each containing five double-block high-rise buildings, with some deck access and tenemental flats also located in Fountainwell. The Fountainwell high-rise blocks were slated for demolition at an early stage. The Pinkston high-rise blocks were subject to debate for a few years, but eventually it was decided to demolish all of them as well.

Shawbridge TRA: comprises two halves of the estate. North Shawbridge contains four high-rise buildings plus low-rise housing. South Shawbridge contains five high-rise buildings plus tenemental flats. All the high-rise blocks and some of the other housing on the estate were slated for demolition.

Scotstoun MSFs LRA: comprises two high-rise buildings at Plean Street, and six high-rise buildings at Kingsway Court. The high-rise blocks at Plean Street were slated for demolition at an early stage. The Kingsway Court blocks were under review for some time, and eventually it was decided to clear and demolish four of the six blocks.

Table 2 shows the state of progress with regard to clearance and demolition on the four estates at the time of the GoWell wave 3 survey in mid-2011. Approximately four-fifths of the dwellings intended for demolition in all four study areas had been cleared by mid-2011, although the figure may be lower than that in the case of the Scotstoun MSFs. At this time, the majority of dwellings were still standing: half of Sighthill had been demolished, as had a third of Shawbridge and Scotstoun MSFs, but none of the Red Road high-rise blocks had been demolished by mid-2011.

Table 2. Clearance and demolition targets and progress to mid-2011.

Study area	Total stock 2005	Clearance & demolition target	Clearance progress ¹		Demolition progress ¹	
			No.	%	No.	%
Red Road	1,522	1,347	1,050	78	27	2
Sighthill	2,517	2,456	1,950	79	1,203	49
Shawbridge	1,379	1,288	1,072	83	483	35
Scotstoun MSFs	916	688	589 ²	86	228	33

¹ Progress against target.

² Upper estimate.

Relocation and community in-movers

Demolition and clearance has two knock-on effects that comprise our next set of interventions of interest. First, individuals and households are relocated, often to nearby areas, though sometimes to more distant locations across the city. There may also be significant numbers of people who are moved to other properties in the same area, particularly if they express the desire to stay in the area in order to eventually live in one of the newly developed dwellings. Second, there is a potential community-level effect of clearance when nearby areas become the receiving communities for those 'displaced'. In this case, we are interested in the number of 'in-movers', particularly from the city's regeneration areas (TRAs) to our study communities.

We have used GHA new tenancy information to estimate the number of within-area movers and the number of in-movers to our study areas. Obviously, this only covers GHA housing stock and not other landlords and tenures. However, it gives us an indication of the level of residential turnover in the study areas, and a fairly accurate view of residential change brought about through clearance and relocation.

Table 3 shows that there has been considerable within-area movement in the TRAs since stock transfer in 2003. The cumulative total of new tenancies created for the rehousing of people from within the same study area ranges from 200 in Shawbridge to 900 in Sighthill, over a nine-year period. In the case of Red Road and Sighthill, this is potentially equivalent to over half the dwellings in the areas in 2011 being occupied by people who had moved within the area over the previous decade (if they had stayed put after the initial move).

Table 3. Within-area movers in the TRAs, 2003-2011¹.

TRA	Number of local movers	Local movers as % of housing stock at mid-2011 ²
Red Road	378	51.4
Sighthill	214	71.7
Shawbridge	903	30.9
Total	1,495	55.6

¹ GHA new tenancies only.

² All housing stock, in all tenures, in the area.

Table 4 provides a similar picture with regard to in-movers, for all the GoWell study areas. Here we see that the highest number of in-movers occurred in Drumchapel and Red Road Wider Surrounding Area, but this is largely a function of the fact that these are the two largest study areas, with the most housing stock. When the number of in-movers to GHA tenancies is expressed as a share of the 2011 all-tenure housing stock estimate, we see that the level of turnover varies tenfold: from 10% in Riddrie to 115% in the Scotstoun MSFs. High levels of turnover due to in-movers are also seen in Birness Drive (83%), Townhead (58%) and St Andrews Drive (56%). By IAT, the highest turnover due to in-movers has occurred in the LRAs (78%) and the TRAs (43%).

Table 4. In-movers by study area and IAT, 2003-2011¹.

TRA	Number of in-movers	In-movers as % of housing stock at mid-2011 ²
Red Road MSFs	329	44.7
Sighthill	523	41.5
Shawbridge	294	42.5
TRAs	1,146	42.6
Gorbals Riverside	204	47.8
Scotstoun MSFs	781	115.2
St Andrews Drive	298	55.7
LRAs	1,283	78.2
Red Road Wider Area	1,141	27.2
Scotstoun Wider Area	638	29.6
WSAs	1,779	28.0
Birness Drive	374	82.9
Carntyne	278	22.0
Govan	326	48.1
Riddrie	266	10.1
Townhead	583	57.6
HIAs	1,827	30.3
Castlemilk	486	21.3
Drumchapel	1,613	36.8
PEs	2,099	31.5
Total	8,134	34.8

¹ GHA new tenancies only.

² All housing stock, in all tenures, in the area. Source: GCC Council Tax Register.

Of the total number of in-movers to GoWell study areas over the nine-year period, 1,110 (13.7%) are known to have come from the city's eight TRAs, i.e. due to clearance as a result of regeneration. This included 453 from Red Road, 207 from Sighthill, 151 from Govan/Ibrox (which is adjacent to our Govan study area) and 121 from Shawbridge. In the case of 665 in-movers (8.2%) their origin location was unknown.

Table 5 shows the number of in-movers to GoWell study areas from the city's regeneration areas over the period January 2003 to December 2011, i.e. first eight years since stock transfer. In this we have included in-movers from the eight TRAs plus the Scotstoun MSF LRA since two-thirds of this area is also being cleared. From this we can see, as expected, that the Wider Surrounding Areas (WSAs) are the most impacted upon by relocation from regeneration areas across the city: in relative terms, in-movers from regeneration areas occupied the equivalent to 5.3% of the housing stock in these areas by 2011 (assuming none had subsequently moved on elsewhere). Least affected are the Peripheral Estates, with only 1% of the dwelling stock occupied by relocatees. But rather surprisingly, three of the Housing Improvement Areas are most affected by relocation in relative terms. In-movers from regeneration areas occupy over a fifth of the 2011 dwelling stock in the case of Birness Drive (22.4%), one-in-six dwellings in the case of Govan (16.5%), and one-in-seven dwellings in the case of Townhead (14.2%). This is due to their proximity to Shawbridge, Govan/Ibrox and Sighthill, respectively.

Table 5. In-movers from regeneration areas³ by study area and IAT, 2003-2011¹.

TRA	Number of in-movers	In-movers as % of housing stock at mid-2011 ²
Red Road MSFs	19	2.6
Sighthill	58	4.6
Shawbridge	30	4.3
TRAs	107	4.0
Gorbals Riverside	41	9.6
Scotstoun MSFs	33	4.9
St Andrews Drive	36	6.7
LRAs	110	6.7
Red Road Wider Area	422	10.1
Scotstoun Wider Area	117	5.4
WSAs	539	8.5
Birness Drive	101	22.4
Carntyne	9	0.7
Govan	112	16.5
Riddrie	13	0.5
Townhead	144	14.2
HIAs	379	6.3
Castlemilk	30	1.3
Drumchapel	58	1.3
PEs	88	1.3
Total	1,223	5.2

¹ GHA new tenancies only. ² All housing stock, in all tenures, in the area. Source: GCC Council Tax Register. ³ Includes the city's eight TRAs plus the Scotstoun LRA.

Housing improvements

Housing improvements are taking place right across our study areas, though as shown in Table 1 above, in some areas it is the main or sole housing intervention. We are studying works carried out to GHA housing stock, or to stock previously owned by GHA, since the date of stock transfer in 2003. Where dwellings are owner occupied but located within buildings containing GHA properties, the private properties may also be improved as part of the building contract. All GHA properties are subject to at least some improvement works to bring them up to – and more often beyond – the Scottish Housing Quality Standard by 2015.

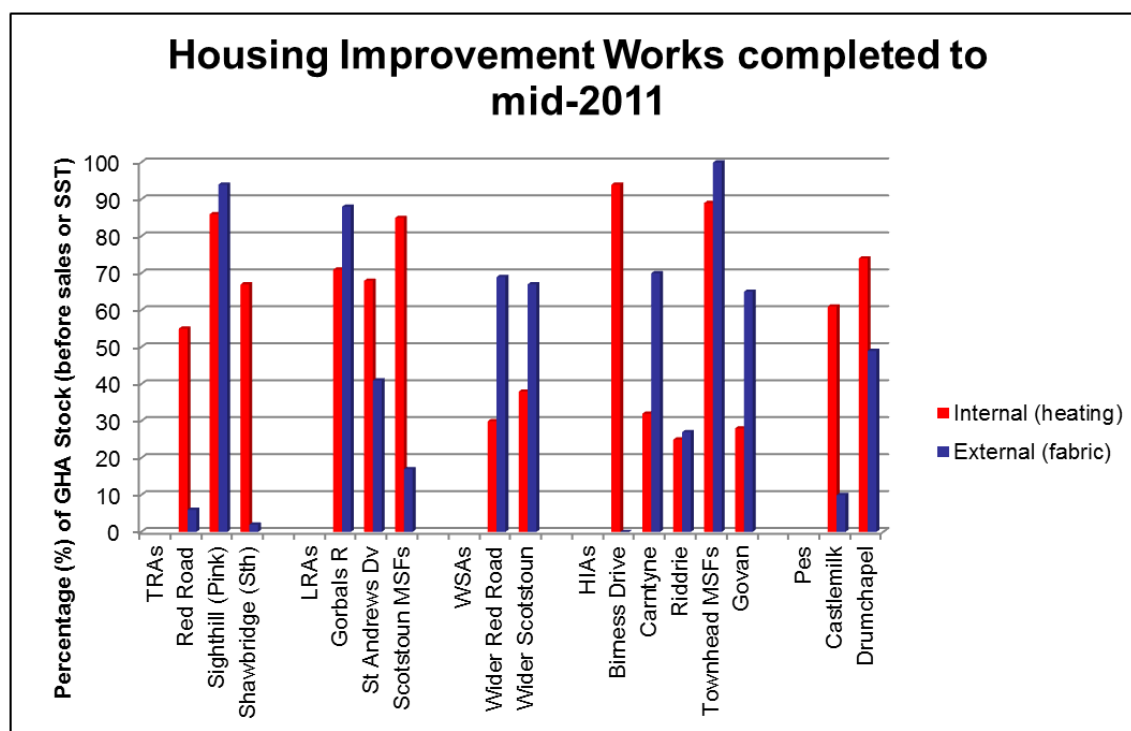
It is difficult to succinctly summarise progress with housing improvements as there are several types of improvement being undertaken, which may occur at different times for the same property, so that works to a property may be carried out over a number of years. The types of works that may be carried out to a property are shown in Table 6. These include internal and external works, as well as works to individual dwellings and works to common parts of buildings. Table 6 also shows the proportion of GHA housing stock in GoWell study areas that had received each of these works by September 2012. The vast majority of the housing stock (80%) has received fabric works and nearly two-thirds have received new doors. Just over half the stock has received improvements to the common areas of the building and around half has received new heating systems and new kitchens and bathrooms internally.

Table 6. Types of housing improvement works.

Location	Category	Examples	% Stock treated
External	High-rise fabric	Roof covering. Overcladding. Balcony repairs. Asbestos work.	21%
	Low-rise fabric	Roof covering. Cavity-fill. Gutters and downpipes. Render. Cladding or insulation.	59%
	Doors	Secured by design doors.	64%
	Windows	Double-glazed windows.	13%
Common	Internal common works	Doors. Controlled entry systems. Close painting. Lighting.	56%
	Environmental		14%
	Lifts	Replacement.	2%
Internal	Heating	Boiler replacement. Full central heating system.	51%
	Kitchen, bathroom and rewiring	New kitchen and bathroom.	49%

In order to give an overview of progress in each of the study areas, we have selected two of these types of works for further examination: external fabric works; and internal central heating. Figure 2 shows progress with each of these works by the time of the third GoWell survey in mid-2011.

Figure 2: Progress with housing improvement works by mid-2011.



Several patterns can be seen in Figure 2.

- In the TRAs, internal works are far more common than external works, as would be expected in areas due for demolition. Despite the intention to demolish the high-rise flats, the majority have nonetheless received improvements to their central heating in order to improve conditions while awaiting clearance. In the southern part of Sighthill there has also been a lot of external works, since there was an expectation at one point that the high-rise buildings would be kept here.
- In the LRAs, internal works were more advanced than external works, apart from in Gorbals Riverside, where the majority of both internal and external works had been completed by mid-2011.
- In the WSAs, external works were more advanced than internal works, and the vast majority of dwellings had still to receive internal works.
- In the HIAs, works were most advanced in the two high-rise areas of Birness Drive and Townhead. Around 90% of properties had received internal works in both cases, and in the case of Townhead, all properties had received external fabric works by mid-2011. Of all the study areas, works were least advanced in Riddrie, where only about a quarter of the properties had received external fabric works by mid-2011.

- In the PEs, internal works were far more common than external works. Only a tenth of properties in Castlemilk had received external fabric works. This may reflect the fact that regeneration activity had taken place on the estate in the 1990s.

New build housing

One of the main aims of the planning authorities is to create more mixed tenure neighbourhoods within the city, predominantly through the regeneration of the eight TRAs and the creation of four 'new neighbourhoods' in areas previously dominated by social rented housing. As Table 7 shows, over the past decade, developments across the city have not gone quite to plan, largely as a result of the economic downturn from 2008 onwards. Thus, only a quarter of the dwellings intended to be built in our study areas had actually been completed by March 2011. Furthermore, and recalling that the masterplans for the TRAs aimed to switch the balance of housing tenure from majority social rented to majority owner occupied, it has turned out that so far, social rented sector dwelling completions have outnumbered private sector completions in our study areas by a ratio of 2:1. In the TRAs in particular, progress has been slower than expected, with less than a tenth of the planned dwelling construction completed by Spring 2011.

Table 7. New build housing by IAT and study area, completed 2003-2011.

IAT and study area	Target if known	Completions	
		Social	Private ¹
Red Road MSFs	200	135	0
Sighthill	700	0	0
Shawbridge	906	0	0
TRA Total	1,806	135	0
Gorbals Riverside	0	0	0
Scotstoun MSFs	n/a	0	0
St Andrews Drive	0	0	0
LRA Total	0	0	0
Wider Red Road	545	82	66
Wider Scotstoun	n/a	81	59
WSA Total	545	163	125
Birness Drive	0	0	0
Carntyne	0	0	0
Riddire	0	0	0
Townhead MSFs	0	0	0
Govan	n/a	132	47
HIA Total	0	132	47
Castlemilk	n/a	68	0
Drumchapel	1,200	198	40
PE Total	1,200	266	40
All IATs Total	3,551	696	212

¹ Includes shared equity developments.

Housing tenure change

The ownership structure of housing in the GoWell study areas was set to change in two main ways under housing plans dating from around the time of stock transfer in 2003. First, the GHA housing stock was intended to transfer to other parts of the social rented sector, either to new or existing housing associations, under second stage stock transfer. Second, in the TRAs and PEs in particular, the tenure balance was planned to shift more away from social renting towards owner occupation. We can review what has happened to the housing stock in these two respects.

Second Stage Stock Transfer (SST)

Five of our study areas had experienced the transfer of GHA stock under SST procedures by 2011: two of the LRAs – Gorbals Riverside and St Andrews Drive; the two PEs – Castlemilk and Drumchapel; and the Wider Red Road area. Details of these transfers are given in Table 8.

Table 8. Second stage housing stock transfers by 2011.

Study area	Amount of stock	
	Number of units	% GHA stock in the area
Gorbals Riverside	394	91%
St Andrews Drive	373	73%
Wider Red Road	814	32%
Castlemilk	582	62%
Drumchapel	420	17%

Private sector housing

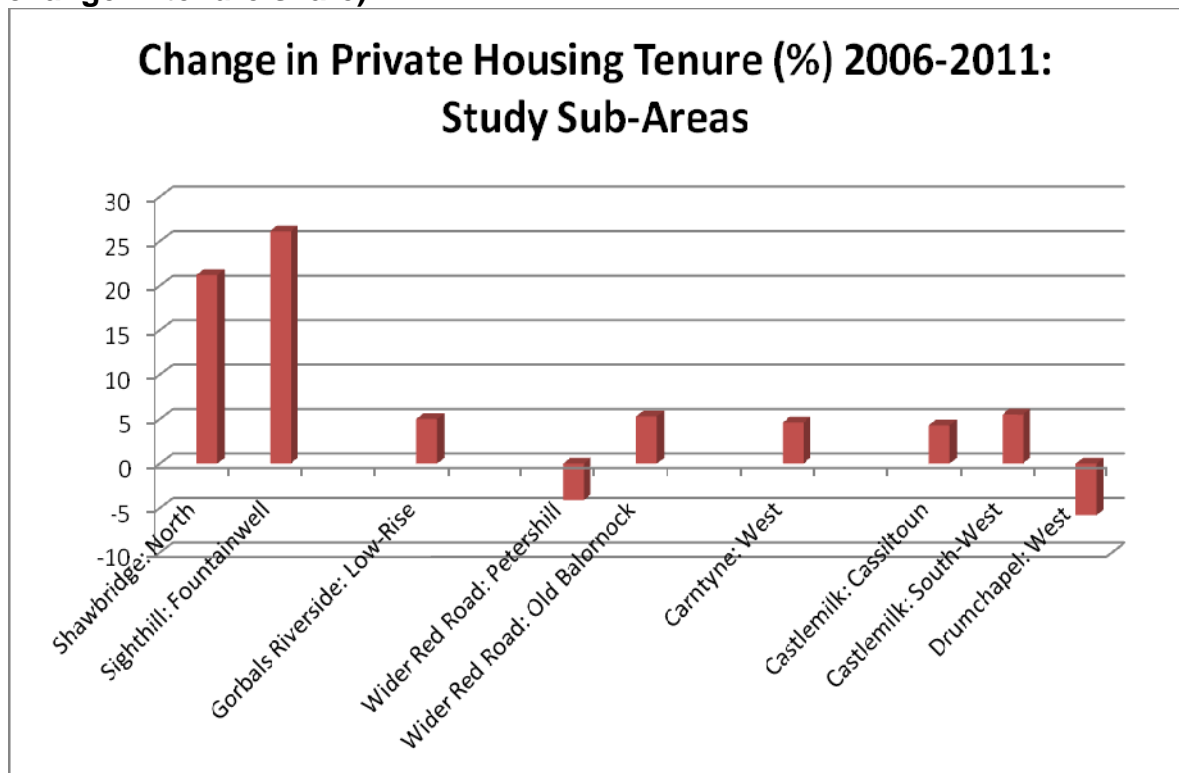
As Table 9 shows, in all our study areas except for Drumchapel, the share of the housing stock in the social rented sector has marginally decreased over time, with a maximum reduction in total share of around -3% in any one study area over the five-year period from 2006-11. As regards private sector housing, it is noticeable that in 11 of the 15 study areas, the private rented sector has grown more than the owner occupied sector. This was particularly the case in the two Wider Surrounding Areas (Wider Red Road and Wider Scotstoun) and in two of the Housing Improvement Areas (Carntyne and Riddrie): in these four areas the tenure share gap between owner occupation and private renting has narrowed by around 10% over time.

Table 9. Change in housing tenure structure by study area, 2006 to 2011.

	Tenure share 2011 (%)			Change 2006-11 (+/- %)		
	Social rented	Owner occupied	Private rented	Social rented	Owner occupied	Private rented
Red Road MSFs	97.4	2.2	0.4	-0.7	+0.6	+0.1
Sighthill	94.8	3.5	1.7	-2.1	+0.9	+1.2
Shawbridge	91.8	6.6	1.6	-1.0	+0.2	+0.7
Gorbals Riverside	91.8	6.1	2.1	-1.5	-0.4	+1.9
Scotstoun MSFs	99.4	0.3	0.1	-0.3	+0.1	+0.2
St Andrews Drive	73.5	18.7	7.9	-3.2	+1.5	+1.7
Wider Red Road	41.5	51.2	7.3	-2.8	-1.8	+4.5
Wider Scotstoun	47.3	42.9	9.7	-0.9	-4.5	+5.4
Birness Drive	100.0	0	0	0	0	0
Carntyne	43.4	47.8	8.8	-3.0	-3.8	+6.8
Riddrie	37.0	54.7	8.3	-1.5	-4.1	+5.6
Townhead MSFs	88.7	8.0	3.3	-2.2	+0.7	+1.5
Govan	74.5	16.4	9.1	-0.2	-0.1	+0.2
Castlemilk	77.2	19.6	3.2	-0.4	-1.3	+1.8
Drumchapel	78.8	18.6	2.6	+1.0	-2.2	+1.3

As Figure 3 shows, by mid-2011, there were only two parts of our study areas where one could identify a significant shift in the tenure structure: the northern parts of both Sighthill and Shawbridge. In both cases, by this date, the change in structure had occurred as a result of the demolition of most of the social rented housing rather than because new private sector housing had been built. The two Peripheral Estates show converse trends at this time: in the southwest of our Castlemilk study area, private housing had increased its share of the tenure structure by 5%, while in Drumchapel its share had reduced by a similar amount.

Figure 3: Change in private sector housing by study sub-area (absolute change in tenure share).



Summary

In relation to the interventions we are studying, **progress by mid-2011** (the timing of the GoWell wave 3 survey) can be summarised as follows:

Very good progress had been made with the following:

- Clearance of demolition/regeneration areas: around four-fifths of the dwellings to be cleared had been cleared by mid-2011.
- Internal housing improvements: most of the GHA housing stock to be improved had received works by mid-2011 in two-thirds of the study areas.
- External housing improvements: the majority of the GHA housing stock to be improved had received works by mid-2011 in half the study areas.

Good progress had been made with the following:

- Demolition: more than a third of the stock to be removed had been demolished by mid-2011 in three of the four demolition areas.
- New-build housing in the Wider Surrounding Areas: an amount of new build housing equivalent to half the planned total across the two WSAs had been completed by mid-2011. However, within the Red Road WSA, the completed new build amounted to only 27% of the planned total by this time.

Slow progress had been made with the following:

- New build housing in the Transformational Regeneration Areas: only in the case of Red Road had any progress been made in providing new housing in accord with the original transformational masterplans.
- New build housing in the Peripheral Estates: there were modest amounts of new build housing provided in both Peripheral Estates by mid-2011. This amounted to only a fifth of the planned total for Drumchapel under the New Neighbourhoods Initiative.
- Tenure change: As a result of low levels of new building, very little progress had been made towards making social housing areas more mixed tenure. Tenure change was produced more by two other developments: second stage stock transfer changed the ownership of significant proportions of the social housing stock in four of the study areas; housing market changes as a result of the economic downturn resulted in significant increases in private renting in four of the study areas.

Some other unexpected changes are also noticeable, which will influence how we think about the study areas, and how we investigate the effects of the interventions:

- The planned end-state for the TRAs has, in two cases, been changing, and is not fixed in accord with the original masterplans.
- One of the LRAs is now experiencing substantial clearance and demolition, making the distinction between the TRAs and LRAs less clear.
- Three of the HIAs have been receiving relatively large (in relation to the size of the study area) numbers of people relocated from regeneration areas, and could be more impacted by this process than the WSAs.

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