

**MIXED TENURE, TWENTY YEARS ON –
NOTHING OUT OF THE ORDINARY**



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Please contact:

Communications Department,
Joseph Rowntree Foundation,

The Homestead,

40 Water End,

York YO30 6WP.

Tel: 01904 615905.

Email: info@jrf.org.uk



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Chris Allen, Margaret Camina, Rionach Casey, Sarah Coward and Martin Wood



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Chartered Institute of Housing
Octavia House, Westwood Way
Coventry CV4 8JP
Telephone: 024 7685 1700
www.cih.org

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Joseph Rowntree Foundation
The Homestead
40 Water End
York YO30 6WP
Telephone: 01904 629241
www.jrf.org.uk

Mixed tenure, twenty years on – Nothing out of the ordinary

Chris Allen, Margaret Camina, Rionach Casey, Sarah Coward and Martin Wood

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Team responsibilities

The original idea for this project came from Margaret Camina who worked with Chris Allen, Martin Wood and Ian Cole to develop her research proposal to the Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Chris Allen acted as Project Director. Chris, Margaret and Martin co-wrote this report with assistance from Rionach Casey and Sarah Coward. The coding of post-diary interviews and subsequent development of post-diary coding frames was manually undertaken by Chris, while Margaret carried out this process for the teenager interviews and children's focus groups. Adult focus groups and key stakeholder interviews were analysed by Martin using QSR Nvivo software. Martin also led on the analysis of diary data and undertook some additional analysis of census data. Archive and field work in Orton was organised and undertaken by Rionach and Sarah with some assistance from Chris. Archive and field work in Bowthorpe was organised and undertaken by Margaret with assistance from Natalia Jones and Paola Iannone. Archive and field work in Coulby Newham was organised and undertaken by Martin with assistance from Fran Wood, Sue Greaves and Steve Bunning. Ryan Powell serviced us with all of our quantitative data needs, such as census analysis.

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Executive Summary

Mixed tenure in context

- 1 Contemporary interest in mixed tenure neighbourhoods stems from official recognition of the increasing segregation of social housing from the mid 1970s onwards. Subsequent changes to social housing policy exacerbated this problem of segregation – for example, homelessness legislation and the right to buy. The processes of rapid decline and stigmatisation on council estates was later shown to be occurring, too, in large housing association developments, leading to calls for ‘more balanced’ communities.
.....
- 2 Tenure mixing came about mainly through experimental diversification of existing social housing estates, but more recently there has been greater policy interest in promoting mix. However, the research evidence has been variable, some supporting the benefits of mixed tenure and other work questioning it. Research has tended to ignore two important areas:
 - Mixed tenure developments that have been *purposely planned* to engender social integration between people living in different tenures.
 - Children’s experiences of mixed tenure developments – despite the fact that recent work confirms the beneficial impact of having social mix in schools.
.....
- 3 The aim of the study was to examine *mature* housing developments that were at least 20 years old, designed and planned as mixed tenure neighbourhoods:
 - to analyse the nature and extent of inter-household relations in these mature mixed communities;
 - to understand the significance of the planned environment in facilitating these inter-household relationships; and,
 - to study the experiences of children living in the areas.

The case study areas

- 4 Three examples, located within very different sub-regional housing markets, were identified for the study:
 - **Bowthorpe**, on the western edge of Norwich;
 - **Coulby Newham**, on the south side of Middlesbrough; and,
 - **Orton Goldhay** on the south-west side of Peterborough.

The three areas were originally designed with high ambitions about what might be achieved through social mix.

Research methods

- 5 Research in the case study areas was undertaken using a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods, including census returns, interviews with a range of stakeholders, either face-to-face or in focus groups, and the keeping of diaries by 'ordinary' residents of the areas. A selection of these diarists was then interviewed on a face-to-face basis. Children and young people were interviewed about their views and experiences of living in a mixed tenure housing development.

Reputations, 'realities' and stigma

- 6 From their early days all three areas have remained popular with residents. High demand for rented property and higher than average house price rises suggest that the areas are not places of last resort. Populations are relatively stable and people generally do not wish to move away. The areas showed higher deprivation levels than average but little severe disadvantage, nor the problems that tend to be associated with it. Local employment was reasonably healthy and crime and nuisance were not thought to be serious.
-
- 7 Mixed tenure appeared to have made the areas more desirable. While factors such as design and quality of the environment have to be taken into account, the mix has allowed people to escape the prejudice frequently faced by people in council estates.

From ordinariness to neighbourliness

- 8 Owners and renters regarded each other as 'ordinary people' and therefore similar to, rather than distinct from, each other. They were ambivalent towards (mixed) tenure, which was considered to be a 'non-issue' and even an irrelevance. However, this sense of sameness did not result in the emergence of cross-tenure social networks. Owners tended to occupy different social worlds. Nevertheless, neighbouring owners and renters tended to 'bump into' each other and described their relationships as civil and polite. Inter-household co-operation could take place but mainly in relation to *practical* rather than *personal* issues. Stronger friendships were found between children, who mixed without regard to tenure. Significantly, mixed tenure was found to have supported the maintenance of kinship support networks, for example, by allowing adult children to settle in the same areas as their parents, and by enabling *both* parents to remain living in the areas in the event of relationship breakdown.

Planning for communities of shared interests

- 9 Many residents liked the physical features of the planned communities, such as the layout and links to encourage walking and cycling, although sometimes these had caused problems. The provision of services, much more extensive than for most estates on the edge of towns, has been crucial to the areas' success. When residents were asked what they like and do not like, they frequently talked about the different elements of the planned environment. In each case it has proved remarkably durable over its 25 year life, in spite of the stresses caused by increased private choice and reduced public expenditure.

Towards a 'mixed tenure' housing policy – key findings

- 10
- Although these areas are not problem-free, they have escaped many of the patterns which have been seen where there are large concentrations of purely social housing.
 - Generally speaking, the case study areas were desirable and contained a limited social range of residents. All of the areas have consistently low levels of unemployment and benefit dependency and house price rises have been above the local average.
 - Owners and renters regarded each other as 'ordinary people' and talked about their similarities. They were either positive about or ambivalent towards the issue of (mixed) tenure, which was not an indicator of social status.
 - Mixed tenure communities *of this nature* appear to be civilised places to live in and therefore may help in tackling anti-social behaviour.
 - Housing design similarities between owner occupied and rented housing also served to blur the tenure distinction. This helped to emphasise similarities rather than differences between residents and therefore counteracted the potential emergence of tenure prejudice.
 - But owners and renters were found to occupy distinctive social worlds and opportunities for social interaction were limited – co-operation between neighbours tended to take place on practical rather than personal issues.
 - There were strong social ties between children whose friendships were cross-tenure.
 - Young adults on low incomes were able to stay in the area because of the range of affordable housing options available, and could take advantage of continued parental contact.
 - Mixed tenure also supported parents experiencing 'relationship breakdown' because it enabled both to stay in the area and maintain contact with their children.

- Much resident satisfaction stemmed from the high quality of the physical environment and provision, from the early days, of a range of local services. Mixed tenure was therefore only one element of a larger package.
- Other elements of the planned environment facilitated social interaction, in particular the networks of pathways and cycle ways; together with the provision of quality play areas, which was particularly important for children.
- Overall, mixed tenure is no protection from broader social trends, for example, changing patterns of shopping.

Policy implications

11 The research suggests that:

- Residents were generally satisfied with mixed tenure, which they saw as 'ordinary'. It therefore provides one way of avoiding concentrations of poverty and the problems which arise.
- Claims made in support of mixed tenure are probably exaggerated. There was little or no evidence that mixed tenure produced 'bridging' social capital or a 'role model' effect, or affected the reputation of the areas, positively or adversely.
- But there is a clear case to be made for mixed tenure: that areas with a limited social range of residents, housing design similarities and a comprehensively-planned environment help to produce civilised communities and a relative absence of tenure prejudice. Mixed tenure might therefore be a useful policy tool to prevent anti-social behaviour.
- Another rationale is that it can support extended family networks and this is important both for reconstituted families and for inter-generational support.
- There is a case for either a segmented or a pepper-pot approach to mixed tenure, but high quality housing and proper integration of tenure types are necessary to blur the tenure divide.
- Having a high quality planned environment remains important even though social changes have reduced the significance of the local environment and local facilities in people's lives. Tenure mix by itself will not guarantee the success of a development.

Chapter One

Mixed tenure in context

Mixed tenure – background

The idea of promoting social mix goes back to Octavia Hill in the 1870s and was applauded by Bevan in the 1940s. However, contemporary interest in mixed tenure neighbourhoods stems from official recognition of the increasing segregation of social housing which became difficult to let from the mid 1970s onwards¹ (Holmans, 2005). Yet subsequent changes to social housing policy exacerbated this problem of segregation. For example, the introduction of the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 saw a rise in the numbers of priority homeless being housed, while the Housing Act 1980 enforced the right to buy. Sales were highest in areas where owner occupation was already high and new tenants – increasingly people from outside the labour force – were most likely to be housed on the older estates and in low-demand flats and maisonettes (Forrest and Murie, 1988). Page (1993) later came to show how the processes of rapid decline and stigmatisation which had been identified on council estates was being replicated in large housing association estates and suggested that:

... consideration should be given to producing a more balanced community by mixing rented housing with housing for sale or for shared ownership ... in an integrated form.

In practice, mixed tenure in the eighties and nineties has been achieved mainly as the result of diversification of existing council estates, with some ‘reverse’ examples of housing association purchases in the private sector (Tunstall, 2003). Such tenure diversification is thought to assist in the prevention of a range of socio-economic problems at the level of the neighbourhood (Wood, 2003) and in the maintenance of stability, by increasing the scope for housing career moves *within* the locality (DETR, 2000). More recently, however, the creation of new mixed tenure neighbourhoods has become a key part of national housing policy, examples being the recommendations of the Urban Task Force (DETR, 1999) and the updated *Planning Policy Guidance on Housing* (ODPM, 2005).

Academic research has reviewed a wide range of potential benefits of tenure diversification: recasting ‘*the image of an area*’ (Pawson and Bramley, 2000, p57; also Martin and Watkinson, 2003); overcoming ‘postcode discrimination’ and thereby attracting higher quality services into these areas (Turok *et al.*, 1999; Buck, 2001; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001); creating a ‘role model’ effect which may lead renters to adopt ‘mainstream’ behaviours, attitudes and values (Hislock, 2001, p2).

1. The drive to establish the mixed tenure neighbourhoods studied in this report (see Chapter 2) predates the policies and trends which have given rise to the contemporary interest in the topic.

Mixed school catchments have been identified as leading to increased educational and employment aspirations (Hislock, 2001; Johnson *et al.*, 2001), while social contact between owners and renters has been suggested as a mechanism for connecting renters with employment opportunities, involving the passing on of know-how (Rosenbaum, 2002) and the added potential for networking (Granovetter, 1973).

That said, a number of researchers have argued that the research evidence to support these claims is somewhat thin on the ground and, furthermore, mixed (Tunstall, 2003; Wood, 2003). On a positive note, Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) examined three social housing estates that had undergone a process of tenure diversification and showed that the social networks of owners and renters seldom overlapped, reducing opportunities for social contact and making some of the hypothesised benefits less likely. Nevertheless, residents believed that outsiders' views of their area were now more positive and that this was a reasonable reflection of what it was like to live there.

Rationale for the 'Twenty Years On' study

Given that social mix objectives have mainly been pursued through tenure diversification in council estates (Tunstall, 2003, p156), research effort has so far been focused on social housing areas that have *recently* undergone *tenure diversification*. Furthermore, the research focus has been on adults rather than children's experiences and perceptions of these areas. There has been an absence of research undertaken into:

- Mixed tenure developments that have been *purposely planned* to engender social integration between people living in different tenures. This is an important omission because the planned environment can affect the frequency and quality of social contacts which, in turn, can facilitate social group formation and social support. Specifically, planned environments can assist social network development by facilitating proximity and contact between residents, e.g. by integrating private residential space with shared public spaces (Talen, 1999).
- Children's experiences of mixed tenure developments. This is another omission because recent work confirms the beneficial impact of having a social mix in schools (OECD, 2001) and the presence of children from families with high educational and career aspirations can be expected to raise attainment and aspirations for everybody (Johnson, 2003). Further, there is a growing volume of work on children's reactions to their environment and their use of space (Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Camina, 2004). Children and young people are thus increasingly viewed as actors in their own right (James *et al.*, 1998) with opinions that should be taken into account.

Our study aimed to address these two gaps in the research and policy literature as well as to contribute to the currently mixed evidence base. The aim of the study was to examine *mature* housing developments that were at least 20 years old and had been designed and planned as mixed tenure neighbourhoods with a view to creating social mix. The purpose of the study was, first, to analyse the nature and extent of inter-household relations in these mature mixed communities; second, to understand the significance of the planned environment in facilitating these inter-household relationships; and third, to study the experiences of children living in these areas. Three such examples, located within very different sub-regional housing markets were identified for the study:

- **Bowthorpe**, on the western edge of Norwich;
- **Coulby Newham**, on the south side of Middlesbrough;
- **Orton Goldhay** on the south-west side of Peterborough.

About the 'Twenty Years On' study

The research proposal was conceived with the first two mixed tenure case studies in mind, but with a view to finding a third case study that could be incorporated into the research. This mixed tenure case study was also to be (a) 20 years old and (b) planned with a view to promoting social contact between households. The research team consulted a large number of organisations and individuals in order to locate a suitable third case study site. These included government departments (e.g. ODPM), professional representative organisations (e.g. Chartered Institute of Housing), sectoral representative organisations (e.g. National Housing Federation), and academics and local authorities throughout the country. Significantly, these contacts were unable to identify a third case study site with some even suggesting that it was unlikely that such a site existed. Although we eventually located our third case study in the new town of Peterborough, our struggle to find it suggests that our case study areas were rare experiments rather than the products of mainstream thinking.

The research in the case study areas was undertaken using a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods (see Appendix One for a full description of the research method). First, census returns from 1981, 1991 and 2001 were analysed to provide a profile of socio-economic and demographic change in each of the case study areas. Second, a range of stakeholders were interviewed on an individual face-to-face basis, or in a focus group situation, in each case study. This range of stakeholders included the variety of professionals working in each area (e.g. housing officers, planning officers, school heads) as well as 'active residents' who were involved in community action in one way or another. Third, 'ordinary' residents were asked to keep a diary of their social activities and social interactions for a period of one week; some 30 households and approximately 50 diarists were involved in this

aspect of the research in each area.² A selection of these diarists were then interviewed on a face-to-face basis. Finally, children and young people were interviewed about their views and experiences of living in a mixed tenure housing development.

Key findings to emerge from the study

The following key findings emerged from the study, which are discussed in more detail in the chapters that follow:

- Generally speaking, the case study areas were desirable and contained a *limited social range* of residents.³ Thus all of the areas have consistently enjoyed low levels of unemployment and benefit dependency and house price rises that have been above their local authority average (see Chapters Two and Three).
- Owners and renters regarded themselves and each other as *'ordinary people'* and talked about how there were more similarities than differences between them. These similarities meant that owners and renters were either *positive about or ambivalent towards the issue of (mixed) tenure*, which was not used as an indicator of social status. This is significant because a number of housing researchers have found high levels of *'tenure prejudice'* against social renters over the last decade (see Chapter Four).
- *Housing design similarities* between owner occupied and rented housing also served to *blur the tenure distinction*. By concealing tenure differences, housing design *helped to emphasise similarities rather than differences between residents* and therefore counteracted the potential emergence of tenure prejudice.
- *Despite these similarities*, owners and renters were found to occupy *distinctive social worlds*. This meant that the opportunities for *social interaction between the two groups were limited* (see Chapter Four). Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, we found no evidence of a *'role model'* effect at work.
- Due to these similarities, *neighbouring owners and renters* that occasionally *'bumped into'* each other *'over the garden fence'* *had relationships that were 'civil' and 'polite' but not particularly close*. This meant that *inter-household co-operation* between neighbours tended to take place *on practical issues* (such as walking pets) *rather than personal issues*. Since neighbouring households knew very little about each other's personal situation (e.g. employment status) we were *only able to find one instance where unemployed households had found work as a result of informal help from a neighbour* (see Chapter Four).
- *Strong social ties* were found to exist between *children whose friendships were cross-tenure*. They were also found to exist within *kinship networks* which were

2. Diarists included a wide range of residents in terms of household type, age and length of residence. However, diarists were mainly women.

3. None of the areas were ethnically diverse.

supported by mixed tenure because, for example, young adults on low incomes who were forming new households were able to stay in the area because of the *range of affordable housing options available*. In turn, this meant that grandparents were easily available to provide support with, for example, child-care. Mixed tenure similarly supported parents that were experiencing ‘relationship breakdown’ because it enabled the parent that was required to leave the family home to stay in the area and therefore remain in regular contact with their children (see Chapter Four).

- Much of the *resident satisfaction* with these areas stemmed from the *high quality of the physical environment* and provision, from the early days, of a *range of local services*. *Mixed tenure was therefore only one element of this larger package*. Although owners are more likely to work and socialise away from the case study areas, there was variation across the case studies in this respect and many examples of owners and renters sharing a common interest in the local provision, notably schools but also shops and leisure facilities.
- Other elements of the *planned environment facilitated social interaction*, in particular the networks of pathways and cycle ways; this framework (together with the provision of quality play areas) was particularly important for children. In some areas, housing layout also contributed to social interaction.
- Overall, mixed tenure is no protection from broader social trends, for example, changing patterns of shopping (see Chapter Five).

Policy implications

These findings can be translated into a number of key policy implications. Specifically, our research seems to suggest that:

- *Residents of all tenures were satisfied with the mixed tenure framework, which they saw as ‘ordinary’*. This approach therefore provides one way of avoiding concentrations of poverty and the problems which arise from this.
- *The claims that have been made in relation to mixed tenure are probably exaggerated*. There was little or no evidence that mixed tenure produced ‘bridging’ social capital or a ‘role model’ effect. There was also little or no evidence that tenure mixing *in itself* affected the reputation of the areas, either positively or adversely.
- *There is a clear case to be made for mixed tenure, albeit one that has not been clearly articulated before*. Specifically, it could be argued that areas with a limited social range of residents, housing design similarities and a comprehensively planned environment help to produce civilised communities and a relative absence of tenure prejudice. A key justification for mixed tenure, then, could be that it might be a useful policy tool that can prevent *anti-social behaviour*.

- Another key rationale for *mixed tenure* (linked with a range of house types) is that it *can support extended family networks* and this is an important policy tool both for reconstituted families and for inter-generational support.
- *There is a case for either a segmented or a pepper-pot approach to mixed tenure.* However, in either situation, high quality housing and proper integration of tenure types are necessary to blur the tenure divide.
- *The importance of a high quality planned environment remains significant* even though widespread social changes have reduced the significance of the local environment and local facilities in many people's lives. Tenure mix, by itself will not guarantee the success of a development.

Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five discuss these findings in more detail whereas Chapter Six will discuss the policy and practice implications.

Chapter Two

Creating the mixed tenure communities

The overall context

The origins of all three case studies date from the 1960s and the widespread pressure for new housing being experienced at that time. The new forecasts of population growth and household formation, the lengthening housing waiting lists and the continuing need to replace inadequate, slum, housing, led to plans for new development. In Norwich and Middlesbrough, the new developments were local authority led, while, in Peterborough, the new housing was built under the New Towns Act. As well as general recognition of the need for new housing, this was a period of optimism and of confidence in the planning system and in public authorities. A range of public policy initiatives enabled these bodies to acquire the land for major new development and to pursue the social aims which they considered to be important (Appendix Nine sets this out in more detail, together with the key development milestones).

In all three areas, there was a determination to create a mix of tenures from the start and to provide local services before, or shortly after, people moved in. In part, this determination was a response to problems identified within earlier periods of social housing and town planning. The government of the time had expressed the wish that all new towns should have a balance of owner occupied and rented houses and it was hoped that the range of services already in place in Peterborough would help to attract managers and professionals as well as employees. In Norwich, where in 1971, 47 per cent of the housing was local authority built, there was a growing reaction against the large prewar and postwar council estates, and it was felt that a better approach would be to create 'pockets' of council housing.⁴ In both Norwich and Middlesbrough, councillors interviewed for this project, referred to their inspiration in terms of Nye Bevan's 1940s phrase '*the tapestry of a mixed community*'.

The case studies in outline

Table 1.1 sets out key characteristics of the three case study sites for ease of comparison, showing their setting, population and period of development. They are comparable in being at the edge of their respective built-up areas, some three to four miles from the centre of town. For Peterborough and Norwich, these are stand-alone cities, although in Norwich, a considerable suburban area lies outside the main local authority boundary; Middlesbrough forms part of the Teesside conurbation.

4. NCC: Policy Committee 27.04.72.

Table 1.1: The case studies – key characteristics

Location	Area of new development	Case study focus
Peterborough 2001 population: 156,061	Orton – a township planned for 25,500 population/6,800 dwellings. Built between 1974 and 1986. <i>2001 population: 23,167</i>	Orton Goldhay – one of the township neighbourhoods. Built between 1974 and 1984. <i>2001 population: 8,217</i>
Norwich 2001 population: 121,550	Bowthorpe – planned for 13,500 population/4,500 dwellings Started 1977. Ongoing 2004. <i>2001 population: 6,200</i>	Clover Hill (first village) and part of Chapel Break (second village) Built between 1977 and 1987. <i>2001 population: 5,900</i>
Middlesbrough 2001 population: 134,855	Coulby Newham – planned for 19,000 population/7,000 dwellings. Started 1978. Ongoing 2004. <i>2001 population: 8,700</i>	Neighbourhoods A and B Built between 1978 and 1986. <i>2001 population: 4,100</i>

Note: The discrepancies between the planned populations and the achievements to date in Bowthorpe and Coulby Newham stem from changing national policies on social housing affecting the rate of building, downward projections of population growth coupled with periods of low demand and financial difficulties in meeting major infrastructure requirements.

The overall planning concepts for each area were very similar, reflecting ‘best practice’ at the time. A main shopping centre was built in the heart of each development to provide shopping and services. The developments were subdivided on a neighbourhood or ‘village’ basis, with local shops and services provided, in the words of the Peterborough Master Plan (PDC, 1970), ‘*within pram-pushing distance of every home*’. Detail on these facilities is set out in the Summary Matrix at the end of this chapter and the impact of this aspect of the planned environment is explored further in Chapter Five. Other similarities were the exclusion of the main traffic flows, the creation of bus lanes and the creation of networks of cycle ways and footpaths. The housing was generally arranged in cul-de-sacs and there was a high standard of planting and play provision. The ‘green setting’ was seen as very important everywhere.

Establishing mixed tenure

Peterborough – Orton

From the outset, the aim was to create an area where people could live and work by attracting industry and business to the area coupled with providing housing choice. This approach encouraged people to move to the new township. Half of all houses were to be for newcomers who wanted to rent with the allocation of rented homes for Londoners being job led and limited to those with the skills needed by the new Peterborough industries.⁵

5. As illustrated further in Chapter Three, the allocation process was highly selective.

A small number of allocations were set aside for single parents, disabled people and others. Houses and plots for sale were advertised widely and purchasers could come from the outer metropolitan area or be existing Peterborough residents. Public and private housing was built in adjoining groups, generally with tenure types in specific cul-de-sacs and accommodation ranged from flats for single people to detached architect designed houses.

The development corporation was able to ensure that Orton Goldhay was built relatively quickly with few problems. They did not want to wait for private developers because the infrastructure would be underused and the early inhabitants would be subject to disturbance later. The corporation, therefore, built the majority of houses with as many as possible at the lower end of their density range (20-30 dwellings per hectare), so that they would be attractive for future purchase. The density for rented properties was 25-40 dwellings per hectare.

The development corporation favoured a pattern of segmented mixed tenure, i.e. blocks of each tenure type and the thinking is clearly spelt out in their *Master Plan*. The 'indiscriminate mixing up' of tenures was rejected, as it was felt that people would want to choose '*a congenial social ambience*' and to live '*among people of similar income and interests*'. Owner occupiers and tenants would, however, have '*a community of interest in the activities of the primary school and the quality of the shops and the parks and playing fields that will serve them*'. It was also noted that people tended to look after their homes better if they owned them and that a mixed tenure approach would '*counteract the tendency to regard a neighbourhood's type of tenure as its chief distinguishing characteristic*'. It was recognised that, in practice, there would be more intermingling in the early stages, as the development corporation was building some areas of housing which could be for rent or for sale.

Norwich – Bowthorpe

Here, the council allocated half the land for council housing and the rest of the land was sold on a block-by-block basis to private developers, housing associations, for self-build and for individual plots. All development blocks were limited to two hectares to ensure a genuine mix, with the different tenure types generally grouped in cul-de-sacs. Higher densities in the rented sector meant that, in practice, 60 per cent of the dwellings in the first village were local authority, although Bowthorpe was always referred to as half public and half private. Densities, particularly in the first village, were higher than for the other case studies, with blocks for owner occupation set at 35 dwellings per hectare and rented housing at 50-55 dwellings per hectare.

Initially, there was a hostile reaction to the concept of mixed tenure, particularly among local estate agents and mortgage lenders as they felt that mixed tenure did not suit 'the aspirational buyer'. To get the private housing element underway, the

council set up a private company which built the first two blocks allocated for owner occupation, some 66 dwellings in total. By late 1978, however, there was genuine interest from the private sector and, for a time, it was possible to keep the two strands of development in parallel.

The desire to prevent stigma was one of the main reasons why Norwich City Council wanted mixed tenure. However, the documentation tends to take the policy for granted. The *Master Plan* (NCC, 1974) and promotional literature describe Bowthorpe in terms of 'community' and promote it as 'a pleasant place to live'. The development 'was not for any one section of society but for everyone' and therefore (without further discussion) there would be a complete mix of all the varying forms of housing likely to be needed. The *Master Plan* focuses primarily on design, layout and programming. The system of releasing land for development in blocks was selected as the most coherent way of managing such a major project and, in effect, this determined the approach to tenure mix. The positive advantages of mixed tenure for schools were also a consideration (Camina, 1980). Council policies had already been developed to ensure a mix of ability in secondary schools, using a banding system, and the lack of mix (at primary level) on the large council estates was an identified problem. The then leader of the council is remembered as saying 'what we have to have is schools where some kids in every classroom have pianos in their sitting room', surely an eloquent expression of the 'role model' theory of tenure mix.

Middlesbrough – Coulby Newham

The development brief for the first phase of housing at Coulby Newham, published in 1974 included a council estate, a private estate and an integrated council/private estate. These 'estates', equivalent to the Bowthorpe development blocks, comprised up to 150 dwellings in a single tenure. Subsequent development briefs and the *Review of the Master Plan* (MBC, 1976) drew on a Housing Working Party Report – *Social Balance, Integration and Housing Need for Coulby Newham* and emphasised:

... support facilities, an environment of the highest standards (and) a high degree of social balance and cohesion.

As in Norwich, which was visited by Middlesbrough officers and members in 1977, there was some opposition to the mixed tenure proposals from people who thought that 'provision of council housing in South Middlesbrough would have a damaging effect on the value and environment of private houses' (MBC, 1977). However, the council reiterated their desire to achieve social balance and integration, which meant that:

... different age groups, socio-economic groups, ethnic groups and household sizes are all represented in the new community in the same proportion as they are found in the Borough as a whole.

And that:

... individuals are not separated into various groups of one kind but are encouraged to mix freely by the disposition of housing areas and related community and commercial facilities. (MBC, 1977).

In the early stages of the development, the council retained the land and commissioned the private developments under licence. It also committed itself to good design and a good environment, with 20-35 dwellings per hectare in the private sector and 35-45 dwellings per hectare in the rented sector. There were also a number of innovative features such as a shared equity scheme supported by the council, self-build and housing co-operatives and, notably, one estate – Hollowfield – with a mixture of 52 private and 52 rented dwellings next door to each other as alternating semi-detached houses.

The pattern of mixed tenure

Although most of the initial mixed tenure housing was developed in a ‘segmented’ way, Hollowfield (above) provided a more integrated form of tenure mix from the start. Also, in each development, houses of different tenure might share access roads or parking areas, the latter being a particular feature in Orton, designed specifically to encourage interaction between owners and renters. In addition, houses of different tenure might adjoin, face each other across the road or back on to each other so that the ‘*join between public-private*’ was difficult to identify (Bowthorpe, professional).

In Coulby Newham, the visual blurring of the tenure divide was particularly convincing and there were anecdotes about people asking about the price of particular houses and being astounded to find that they were council houses.

In Orton Goldhay, a gradual integration of tenures was envisaged from the start; development corporation stock, initially available for rent, was built with a view to selling and immediately promoted in this way.

The changing balance of tenures

Figure 2.1 shows the how tenure in the case study areas compared with their host city/borough, both in 1981 and 2001 and shows the changes within the areas. The 1981 Census captures an early stage in their development. All had a high proportion of social housing. In part this reflects the slower pace of private development but, in Bowthorpe, it reflected the Council’s aim of obtaining 50 per cent council housing as against 50 per cent from all other tenures and was close to the overall Norwich position.

Figure 2.1: Changing tenure mix

	1981	1991 Percentages	2001
Bowthorpe – Clover Hill			
Owner occupied	26.3	44.4	43.7
LA/DC	54.5	37.6	33.4
HA	17.7	13.6	15.5
Other	1.5	4.4	7.3
Bowthorpe – Chapel Break			
Owner occupied	N/A	45.1	54.7
LA/DC	N/A	41.2	19.6
HA	N/A	10.4	20.4
Other	N/A	3.4	5.3
Norwich			
Owner occupied	35.5	46.8	48.9
LA/DC	50.4	37.3	31.0
HA	3.4	4.3	5.2
Other	10.7	11.5	14.8
Coulby Newham – A			
Owner occupied	27.7	48.4	51.6
LA/DC	55.3	40.2	28.8
HA	15.3	8.1	13.8
Other	1.8	3.4	5.8
Coulby Newham – B			
Owner occupied	N/A	33.5	40.1
LA/DC	N/A	65.9	48.3
HA	N/A	0.0	3.6
Other	N/A	0.6	8.0
Middlesbrough			
Owner occupied	53.7	60.9	61.4
LA/DC	37.0	27.9	21.0
HA	3.6	5.2	7.2
Other	5.8	5.9	10.4
Orton Goldhay			
Owner occupied	21.4	52.7	55.0
LA/DC	72.3	35.2	25.2
HA	5.5	6.7	7.9
Other	0.8	5.4	11.9
Peterborough			
Owner occupied	51.7	64.6	66.4
LA/DC	36.9	20.9	15.8
HA	3.7	5.0	5.9
Other	7.7	8.8	11.9

Summary Matrix – The provision of services within the developments

THE DEVELOPMENTS	ORTON	BOWTHORPE	COULBY NEWHAM
Neighbourhoods/villages	6	3	5
Primary Schools	6	3	3
Secondary Schools	2	None	1
Churches	5	Single Worship Centre in main centre	3 (1 ecumenical)
Employment area	1	1 + PH and Bowls	
THE MAIN CENTRES	ORTON	BOWTHORPE	COULBY NEWHAM
Supermarket	☼	◆	◆
Other retail/services	11 units	13 units	14 units + 15 market
Take-away food	◆	◆◆	◆◆◆
Cafe	◆	◆	◆◆
Public house	◆	◆	◆
Bank/Building society	◆◆	◆	
Estate agent		◆	◆
Petrol station	◆	☼	◆
Sub post office	◆	◆	◆
Health centre	◆	◆	◆
Vet			◆
Family centre	Including Sure Start		
Community centre/social club	◆ (and advice centre)		◆
Library	◆		◆
Leisure centre/swimming	◆		◆
Police station	Part time	Part time	◆
Fire station			◆
Housing office	◆		◆
THE CASE STUDY AREAS	Orton Goldhay	Clover Hill/Chapel Break	Neighbourhoods A and B
Local shopping centres	1	2 planned, 1 built, now just one shop plus Sure Start	2 planned and built, now just single shops
Single local shops	◆	See above	See above
Housing office	◆	Part time	
Local post office	◆		
Halls/meeting rooms	◆◆	◆◆	◆◆◆
Local public house	◆	2 planned, 1 built and now closed	◆

Key: ◆ Indicates presence of the facility in 2004, mainly provided as the population moved in
☼ Indicates that the facility has been available in the past but no longer exists

In **Orton Goldhay**, the development corporation stepped up the promotion of the sale of its homes from 1979 onwards. By 1988, approximately 5,000 tenants had acquired their homes, a third of the total PDC homes. The rate of completion of homes for rent then lagged behind the rate of sales. In 1988 itself, for example, 350 new lettings were built but 600 were sold. By 1991 continued sales (now from the local authority and under the right to buy) combined with private sector developments had transformed the area with only 42 per cent of the stock available to rent from the local authority or housing associations. Despite a slight growth in the proportion of housing association stock over the next ten years, the area continued to experience a growth in owner occupation and by 2001, 55 per cent was owner occupied.

In **Coulby Newham and Bowthorpe**, the councils found that government policies of the 1980s impacted on their original plans in two ways:

- Right to buy was introduced in 1980 and gathered momentum over the decade.
- Fiscal constraints first slowed down the building of council housing and then brought it to a halt and while housing association development continued, it was not at the rate which had been anticipated.

As renters exercised the right to buy, a more even split between owners and renters emerged, involving a more integrated form of tenure mix. By 2004, about 40 per cent of the original council dwellings in Bowthorpe had been purchased and 37 per cent in Coulby Newham.⁶ In the Hollowfield estate where private and council housing were originally fully integrated, the take-up has been particularly high and almost all of those that are eligible have now been sold. While this demonstrates the popularity of the area, it has meant that there is no longer a mix of tenures.

In the light of the fiscal constraints, both councils had to modify their development plans. In 1988, Norwich City Council abandoned their intention of using half the **Bowthorpe** land for council housing but decided instead to aim for balancing the numbers of 'rented' (including housing association) and 'owner occupied' houses. Even this has proved difficult to achieve and by 2001, the second village was 55 per cent owner occupied compared to 44 per cent in the first village. Since the census, there has been a predominance of private development in the third village, as well as an apparent increase in the buy to let market, fuelled by the proximity of the university and hospital and by the stamp duty exemption for properties of less than £150,000 introduced in November 2001. The owner focus group indicated some unease with this trend, as the new renters, often students, nurses or people renting on a short-term basis, are seen as having little commitment to the area.

6. Figures obtained from the respective housing departments. The percentages are higher for houses, as bungalows for older people and some flats are not available for sale.

In **Coulby Newham**, Neighbourhood A, which was 72 per cent rented in 1981, had a 50:50 split by 2001, as a result of additional private development, combined with the take-up of the right to buy. Neighbourhood B, which was developed after 1981, was originally 76 per cent rented and, by 2001, was 40 per cent privately owned. Later phases of development (Neighbourhoods C and E) were, however, affected by spending controls and the decline in public resources so that most of the schemes in the south of Coulby Newham were private developments although there was some ongoing housing association activity.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the development of these areas from their initial identification as locations for new housing and shown why and how mixed tenure came about. Although in 1981, they were predominantly composed of social housing, they were viewed by the planners and politicians as something more ambitious – mixed tenure communities, with a high quality environment and services to match. What this has meant in practice for the incoming residents is explored in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three

Reputations, 'realities' and stigma

The early days

In each of the case study areas long standing residents looked back warmly on the early days of settlement. Those who had lived there since the start had a sense of being pioneers, still in 2004. The accounts of early residents describe new properties, newly planted trees and shrubs, getting to know new neighbours and coping with the mud:

There was quite a lot of co-operation because people didn't know how the lights worked, didn't know where the mains were and so on (Bowthorpe, renter).

The early Coulby Newham was described as being 'a bit like a holiday camp' (Coulby Newham, owner occupier) and in Orton people recalled the local vicar (Mick the Vic) who:

... would be given a list of who'd moved in and he would come round on the evening or the following day and just say 'Is everything alright' (Orton, owner).

Long standing residents also talked appreciatively of the good community spirit and local facilities. Mixed tenure was also often seen as a very positive feature. An active resident and member of a housing co-operative said:

I liked the idea of the different types of housing, such as self-build, council, private etc. We weren't just stuck [in] a big estate that was one or the other (Coulby Newham, renter).

Residents recounted how they had moved in with young children or just prior to starting a family. In Orton, where many of the original residents had relocated from London, for example, a focus group participant explained that her main reason for moving was that this would be a better place for her child.

The 1981 Census reveals that families with children formed just over 60 per cent of households in Bowthorpe, and nearly half of the households in Orton Goldhay. However, the overall proportion of children in their populations was not so different, suggesting that larger, more established, families were settling in Orton Goldhay. In contrast, families with children formed only one third of the total households in Coulby Newham and the overall age profile reflected that of Middlesbrough as a whole (see Appendix Two). Other early characteristics of the areas can be related to the way in which the rented housing was allocated. In Peterborough, the vetting went beyond a test of employability:

In those days you had to be vetted, somebody had to come into my home in London and interview me to find out what I was all about and what I had planned and what I had hoped for in the new environment and they sent in a report and if you didn't pass, you didn't get a house (Orton, owner).

Similarly, in Coulby Newham, it was suggested by an active resident that the early allocation of council property was 'very selective' and this was confirmed by a council officer who had worked in the area from a very early stage. A local councillor explained how the plan for the area had included a strong emphasis on community participation and that part of the rationale for having a housing co-operative and self-build scheme was that this would attract those who were interested in participating in community affairs. In Bowthorpe, the higher proportions of lone parents and families with children serve to confirm that allocations were made from the waiting and transfer lists according to established procedures, without special vetting. (see Appendix Three). By early 1981, estate agents were complaining to the council that too many problem families were being housed in the area.

Reputations

External perceptions about the relative desirability of the areas have varied. Bowthorpe, for example, had a poor image from the start and this has persisted despite the continued enthusiasm of local residents. Orton Goldhay's reputation has declined despite early popularity but it too retains the support of local people. Coulby Newham in contrast has always enjoyed a good reputation and continues to be seen as a desirable area in which to live. These perceptions have been influenced by a number of factors including media coverage, actual and perceived tenure mix and the layout and design of the three areas.

There was a consensus among key stakeholders and active residents that Bowthorpe had received a bad press from the start and this was reiterated extensively in both focus groups. A participant in the owner occupier focus group commented, for example:

... [the press] focused on Bowthorpe because it was so new ... I think that any press ... at that time (1977) ... wasn't that much good, ... it was negative when it started and I think that's why. It's like everywhere, it's always the bad things that get reported. It's just not given a good press.

A local resident thought new properties to be desirable and found it difficult to understand why the area gained such a reputation from the outset:

What's wrong with this place? Why has it got such a bad name? I couldn't understand it, you know, because where I come from if there's anything new everybody wants to

move there and yet here it was sort of like 'oh nobody would want to live out there you know'. Well I couldn't quite understand what it was all about you know because to me, as I say, I've never looked back.

Beyond the apparent rejection of 'the new', however, there were indications that the stigma was associated with a tenure prejudice. Interestingly, for example, the term Bowthorpe was often used, in a restricted way, to refer to Clover Hill (the earliest village to be developed): an area with the highest proportion of council properties. Where possible, it was suggested, local residents avoided using Bowthorpe in their address because of the association with Clover Hill, although some were clearly unhappy about this trend.

A discussion in the owner occupier focus group revealed that some residents in the third village that was just being developed were using the name of a nearby rural village in preference to Bowthorpe. One participant reported how he'd been told that this practice could add three thousand pounds to the value of a property and it was suggested that this was often the way property in the third village 'Three Score' was marketed:

I think it was estate agents giving it a negative image in terms of 'oh no, you don't want to move there', and we couldn't understand why, when we moved in, and we still can't understand why and we've been here 20 plus years. Err, I've noticed how Bowthorpe as a term is not really used that much, if people want to sell property, they don't live in Bowthorpe, they live in Chapel Break or they live in Three Score not Bowthorpe.

In Orton Goldhay the reputation did not seem as entrenched and initially the owner occupier focus group seemed reluctant to accept that there was any stigma associated with their area. However, when they were asked about how outsiders might perceive their area, focus group participants talked about outsider prejudice based on tenure assumptions. A participant in the renter focus group, for example, explained her perception of the stereotyping that applies to council tenants:

I mean there is an assumption obviously, that people, maybe, maybe this again is in my head, that people that are in council houses are druggies, on the dole, or this, this and this, and so there is that sometimes whereas there can be people that are on income support like myself that aren't necessarily doing all those things.

A number of researchers have highlighted the extent to which 'tenure prejudice' permeates the British housing system (Gurney, 1999) to the extent that even young people have been found to exhibit prejudices towards social renting (Rowlands and Gurney, 2000). It is unsurprising, then, that tenure prejudice was present on the mixed tenure estates but, significantly, this was among people that were newcomers to the case study areas:

Orton, owner: My boyfriend thinks it [mixed tenure] keeps prices down ... I haven't really noticed it to be honest ... I think he thinks that the car is going to be stolen and

things like that he did at first when he first moved to Orton because he moved from Glington which is a little village outside.

Interviewer: *And how long has he lived in Orton?*

Orton, owner: *Less than a year I think he came to Orton thinking it was a bit of you know a place that you might get your car stolen, your house broken into.*

Indeed, these newcomers exhibited tenure prejudice even though the problems they foresaw on mixed tenure estates had also occurred in the mono-tenure areas where they had previously lived. Notwithstanding the positive reasons given for moving into the case study areas (see above), a few owners that had moved from London to Peterborough talked about how they would have chosen to live elsewhere if they had been more 'clued up' about the stigma attached to Orton Goldhay:

If we'd never lived in Peterborough or had not done the kind of work that we'd done we probably wouldn't be living in Orton because having gone to work people said, oh don't move to Orton, oh that's a bit dodgy you know sort of thing and we would have been looking for something probably that we couldn't afford but ... in what other people determined was a nicer area (Orton, owner).

A local council officer suggested that the problem reflected the broader rejection of social housing, indicated by the decline in the number of successions, but a housing association officer suggested that the situation in Orton Goldhay was made worse by its association with the problems at the Orton centre (see Chapter Five). In contrast to the experience of residents in Bowthorpe and Orton Goldhay, residents and key stakeholders in Coulby Newham reported that they had never experienced any form of stigma. The assumptions of outsiders, it was suggested, were that if you lived in Coulby Newham then you must be 'posh'. Most people, it was claimed, assumed that Coulby Newham was a private area and active residents and focus group participants – owners and renters – recounted how outsiders were surprised when you informed them that you lived in the area. A tenant said some say, '*what are you doing up there?*' (implying, how can you afford that) and an owner reported how an acquaintance outside of the area had said to her, '*Oh, you must have some money*'.

While in Bowthorpe it was suggested that some of the stigma might relate to its association with a neighbouring council estate, in Coulby Newham the area was regularly contrasted with, and distanced from, a neighbouring council estate of some alleged infamy. While residents were well aware of the stigma associated with renting their experience in Coulby Newham had been very different. An ex-council tenant who had bought in the area made the following contribution in the owner occupier focus group:

The thing that strikes me about the area, and you keep asking about mixed tenure and all that, council areas in the past have had a bad press, you don't need to know who lives there, it is a council estate, 'scum of the earth', you know. I've lived on one all my

life, I can say that, do you know what I mean? But then this area that I live in now, was still a council estate when I moved in. My house was a council property, it just gives people the chance to get out of a horrible council area, and come to a really nice area (Coulby Newham, owner).

'Realities' and stigma

Despite the stigma faced to a lesser or greater degree in Bowthorpe and Orton Goldhay, residents' life experiences across the three case studies were described positively. Residents suggested that their areas offered adequate if not excellent accommodation and amenities and these views were supported in the key stakeholder interviews and by secondary source data. Consequently, there was considerable bemusement about the critical views of outsiders, and residents reported the manner in which they challenged them.

Housing

The affordability of the homes for sale together with the quality of the environment was an important factor in attracting residents to these locations. Houses in Bowthorpe were described as cheaper than elsewhere in Norwich, and as being better 'value for money' in Coulby Newham and Orton Goldhay. In Orton Goldhay a participant who had moved from London commented that she had never expected that she would get a bungalow with a garden and in Coulby Newham a focus group participant mentioned that she had never thought that she would be able to afford a detached house.

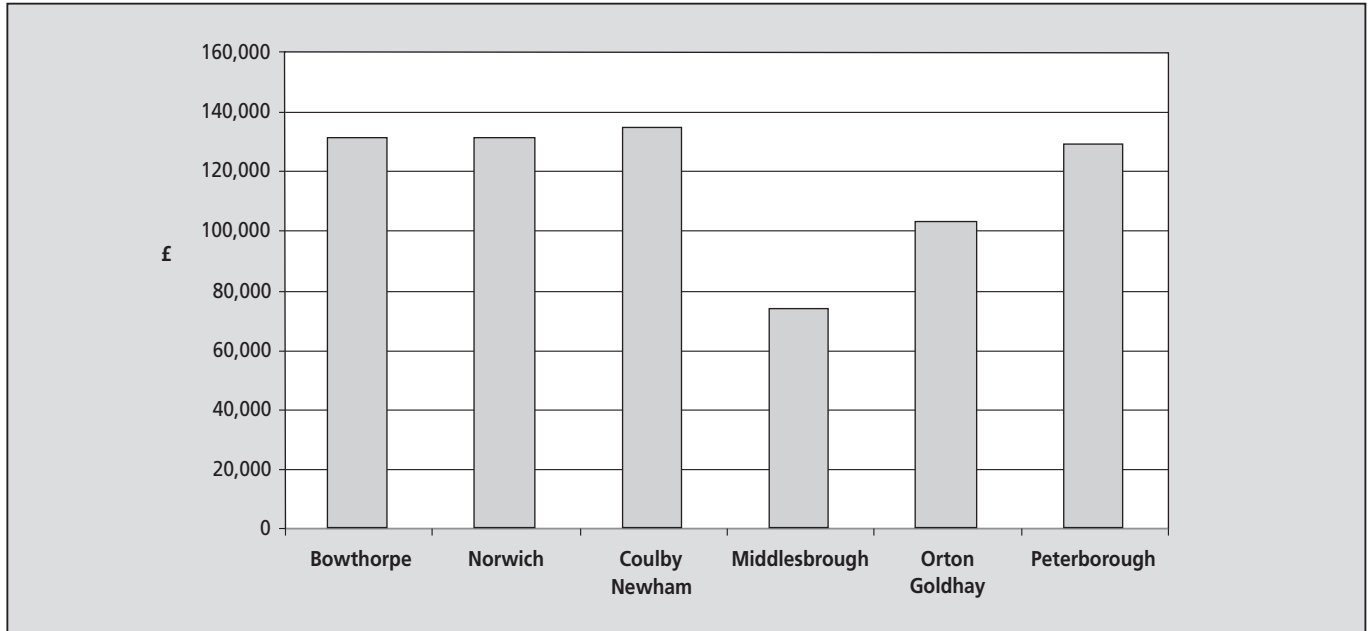
All three study areas were described as high demand areas for rented accommodation by housing association and council officers. In Orton Goldhay council officers reported that vacants were turned around rapidly with minimal re-let times and indicated that there were no hard-to-let properties and a large waiting list for properties in the area. Similarly, there was no hard-to-let property in Bowthorpe, although there was a view that this may simply reflect high demand across the city. In Coulby Newham council officers reported that there were only 71 council tenants on the transfer list and all but two of these wished to remain within the area. The local councillor claimed that there was a fight for people to get into the area and reported that he received on average one call a week from people wishing to relocate there. A housing association officer also suggested high demand for their properties:

... they want to stay on the scheme and move to bigger properties. It is not often that I get flats free.

House price data also demonstrates high demand for properties across the case study areas. Coulby Newham is alone in enjoying average values that exceed those of its local authority area but all three areas have experienced faster house price rises (over the last five years) than their respective local authority area and than

national increases (see Appendix Four). Focus group participants provided general accounts of house price rises in all three areas although in Bowthorpe and Orton Goldhay it was recognised that the values were below comparable properties elsewhere in the local authority areas.

Figure 3.1: Average house prices (Q1, 2004)



Source: Land Registry.

Stable populations

Another important indicator of the relative desirability of all three areas was the stability of the populations. In each case study area the populations have aged – notably so in Bowthorpe – and there has been a drop, to varying degrees in the number of young people under 29 years (see Appendix Two). While the pattern of change reflects that of the wider local authority area in each case, the scale of the change is more dramatic than the average.

In Coulby Newham the pressure had been felt in relation to demand for certain types of properties. Key stakeholders suggested that there was a shortage of older persons' accommodation as those who had grown old in the area wanted to stay. There was some suggestion that Coulby Newham and Orton Goldhay acted as a stepping-stone for some while those living in Bowthorpe tended not to move on.

Deprivation

The government's 2004 Index of Multiple Deprivation⁷ (IMD) demonstrates that all three case study areas have higher levels of deprivation than the national average.

7. The IMD is calculated at the geographical level of Super Output Area (SOA). SOAs are smaller than wards and have been constructed from Census Output Areas – the smallest geographical level at which census results are available.

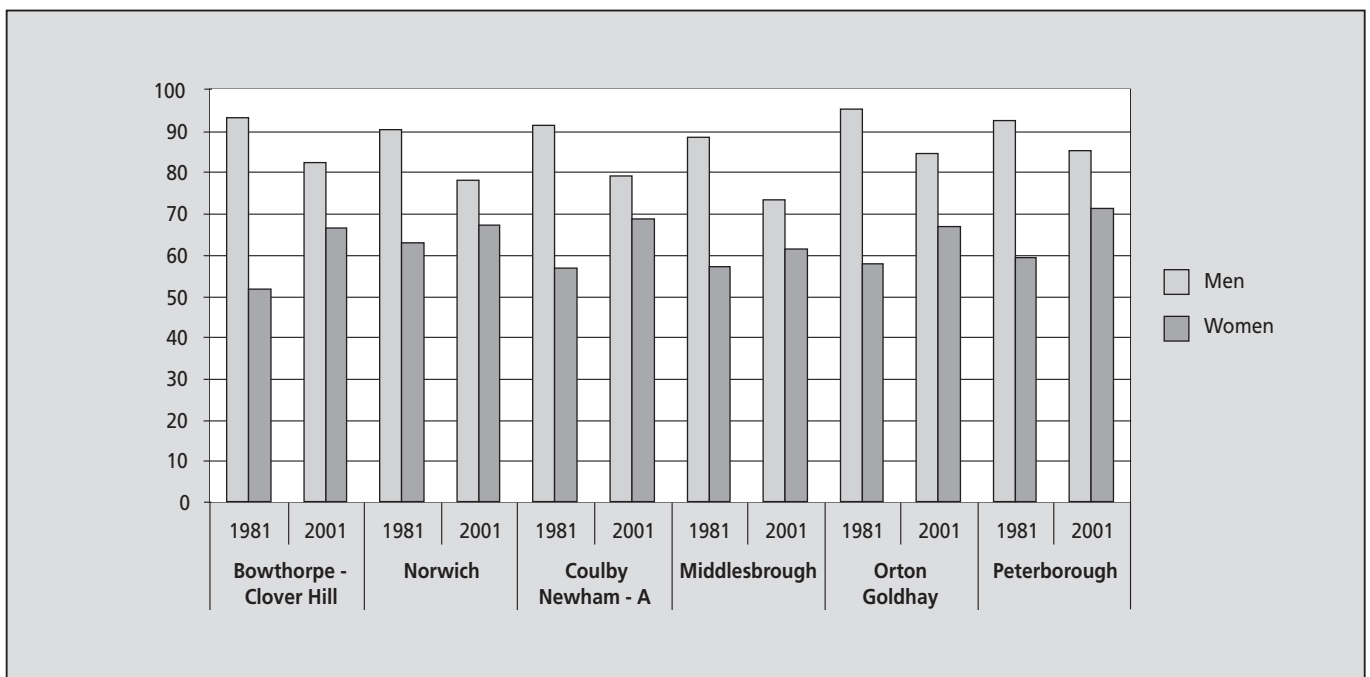
Bowthorpe is the most deprived and all but one of its five Super Output Areas (SOAs) fall within the top 25 per cent nationally. Coulby Newham and Orton Goldhay are by comparison less deprived. While Coulby Newham has one very deprived SOA (in the top 10 per cent nationally), two have levels of deprivation below the national average (including one SOA that falls within the 20 per cent least deprived SOAs nationally) and Orton Goldhay has one. Interestingly the most deprived and the least deprived SOA in Coulby Newham are adjacent and both cut across a major road from the more affluent Neighbourhood B into the more recent and less socially mixed Neighbourhood C.

The position of the case study areas within their respective local authorities suggests that while Bowthorpe and Orton Goldhay were accommodating similar levels of relative deprivation, Coulby Newham was a comparatively up market area. While all but one of the SOAs in Bowthorpe and Orton Goldhay had deprivation levels above the local authority median, Coulby Newham only had one such SOA (see Appendix Six).

Employment

In line with wider national trends, the male rates of employment have dropped and female rates have increased in all three case study areas. Coulby Newham and Bowthorpe have, however, improved their position against their local authority rates and, while Orton Goldhay falls short of the Peterborough figures, it has better employment rates than the other case study areas and compares well with national averages (see Figure 3.2 and Appendix Five).

Figure 3.2: Economically active (percentage)



Source: 1981 Census and 2001 Census.

Crucially, in all three areas residents wished to contrast their area with that of other nearby estates where they claimed the unemployment rate were much higher. In Coulby Newham there was a suggestion that perceptions about the 'up market' nature of the area had an impact upon economic activity. When asked whether there was a high or low level of employment, a participant in the owner occupier focus group claimed it was quite good:

Because you think of Coulby Newham as a private area, you think of people having a job to be able to afford the area and, whether that's false or not, it's an image you get in your mind ... Therefore it's a domino effect.

In Bowthorpe a council officer claimed that a lot of people moved into the area in the 1980s 'as a last resort' because they were out of work, but participants in the renter focus group claimed that the employment situation was now better than in other estates.

Crime and nuisance

Crime and nuisance issues were raised in all the focus group discussions but participants tended to stress that the situation was no worse than in other places. The problems mainly concerned general nuisance and anti-social behaviour. Specific mention of crime was largely restricted to one off incidents, such as burglaries and car crime.

In Bowthorpe the noise and neighbour nuisance was partly attributed to poor design standards, especially the housing densities. Concern was also expressed about the behaviour of students, in private rented accommodation. In Coulby Newham the main nuisance issues were reported to be the noise of cars and motorbikes but these were not generally thought to be serious. These problems were attributed to a minority of residents, both owners and renters, but when asked directly whether the tenure mix had made a difference to the level of crime, owner occupiers and renters were ambivalent.

The general view about levels of crime and nuisance was supported by the comments made by stakeholders. An estate agent operating in the Bowthorpe area indicated that crime levels were '*no worse than any other area, and better than some*'; a council officer in Orton Goldhay suggested that there was crime and some anti-social behaviour, '*but not on a large scale*'; and in Coulby Newham, a council officer suggested that '*complaints about kids playing football*' is about the worst that they get. The local councillor said the area was '*as quiet as a graveyard*'.

Dealing with stigma

Given the relative desirability and the popularity of all the case study areas it was not surprising that the residents of Bowthorpe and Orton Goldhay sought to challenge the stigma that they faced. In Bowthorpe, for example, an estate agent reported how active local residents had taken out a full-page advert to challenge the negative attitudes. One resident described her response to the prejudice of outsiders:

I always ask them, 'have they been there?' There are parts of Norwich that are far worse than Bowthorpe, especially going up in the thirties, forties, fifties. You've got all that there and they talk about Bowthorpe, its ridiculous. It really annoyed me when I first came here, you weren't given a chance to live here and develop (Bowthorpe, owner occupier).

A similar defensive reaction was apparent in Orton Goldhay but this did not appear to have been translated into a practice of challenging responses to implied criticism. A participant in the renter focus group could not understand why people were so critical:

I listen sometimes to other people talk about Orton like oh it's the scourge of the earth and it's not, I don't think it's worse than any other place, we have good people, we have bad people, we have a mix but luckily I think we have bit more good ones than bad ones – God bless us.

The consensus was that neither estate was so very different to anywhere else and certainly not as bad as they had been painted.

It's not a stereotypical council estate. Not by any means ... It's very different I suppose [but] that's the pitch people have if they haven't been (Orton, renter).

Conclusion

From their early days onwards all three case study areas have remained popular with their residents and their current experience is generally positive. The high demand for rented property and their disproportionately higher house price rises suggest that these areas are clearly not places of last resort. Their populations appear relatively stable and people generally do not wish to move away. All areas showed higher deprivation levels than average but did not have large concentrations of severe disadvantage, nor the problems that tend to be associated with such areas. In each case the local employment situation was reasonably healthy and problems with crime and nuisance were not thought to be serious. The Coulby Newham case study emerges as more up market within the broader context of its local authority area. Bowthorpe and Orton Goldhay had, despite the loyalty of their residents, been stigmatised whereas Coulby Newham faced no such problem.

The tenure mix appeared to have improved the relative desirability of the three study areas. While there are several factors that should be taken into account, including the design and quality of the planned and natural environment, it would appear that the mix allowed people, to varying degrees, to distance themselves from the prejudice that is frequently faced by those living on council estates. In this way the areas provided, to greater or lesser degrees, a high quality of life and an opportunity for some to break out of the downward spiral associated with concentrated disadvantage elsewhere.

Chapter Four

From ordinariness to neighbourliness

Introduction

Chapters Two and Three showed that, on most indicators, the case study areas were desirable areas to live in from the outset. Vetting and selection procedures in Orton and Coulby Newham ensured that the case study areas attracted socially mobile households whilst avoiding concentrations of so-called 'problem households'. Chapter Three also showed that all three of the case study areas have remained attractive places to live for these social groups over the last 20 years, albeit to differing degrees. Unemployment and benefit dependency have been consistently low in all three areas, when compared with the average figures for their host local authority area. Similarly, all three case study areas have consistently enjoyed high levels of demand for rented housing and house price rises that have been higher than their host local authority average. In other words, a range of statistics as well as the majority of resident interviewees suggested that the case study areas contained a 'limited social range' of mainly 'ordinary people' but with small pockets of deprived households.

The 'ordinariness' of mixed tenure estates

Owners and renters said that their first-hand experience of the case study areas was that they contained a limited social range of residents and were therefore relatively desirable places to live.

I might be wrong but I don't think that generally we've got such a wide variation [of people] here as we might have, as you might get in other places (Bowthorpe, owner).

I wouldn't want to live on any other council or rental run estate in preference to this one ... I'd say its the best in the area, definitely, yes. I wouldn't want to move (Coulby Newham, renter).

This meant that people living on the mixed tenure estates felt easily able to identify with each other as broadly similar and did not, therefore, feel that they were surrounded by people that were significantly 'different' from themselves. One of the strongest themes to emerge from the coding exercise, then, concerned the perceived *relative* lack of social distinction between residents who regarded each other as 'basically the same'. Thus, renters and owners said that they did not think that council renters and owner occupiers were 'very different':

I personally would not think that anybody was very different between whether they're renting their house off the council or buying and I really don't know why this great big emphasis (Bowthorpe, renter).

[The man] who lives in the council houses just across the road here ... He's a smashing bloke you know, just ordinary people like us, you know. People are people and you get good and bad everywhere don't you, in all walks of life (Coulby Newham, owner).

As the above quotation indicates, owners and renters emphasised the 'ordinariness' of their estates. Their estates were said to be 'pretty much like anywhere else' and therefore largely unproblematic rather than places that were populated with people that were different or *more* problematic:

I mean we've never had no problems living here in all the time that we've been here we've had one attempted break-in which was probably about three years ago, both of us were out and somebody tried to get in the lounge window, but the next door neighbour heard them and disturbed them and chased them off (Orton, renter).

As far as residents were concerned, then, there were no perceived social class differences between owners and renters or parts of the estates that were owner occupied and parts of the estate that were rented:

Orton Goldhay. Orton Wistow. Orton Brimbles. Malborne. No. There's not a class distinction or anything like that (Orton, renter).

Renters talked about how only a 'small minority' of owners were 'snobby' and 'looked down' on them:

I've had private properties before. I know who owns them all right. It didn't matter to me that I owned it or I rented it, to me it's the same isn't it, mortgage has to be paid or rent has to be paid. A lot of the people round here that have bought it tend to look down on the people that are renting, there's a few in particular, well three I could name in particular ... The only way I can put it is they've never actually owned a house before and they don't know how to deal with it ... I would say it was a very small minority, very small (Coulby Newham, renter).

Interviews with school children found that many did have critical comments to make: they did not like the dog mess, litter, graffiti and vandalism affecting their area and neither did they like seeing drinking, drugs and fights. Nevertheless, these things did not appear to be overwhelming concerns. Pupils at secondary school also thought that the case study areas were '*... pretty ordinary – a normal place to live basically*'. The younger children were enthusiastic, particularly about the different parks and the wilderness areas which provided special places for play.

An ambivalence towards (mixed) tenure

Interviewees regarded their estates, and the households that populated them, as 'ordinary' and 'pretty much the same as everywhere else'. When interviewees were asked about their attitudes towards mixed tenure, they felt ambivalent towards it. Mixed tenure was not something that interviewees felt a strongly about in either a positive or a negative sense because they 'could not say much about the benefits but it had not caused them any problems either':

Bowthorpe, renter: *I can't say there's any real benefits that jump out at me.*

Interviewer: *How about any problems?*

Bowthorpe, renter: *No not really.*

As mixed tenure did not seem to cause problems, residents tended to regard it as a 'non-issue' and therefore did not waste their time 'thinking about it' or 'paying attention to it':

I don't really think about [social mix] that much ... I think there are people who are better off but generally I think its pretty standard. I don't think it's got many particularly rich people ... [Mixed tenure] probably hasn't made a lot of difference to me (Bowthorpe, owner).

[Mixed tenure] is not a problem. You don't really think about it really ... you think about just getting on with your life ... It doesn't present a problem at all (Coulby Newham, owner).

Children felt similarly ambivalent towards the issue of tenure. When the eight-year olds described their own or their friends' houses, tenure did not feature in their discussions. They were not always clear about the tenure of their own homes, although one group of houses on Bowthorpe were described as the Bovis homes. The 11 year olds were clearer about whether their home was council, housing association or purchased, but even the younger teenagers were not always certain. Asked whether her (purchased council house) was owned or rented, one 14 year old's response was, *'I think we own it but I'm not sure'*. The only spontaneous reference to 'council housing' in all the school-based discussions was in one of the Coulby Newham groups who were excited at recognising houses in a photograph. In response to a question about whether they liked the 'council part', they gave a non-committal response: it was *'alright'*. One boy here (aged eight, living in a housing association area) talked about walking through his favourite place – a council estate:

You get to see lots of lovely things, cats, people you know and you can smell the lovely flowers.

Teenagers similarly did not exhibit tenure prejudiced attitudes (i.e. they 'had nothing against' renters or renting). However, they did articulate *personal preferences* in relation to tenure. For these teenagers currently living in council

housing, their aspirations and, indeed, expectations were to become owner occupiers:

I'll probably go for a flat first of all, because it's hard to live on your own but when I get like a girl-friend or something I'll probably move into or buy a house or something (15 year old boy).

And,

If I have a family I'd like to have a bought house and have a stable atmosphere. I'd like a stable family.

Interviewer: *What do you think are the advantages of a bought house?*

13 year old girl: *You'd probably get it in a nicer area I should think, I'm not sure.*

Nevertheless, there were some signs of changing attitudes towards renting. For example, one Coulby Newham teenager mentioned how he did not now:

... see renting as much dead money as it was, it still is to an extent but not as much as it was 'cos mortgages are just crazy (19 year old, owner household).

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Residents' perceptions of mixed tenure estates as 'ordinary places' populated by 'ordinary people', in which tenure is a non-issue, can be interpreted as indicative of a lack of barriers to social mixing within the estates. This was certainly the case for one owner who thought that residents living in different tenures and from different social backgrounds '*mixed quite well*':

Yes I think so, yes, I think different classes mix quite well, I find you know all different walks of life (Orton, owner).

Nevertheless, this comment that residents from different tenures and backgrounds '*mixed quite well*' was articulated in a particular way. On the one hand, like Atkinson and Kintrea (2001) we found that owners and renters tended to occupy distinct social worlds which limited their opportunities for social mixing *in general*. For example, one renter noted how:

A lot of the ones that have bought the houses ... to pay for these houses they're out most of the day working and you don't get to necessarily interact with those ... With the house prices at the moment you don't see them (Orton, renter).

On the other hand, this lack of *general* social contact between owners and renters did not mean that *significant* social relationships did not exist between them. First, owners and renters occasionally 'bumped into each other' or 'met over the fence'.⁸

8. Occasional contact between neighbours that owned and rented was possible because, although most of the *initial* mixed tenure housing was developed in a 'segmented' way in the case study sites, a pepper-potted tenure mix had emerged over time (see Chapter Two).

Second, since owners regarded renters as 'ordinary people', they had good relationships with neighbours they occasionally 'bumped into over the fence'. Owners described these neighbour relationships in terms such as 'civil' and 'polite' and said that renters were 'good neighbours', albeit not 'close'.

Although we're good neighbours we don't socialise (Orton, owner).

Renters also talked about owners in terms of having 'good neighbours' that they would speak to 'if they saw them':

We don't go into and out of people's houses like, but if we were getting in the car and going anywhere or she is we stand and talk and things like that (Coulby Newham, renter).

I mean we've got on fine and everybody kind of keeps themselves to themselves, but when we do say hello its fine (Bowthorpe, renter).

Social contact with neighbours was therefore passive rather than proactive because it was something that tended to 'just happen' rather than something that was actively sought out. And when social interaction between neighbours did 'just happen', it was civil and polite and therefore seldom extended beyond a 'hello' that, on occasion, might be followed up with enquiry about their wellbeing as the owners below indicate:

I know the lady next door well enough to say 'hello' to ... If one of the neighbours says hello then obviously we respond and maybe there would be a short interchange but that's it (Orton, owner).

It's normally basically saying, 'hi' ... Mainly its 'hello, how are you?' (Orton, owner).

If I was to see them in the street I would give them a wave (Coulby Newham, owner).

Renters described the nature of their social interactions with neighbours in similar terms:

I just stop and say, 'hello, how you doing, what you been up to?' (Bowthorpe, renter).

Yes I do I smile at them if they look at me I say, 'good morning' or 'afternoon' if they speak ... I would still speak even if they don't speak to me back or smile (Bowthorpe, renter).

Significantly, the polite and civil nature of social interactions between neighbours did not change as length of residence increased. Long-term residents did not have a 'deeper' level of social interaction with neighbours that they had known for a long time and, as such, were still just as likely to restrict their social interactions with them to the issue of a 'hello':

Y and Z next door. We've lived next door to each other for twenty five years ... If we see each other over the fence at that back we stand and natter perhaps half an hour but to actually go and make contact with her I wouldn't want to ... She's just a next door neighbour that you have a chat to every now again (Orton, owner).

Good neighbours and inter-household co-operation

The tendency of neighbour relationships to be 'polite' but 'distant' meant that households tended to be reluctant to exchange *personal information* about themselves with other households. Neighbours thus knew little about the economic situation of other households, or even whether they were working or not, and even long-term neighbours talked about how they would often not know what was happening in their neighbours' lives:

If we meet in the street, I mean, I met my next door but two neighbour [and] I've known her for 20 years. She's a good bit younger than me and I met her yesterday and we stopped and had a natter and I said something about working and she said, 'Oh I haven't worked for months, I haven't been at work for months', I said, 'Well I haven't seen you around' and she said, 'No I haven't seen you either, but you know we live next door' (Orton, owner).

We only came across one resident that first heard about their job through 'weak ties'. Nevertheless, neighbouring households were prepared to exchange information with each other about their 'practical needs', which were the type of issues that inter-household co-operation tended to revolve around. The most frequently cited examples of inter-household co-operation concerned practical help with housing management and maintenance issues:

X is well, as you know 85, you know because she's just had a birthday so she doesn't go out much. The lady next door I don't know very much, they're Greek Cypriots, they're a nice couple ... I had to spend a bit of time with them explaining how to use the card meters – electric and gas. Right, they ran out of gas one night so I explained that they needed a gas card right and then I showed them how to light the boiler and ... I cut the front grasses (Orton, renter).

Another other common form of inter-household co-operation centred on help with walking pets:

Even though we hardly see each other, ... we've all got animals and we all feed the dogs. And if they go away, and they come up, and we say, 'Oh yes, we'll do it'. They've got no-one saying, 'Oh I've got to put the dog in kennels 'cause I can't look after the dog', and you think, 'Well, I'll look after them' ... I used to have cats and I couldn't go anywhere [because] neighbours either side, I couldn't trust them because their families [were] always in and out of prison and it was quite a rough area but now ... we've got lovely neighbours ... We look out for each other (Orton, owner).

The other common example of inter-household co-operation involved looking after neighbours' houses whilst they were on holiday: 'If anyone's away we look after each other's property and water plants and things you know, as necessary' (Coulby Newham, owner). Nevertheless, since neighbour relations tended to be polite but distant, they either thought twice about allowing their neighbours to access to their homes

or simply informed a neighbour that a member of their family would be looking after the house for them:

We always tell them that we're going on holiday but saying that my daughter comes here obviously to look after the dog, because we wouldn't put him in a kennel and she comes to look after the dog. But we tell next door that we're going away and that my daughter will be here so he knows if there's anybody about he knows who it is like you know, but saying that if he saw someone that wasn't supposed to be here then he would be in touch with the police (Orton, renter).

Beyond civility in social relationships

There were two social groups within the case study areas with social networks that were based on more than a civil and polite 'hello'. These were:

- (a) children with friends living across the tenures, and
- (b) adults and children with kinship support networks within the case study areas.

Mixed tenure and children's friendships

For most children, the neighbourhood is the focus of their social worlds, encompassing home, school and opportunities for play. The age-groups interviewed had increasing independence but home and school provided the base from which friends were made and exploration started. The eight year olds made it very clear that the best thing about their areas was their friends. Many of their friends live nearby, in their own close:

(Lists lots of friends) I play football with all of them (Orton).

What I like best is loads of my friends live nearby (Coulby Newham).

The good thing is you can play with your friends because you've got lots of friends that live around (Bowthorpe).

It is in the primary school setting that children are most likely to mix and, by asking children where their friends lived, it was possible to make a preliminary assessment of the extent to which they were mixing socially:

- In Coulby Newham many of the children talked about friends living in very different areas, with all combinations of housing association, council and private developments represented. There were exceptions – a couple of examples where friends were solely from one type of housing area, all council or all private.
- In Bowthorpe, 12 of the older children completed friendship diagrams and were able to provide addresses. Based on original tenure, nine of them included friends from different tenures to their own. However, three children living in areas of rented housing did not list friends from the private housing areas.

The norm was for the primary school children to mix without regard to tenure, largely because tenure was not something the children, themselves, were aware of, as teachers, youth workers and many parents confirmed:

They don't care. They don't give a monkey's uncle who's got a swimming pool in their garden, who lives on the top floor of a set of flats. They don't care, they'll play with whoever and I think that's because they've been brought up in such a mixed area that they don't think, oh that's that area didn't ought to be playing with them and it's quite nice to see that (Bowthorpe, owner).

In contrast, the move to secondary school tended to bring teenagers face-to-face with other people's views of their area.

When I was at primary school everyone pretty much lived in the area, whereas at secondary school there was people from all over ... the idea was that you're a posh kid from Coulby sort of thing (Coulby Newham, owner household, 19 years old).

However, the other case study areas were sometimes be seen by these 'other people' as 'pretty ordinary' or even 'a bit rough' (Bowthorpe). Yet, as teenagers came to know each other better, their preliminary assessments of each other became less relevant and so new friends were made and some childhood friends retained. These perceptions of the case study areas did not appear to hinder the formation of new friendships and most of the teenagers, like the primary school children, were absorbed with school and content with their way of life in the neighbourhood. Older teenagers, who were thinking about their future careers were, in some case, also looking at new locations. They wanted to move on.

Mixed tenure and kinship support networks

Given the prevalence of family breakdown, it was not surprising that a number of children reported having two homes and two separate social lives, with different friends to play with, depending where they staying. However, in some cases, both parents remained living in the case study area:

I live with my dad but my mum lives in Bowthorpe too. I love my daddy. My mum lives near the school, so I see her nearly every day (Bowthorpe).

I'm allowed round to see my little brother. That's where I live and I'm allowed to go round there to my little brothers (Bowthorpe).

Mixed tenure thus allowed extended families to stay in touch with each other because, for example, relationship breakdown between parents did not always result in a loss of contact between children and parents that were required to leave the family home. This was because the parents that were required to leave, and who could not afford to purchase a new home in the case study area, were

still able to find rented accommodation within walking distance of the family home.

The basic and only reason I am stopping in Orton right is because you've just seen the two boys ... Right and that was my ex-partner who only lives down Pennington so that is basically the only reason I'm stopping in Orton (Orton, renter).

Furthermore, adult children seeking to establish an independent home, but unable to afford owner occupation, were similarly able to stay in the case study areas because of the availability of rented housing.

Well, my daughters in housing association [on Bowthorpe] and I've got one son bought a house in Chapel Break, the other son's Clover Hill, and the other son's on Gypsy Lane [not on Bowthorpe] (Bowthorpe).

This enabled the children of these new households to have regular contact with their grandparents, who were able to perform child-care duties on a regular basis.

I mean my mother moved up to here, we moved to Norfolk, 30 odd years ago and my mother moved into Chapel Break and she bought a bungalow near us. She was there to look after our children, so we could go out to work, and so on (Bowthorpe owner, focus group).

Indeed, the focus group discussions with children showed how important the wider family was for the children and in particular the value of having grandparents nearby:

You can see them every day and get to know them (Coulby Newham).

When they get a bit older, we can look after them (Coulby Newham).

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that owners and renters regarded each other as 'ordinary people' and therefore similar to, rather than distinct from, each other. This manifested itself in their ambivalent attitudes towards (mixed) tenure, which was considered to be a 'non-issue' and even an irrelevance. However, this sense of sameness did not result in the emergence of cross-tenure social networks across the case study areas. This was because owners tended to occupy different social worlds.

Nevertheless, neighbouring owners and renters tended to 'bump into' each other 'over the garden fence' on an occasional basis. Neighbouring owners and renters described their relationships as civil and polite, reflecting the way in which they regarded themselves and each other as 'ordinary people' with more similarities than differences. The civil and polite nature of neighbouring relationships meant

that inter-household co-operation could take place but that it did so in relation to *practical* issues rather than *personal* issues. Stronger friendships were found between children, who mixed without regard to tenure. Significantly, mixed tenure was found to have supported the maintenance of kinship support networks by allowing adult children to settle in the same areas as their parents, and by enabling *both* parents to remain living in the case study areas in the event of relationship breakdown.

Chapter Five

Planning for communities of shared interests

As neighbours, owners and renters interact on a civil but distant basis, but they also form part of a wider community. Tenure mix was only part of the original vision. These areas were designed to be more than housing estates; shops, schools and meeting rooms were in place from the start. Networks of footpaths and cycle ways linked people to the facilities and a high quality landscape and provision for children's play formed the background. While the original expectations for these 'communities' is not entirely clear, social interaction was one component and a common interest in shops, schools and services was another. Coulby Newham was more ambitious in deliberately seeking out people likely to participate in community affairs (see Chapter Three).

However, the plans were drawn up 30 years ago and life has changed. For many people, particularly owners, there is now greater affluence, higher expectations and more emphasis on personal choice. Potentially, tenants, particularly those not in work could be tied to their estates and owners would choose to work and socialise outside them. This chapter examines four aspects of the planned environment, covering shops, schools, meeting places and the connecting footpaths and cycle ways to assess their relevance to today's way of life.

Shops – changing lifestyles

Consumer choice and the commercial decisions of the major retailers are the driving forces behind shopping provision. In all the case studies, there is a tendency for owner occupiers to have higher demands and the original plans for main centres and neighbourhood shops have not stood the test of time. Experience in the three centres has been dramatically different and the impact on the Orton centre has been most severe:

Interviewer: Did you used to use it [the centre] a lot more when there was the supermarket?

Orton, owner: That's where you shopped and that was it when it was a big supermarket, yes, and I mean I think people used it a lot more. When it was the Co-op it just went slowly downhill and then all the little shops went out, so there wasn't the interest for anybody there. And then it got run down and then of course what happened is what always happens, you know, the youngsters hang around. It got a bad reputation. People were frightened to go down there, there wasn't a lot down there and then of course, when Hampton⁹ opened, well that was great so everybody went down there.

9. The Serpentine shopping centre, approximately one mile away, opened in 1999. Its outlets include Tesco, Next and Gap.

A similar view of the Orton centre was expressed in the children's discussions. They appreciated the centre, especially for *'fish and chips'* and *'cheap stuff'*, but they also said, *'There's funny people hang out'* and many of them were wary about using the centre. However, this is not the full story as the centre also revolves around an impressive range of public sector facilities. The library and sports centre are popular; the children talked about activities at the college and were familiar with *'where you get the baby milk'*.

Bowthorpe has also experienced change. The original supermarket was Sainsbury's and, when this retailer moved to an out-of-town site, a local chain moved in. The local Community Partnership (consisting largely of owner occupiers) worked hard to find a replacement, writing a lot of letters:

We were concerned and wanted to be proactive and when Sainsbury's said they were going to close, there was no lobby then, nothing on the horizon and we've got so many elderly people who like to just walk up to the shop each day, it's exercise, they see people (Bowthorpe Community Partnership, member).

While many people do use the new Sainsbury's, the Bowthorpe centre remains popular and, in late 2004, has no vacant units. The children were very enthusiastic about all the things they could buy. For adults, whether the facilities were actually used regularly or not, they were viewed as an important part of the social fabric. Owners explained that they had deliberately chosen a house in a planned development, not just on an estate and there were many references to wandering down to the shops and bumping into people they knew.

The Coulby Newham centre is much larger, serves people beyond the immediate area and offers much more than shopping. Comments from both children and adults are about the range of activities, including a library and leisure centre and it is clear that it is a real focus, *'everything in one place really'* (Coulby Newham, renter). People meet there *'for a coffee and a wander round'* (Coulby Newham, owner).

Local shopping centres were originally envisaged as the focus for each neighbourhood but, with the significant Orton exception of Herlington, they have not survived the intervening decades or were never built. This was a disappointment for residents:

What I find is a sad thing is that when we first came here we had the doctors, the greengrocers, the newsagents, the grocers, the hairdressers, all in this little group of shops and it's sad, but that's a sign of the times (Bowthorpe, owner).

There is just enough trade for a few single shops to survive; children appreciate their local supplies of sweets while criticising the boarded up shops, graffiti and deteriorating standards of maintenance in these areas.

The diary data confirms the variation in popularity of local food shopping as well as showing the different social worlds of owners and renters:

- In Orton, the proportion of total food shopping trips taking place *within* the study area was 58 per cent for renters and 29 per cent for owners.
- In Bowthorpe, these figures were 67 per cent for renters and 42 per cent for owners.
- In Coulby Newham, these figures were 53 per cent for renters and 73 per cent for owners.

For food shopping, the diaries confirm that renters in Orton and Bowthorpe were more limited to their local area and interviews explained some of the reasons for this. In Bowthorpe, there were comments about the difficulty of using the buses when handling a pushchair and shopping and an Orton renter explained:

I really don't go into town to be honest ... I just don't go ... I wouldn't be able to go shopping there because I don't really think, well I don't have a lot of cash to go shopping anyway (Orton, renter).

The situation in the third case study was very different, with owners choosing to shop in the relatively up market Coulby Newham centre and renters tending to go outside, possibly for cheaper options.

Schools – a common interest

Local schools, which attracted a broad social mix from all the children in the area, were a fundamental element in the planning. They have proved to be an important focus for social interaction both for children and parents. Established owner occupiers had welcomed this:

Bowthorpe, owner: I think it was very, very important that the children did go to school locally and I think that gives it a bit of cohesion.

This local belief that all children in Bowthorpe should have places in local schools involved a seven year schools campaign in the 1980s, which included a sit-down protest which is now recalled with some nostalgia. Bowthorpe Middle School currently serves the whole estate and the focus groups here showed how children with very different aspirations and experiences came together. They had different views on going to university and had local friends with very different types of houses. Head teachers in all areas were keen on a social mix so that children learned about and appreciated different cultures, skills and aspirations and this was echoed in an interview with an Orton teenager (19 years, owner household) who stressed that she had *more of a broader outlook* because of the mix of people she had known at school.

The vision has, however, not been fully realisable since parents have been encouraged (increasingly during the 1990s) to make an active choice of school. It is no longer possible to guarantee that mixed tenure housing will necessarily produce a social mix in the local schools, even at primary level. Comments made by parents and head teachers suggest that several factors are operating to reduce the social mix in some schools. Although relatively few children travel off their estate for primary education, perhaps to secure a place at a particular secondary school, those who do are generally from the families of owner occupiers. At the detailed level, if there is more than one local school to choose from, parents are quite willing to research the situation and, if necessary, walk past one primary school to reach the one they have selected. Time has also played its part, as the ageing of the estates has limited the range of children locally, particularly in the Bowthorpe case, where it appears that the current proportion of school age children from social housing is higher than it was in the past. All this has combined so that one of the Bowthorpe first schools is considerably more deprived than the other, as measured by eligibility for free school meals. In the other areas also, the local schools display a much wider range of deprivation, using this measure, than one might expect in an area of tenure mix. (See Appendix Seven).

The available provision at secondary level for each case study area is also outlined in the appendix but a study of the mechanics and results of parental choice is beyond the scope of this report. The situation has changed over time as different schools have closed and, in Coulby Newham, reopened. It is clear, however, that where there is a popular local secondary school in the heart of the neighbourhood, as there currently is in Coulby Newham and Orton, the school does tend to serve as a focus for the area and relatively few people seek options elsewhere.

Communal facilities

The original plans envisaged that local pubs would act as a focus for their area and that publicly provided meeting rooms would enable local groups to flourish. Land was also allocated for churches or, in the case of Bowthorpe, for an innovative single worship centre, shared by six denominations. All these facilities provide important foci for the groups who use them but noticeably from the diary interviews this is *as* they use them. The gathering together appears to be limited to the activity in question, not necessarily engendering a set of friendships which extend beyond the activity.

Changing life styles, different expectations and the exercise of choice has made it particularly unlikely that local pubs can fulfil a uniting role. Only Coulby Newham offered a local pub that was widely appreciated and where a range of families and friends met. (A second pub was more restricted in usage). In Orton and Bowthorpe, most people interviewed firmly rejected the local pubs which were said to be 'rough' and to attract people that were, in one way or another, undesirable, notably for drugs, fights and dealing in stolen goods. In both areas,

the teenagers pinpointed the pubs as centres of potential trouble and areas to be avoided. Owner occupiers, in particular, seek pubs outside the area, for a rural location, for a more family friendly pub, for a wider range of beer and for a good meal. Two discussions about a particular Bowthorpe option went as follows:

Bowthorpe, renter: *That's not too bad, I mean that's changed hands a few times and like the food, sometimes will be pretty horrible and another time you can go in and it's like good meals, no complaints.*

And an owner, asked whether he had ever used the same place:

Bowthorpe, owner: *Twice actually, once to try and get a meal and the second time to get a free meal after writing to complain. The free meal was terrible.*

However, in general, the activity patterns of Bowthorpe renters and owners are similar with regard to going out to eat and drink. This is not the case in the two other areas.

The diary data highlights the difference between the areas in terms of locally available facilities and alternative options. In Orton and Coulby Newham but not in Bowthorpe, they confirm the different social worlds of renters and owners.

For going out to eat or drink:

- In Bowthorpe, the majority of owners and renters look *beyond the estate* – 84 per cent of renter trips and 85 per cent of owner trips.
- In Coulby Newham, renters are more likely to use local facilities – 63 per cent of trips compared to 33 per cent of owner trips.
- In Orton, local facilities attract 63 per cent of renter trips but only 18 per cent of owner trips.

For meeting rooms and halls, the original designers played a similar role, in the sense that they facilitated the initial provision and the subsequent usage was up to residents. Like community activities everywhere, their use has fluctuated, depending on who is willing to get involved. At the time of the research, the children listed a large number of clubs, offered locally, some also at the local schools. These activities are important to them. Here, there is a genuine social mix and parents tend to get involved as well. In Bowthorpe teenagers and young mums retained happy memories of their own childhood activities on the estate.

Among adults, these centres were more important to renters than owners and there was greater participation in local clubs and societies. The following quotation is from one, admittedly exceptional, Orton renter:

Orton, renter: *Monday my daughter goes to pre school. Tuesday I work Bushbabies ... Wednesday I go to a cook and eat club, then afterwards it's tunes for tots which is singing ... Fridays I sometimes go up to the contact centre or I meet my sister and we go to the local, it's like a play area, soft play area, so we go there.*

It should be emphasised that the councils did more than simply provide space, providing different levels of input to facilitate activities. For example, two dedicated community development workers were based in Coulby Newham until around 1994 and there was an active residents' association from an early stage. The fact that all three areas have had residents' newsletters circulating for many years also indicates a high level of commitment to the area, among at least some residents:

- The Bowthorpe worship centre has produced a monthly newsletter since the 1970s. It is now a booklet of some 24 pages with a circulation of 3,500. The editor said that well over 100 people every month contribute something towards it.
- In Orton, *Contact* was distributed for many years and has recently been replaced by the *Oracle*, a six page glossy publication.
- Active Coulby Newham residents have produced a community newsletter since 1978 and claim this is the longest running independent community news magazine in the north east. It now has a print run of 4,300 copies and is delivered by 60 volunteers (*Coulby News*, Spring 2004).

Connections across the estates

The layout of the case study areas was deliberately organised to favour walking and cycling, with the main roads going around the estates so that it is often far quicker to walk than to drive. While there are occasional complaints from drivers, particularly as petrol prices rise, most residents are appreciative. Many of the discussions on using local facilities included comments on the importance of being able to walk to them. This is certainly an important component of social interaction in these areas:

Bowthorpe, 11 year old: *I see people when I walk. They're not my friends but I know them.*

Coulby Newham, owner: *I'm not saying she knows everybody but a ten minute walk to the shop takes two hours.*

Orton, renter: *You've got so many little pathways and you walk (the dog) three or four times a day ... I talk to all the kids.*

The associated restraint of cars means that it is possible to give children plenty of scope without traffic being a major concern, as in the new town environment described by O'Brien *et al.* (2000). Journeys to school were almost always on foot and a key part of children's social lives; the network of paths and cycle tracks were fundamental to their enjoyment of the estates:

Orton, 8 year old: *There isn't a lot of cars that come into my area so we can play out the front.*

Coulby Newham, 8 year old: *Me and (my friend) go for bike rides ... and we go to the shops.*

Bowthorpe, 8 year old: *The good thing is you get to go to more places ... I walk quite a lot of places without my mum.*

In all three areas, play provision is excellent, subject to occasional failures of maintenance in the face of vandalism and graffiti. The landscape also attracted favourable comment. The woodlands and open spaces are still appreciated, although there are issues as to whether the level of maintenance has been adequately sustained and whether problems with fly-tipping and litter are properly dealt with.

In Orton and Coulby Newham, detailed aspects of housing design and layout also attracted favourable comment and have supported social interaction as people walk past to the shops or as neighbours come and go:

Orton, owner: *Standing at your kitchen window you can't help but see somebody coming in, unloading their shopping you know, kids playing out or whatever and if you're going out then somebody is going to see you and very often they'll perhaps wave.*

The situation overall

Not everything in the original plans has adapted well. In Bowthorpe, the cycle ways and walkways, at the back of houses and not overlooked, are now seen by some as threatening and as providing quick escape routes for criminals. The high densities of the early social housing are widely criticised. The problems with the Orton centre and the decline in the 'village' centre in Bowthorpe have created deteriorating areas where gangs tend to gather at night. In owner and tenant focus groups and in the children's discussion groups, problems created by anti-social behaviour, such as vandalism, graffiti, litter and fly-tipping were raised. However, generally, there is a high level of resident satisfaction, albeit based on limited social interaction:

It is quite nice to bump into people who we know quite well, but I don't mind that much whether we do or not, I quite like bumping into people and knowing people who work in Roy's [the supermarket] and stuff, I quite like that....to bump into people and they ask how you're doing, you don't feel particularly isolated or anything (Bowthorpe, owner).

The provision of services, much more extensive than for most estates on the edge of towns, has been crucial to the success of the areas. Coulby Newham is very well

provided for to the extent that some of its facilities are more popular among owner occupiers than renters whereas Orton shows the greatest evidence of the different social worlds of owners and renters. When residents in each area were asked what they like and do not like, they frequently talked about the different elements of the planned environment. The basic framework has proved remarkably durable over its 25 year life cycle, in spite of the stresses caused by increased private choice and reduced public expenditure.

Chapter Six

Towards a 'mixed tenure' housing policy

The conclusions in this chapter are presented in three parts. In the first part of the chapter, we consider the claims made of behalf of mixed tenure. Our conclusions are that mixed tenure has important benefits but not necessarily those that are conventionally used to justify it. In the second part of the chapter, we consider the 'learning points' that have emerged out of our research. Our focus is on key policy and practice issues that need to be considered if mixed tenure is to achieve its aims and objectives. In the third part, we consider the policy implications and challenges that emerge out of our 'learning points'

1. The benefits of mixed tenure

A. The positive findings on mixed tenure

Limiting the concentration of poverty

Although these areas are not problem-free, they have escaped many of the patterns which have been seen where there are large concentrations of purely social housing. Despite a degree of deprivation, demand has remained high, house prices are buoyant, there is an absence of the 'churning' of population seen elsewhere and employment rates are good.

Mixed tenure can produce civilised communities

Social relations between renters and owners in the three areas were characterised as 'polite' (rather than friendly), because they tended to occupy different social worlds. However, they were also described as 'civil' (rather than hostile), because owners and renters felt able to identify with each other as similarly 'ordinary people'. Some of the reasons for this were because vetting systems had been used which meant that the social range of residents was more limited than it could have been. The conclusions from this are that mixed tenure communities *of this nature* appear to be civilised places to live in and therefore may have a contribution to make to debates about tackling anti-social behaviour.

It should be emphasised that 'mixed tenure' is not the only characteristic which these areas have in common. Although they have experienced periods of recession and unemployment, none have suffered from a total collapse of their local economy. Further, the planned environment, with the provision of local services, linked by footpaths and cycle ways remains important (in spite of life-style changes) in facilitating social interaction and in underpinning resident satisfaction. Many people, particularly the elderly, children and the unemployed are very dependent on local provision.

B. Are other claims for mixed tenure realistic?

Chapter One of this report set out a number of claims that have been made for mixed tenure, which we will now discuss in the light of our evidence:

The 'role model' effect

Given the limited extent of social interaction between renters and owners, the potential scope for a role model effect to occur was limited. More significantly, there was only one example of owners acting as a role model for a tenant whereas a number of residents felt that owners learnt to be more tolerant of other life styles as a consequence of living alongside renters. If the role model effect worked at all, then, it more commonly appeared to work 'in reverse'. There is more potential for a role model effect among children, as there is greater interaction. While not all the schools visited had a socially mixed intake, those that did were bringing together children with different family rules, different aspirations and different experiences. This assists teachers in their role of widening pupils' horizons.

Passing on 'know-how'

Given the limited extent of social interaction between renters and owners, the potential scope for 'know-how' to be passed between owners and renters was also limited. In practice, renters and owners tended to get to know each other when they were neighbours. However, their relationships tended to be based on the exchange of pleasantries (for example, saying 'hello'), rather than regular conversation or friendship. Neighbouring households therefore knew very little about each other (for example, whether neighbours were working, on holiday etc.) and so, unsurprisingly, there was no evidence of owner occupiers acting to link renters to labour market opportunities. Nevertheless, there was a lot of evidence that households helped each other out with practical issues, such as cutting the grass. The situation was different for children. Within the school setting, teachers are involved in the transmission of know-how and also encouraging children to appreciate different skills, aspirations and cultures.

Area images

The key question here would be 'has mixed tenure helped to overcome place-based stigma?' Residents and key stakeholders in Coulby Newham reported that they never experienced any form of stigma. This mildly contrasts with the experience in Orton Goldhay, which was considered to be less desirable than other parts of Orton but not stigmatised, and starkly contrasts with Bowthorpe which was stigmatised even though this was resisted by residents in a very active way. Nevertheless this did not pose undue problems for residents because the external view did not accord with their own positive experiences of living in the mixed tenure areas.

Quantity and quality of services

It would need a more detailed analysis of the usage of local services by owner occupiers to determine whether their purchasing power was critical to the

continued existence of shops and other commercial facilities. The two shopping centres which have been successful were planned to draw on much wider catchments than the estates in question and have been able to withstand competition. The high level of provision of public services benefits everyone. In at least one of the areas concerned with Sure Start, a service designed for an area of social deprivation, it also provides for more affluent people living in the area.

Maintenance of stability

Bowthorpe people were more likely to remain in the area and there were a number of accounts of people moving from rented to purchased properties (and then, sometimes, on to larger houses in the locality). A reverse example was also given where someone who defaulted on their mortgage was later able to return to the area as a tenant. In all areas, the range of tenures and house-types has enabled extended families to stay in touch. This applies to situations of family breakdown (with ex-partners able to live nearby) and to situations of family support (with adult children able to find housing near their parents and grandparents able to come and live nearby).

In summary, then, some of **the conventional criteria that are commonly used to justify mixed tenure policies should be subject to qualification and treated with caution**. It is by no means certain that mixed tenure produces role model effects or facilitates the transmission of know-how between households. However, there is more evidence to suggest that it can have a *significant* contribution to the maintenance of stability and *some* contribution to the maintenance of services and a positive image. The 'Twenty Years On' study has shown that mixed tenure communities *of this nature* warrant support, primarily in terms of their potential contribution to limiting concentrations of poverty and providing civilised places to live.

Importance of the planned environment

Although life-styles have changed, the provision of local services, linked by footpaths and cycle ways, remains relevant in facilitating social interaction and in underpinning resident satisfaction. Many people, particularly the elderly, children and the unemployed are very dependent on local provision.

2. Towards a 'mixed tenure' housing policy: key 'learning points'

The three case study areas shared a number of characteristics which were studied with a view to identifying 'learning points' that could feed into the development of mixed tenure housing policy. The following learning points have been drawn out:

What should be the aims and expectations of mixed tenure?

Mixed tenure can only be judged in relation to expectations of it. It is probably inappropriate to expect mixed tenure to produce role model effects or to facilitate

the transfer of know how between households. More reasonable aims would be for mixed tenure, where supported by a range of high quality services and good design, to produce civilised communities that produce a high level of resident satisfaction.

Does vetting initial tenants make the early stages more workable?

This is not clear. However, it does seem possible that *not* vetting on Bowthorpe may have played some part in the attraction of stigma from the outset.

Does a relatively limited social range on mixed tenure estates make mixed tenure more workable?

For Orton Goldhay and Bowthorpe, this does appear to be part of people's assessment that everyone is much the same, whatever the tenure. However, the Coulby Newham example, which is generally more affluent than its surroundings, has, without problems, given many people from disadvantaged areas opportunities to escape social exclusion.

Does this mean that a social mix is more important than a tenure mix?

No. A key attribute of the case study areas was the range of housing possibilities, not simply by tenure but by price and by house type as well. This was important in keeping families together and also in providing opportunities for people to move from renting to owning, sometimes through shared equity arrangements.

If tenure mix is important, is a 'tenure block' or pepper-potting approach likely to work best?

If the main aims of mixed tenure are to produce civilised communities and satisfied residents (rather than 'role model' effects and the transfer of know-how) then tenure mix does not necessarily need to be pepper-potted. Residents simply need to be able to regard each other as ordinary and familiar, whether they live in a rented or owned block. If the aims of mixed tenure are to encourage social integration and inter-household co-operation on practical issues, the tenure mix needs to be arranged on a pepper-potted basis. This is because renters and owners tend to inhabit different social worlds which means that their social contacts – and thus opportunities for integration – tend to be focused on immediate neighbours.

If tenure mix is developed in 'tenure blocks', does it matter how they are developed?

Yes, for two reasons. First, many developers are subject to 'section 106' provisions which requires them to build affordable housing. However, they tend to 'hide' affordable housing in development patches, e.g. by locating them in the corner of the development, possibly facing away from owner occupied housing. This creates stigma. There is a need to integrate blocks of affordable housing into an overall development *properly*. Secondly, the experience in all three case study areas was that it is easier to co-ordinate the building of social housing than it is to co-ordinate private contractors to build housing for sale. Developments were, at least initially,

therefore social housing-led which meant that the estates were at times (seen to be) dominated by social housing. This can have a deleterious effect on mixed tenure developments which come to be seen, and stigmatised, as social housing developments which has been a particular issue for Bowthorpe. It is therefore important to ensure that tenure mix is built into each phase of development work, rather than allow the building of social housing to be followed by the building of private housing.

How relevant is the planning and design of mixed tenure housing areas?

An important aspect of good design involves blurring the distinction between private and rented housing because this helps to overcome tenure prejudice and the stigmatisation of social housing by owners. This was an important factor in the positive image enjoyed in Coulby Newham and Orton. High quality layout and design of housing and a high quality neighbourhood (including the landscape and the provision of local quality services such as schools and shops) are important for this reason.

Has the early emphasis on community development and the feeling that these were special areas assisted the success of the areas?

It seems likely that this has contributed to success. A number of 'early pioneers' still live on the estates and tend to act as champions. It also seems that mixed tenure is more likely to work when it is promoted as an advantage and people are fully aware of the nature of the area they are moving into (This was the case in the early days but new arrivals are often not aware that the area is mixed tenure).

3. Policy implications and future challenges

A. The challenge to create tenure mix: 'section 106'

Although private developers can be required to provide social housing via planning obligations (s106), they tend to argue for 'affordable housing' or 'shared equity' in preference to social housing. A further problem is that local authorities have come to look to s106 for the provision of other facilities, such as roads and play space, so the amount for social housing is gradually negotiated downwards. Developers need to be reassured that in practice people are not worried by mixed tenure. However, they like to 'hide' the existence of such provision from prospective buyers and the research suggests that this may be the wrong approach.

B. The challenge to maintain tenure mix

First, **right to buy** may have helped to maintain the reputation of the study areas but the net impact has been to reduce the availability of rented properties. In response to this some restrictions might be needed to maintain rented stock *or* receipts should be available to spot purchase for rent elsewhere in the locality.

Second, the growth of **buy to let** could potentially result in the rapid deterioration of an area and, at the present time, there seems to be no method of identifying the extent of the problem, let alone controlling it.

C. The challenge to create a 'social mix'

The study has shown that 'social mix' is not the panacea for the broad range of social problems that some suggest. Rather, the relative desirability of these mixed tenure areas has ensured that they have not experienced the concentrated levels of disadvantage, and associated problems, that exist in low demand areas: The three areas did not have extreme pockets of disadvantage relative to their broader communities – and thus did not fully reflect their host communities in terms of extremes of poverty and wealth. This is possibly quite significant because residents clearly felt more comfortable living alongside people 'like themselves'. That said, they also expressed tolerance of different lifestyles and a recognition that, like everywhere else, there were a few '*known villains living around the place*'. Although some people would never choose to live on estates of this kind, then, the potential range of satisfied residents is wide and especially so where the housing is of universally high quality. A certain number of so-called 'problem families' can be absorbed within the mix but this does need to be controlled.

However, the relative success of these planned communities should not imply that tenure diversification is a necessary or sufficient condition for tackling poverty and social exclusion in the most disadvantaged localities. It does suggest, however, that where the residents of social housing enjoy a more reasonable standard of living, are free from tenure prejudice and experience reasonably good neighbourhood conditions, then they are able to live relatively trouble free 'ordinary' lives. In summary, then, mixing up the tenures in more disadvantaged areas may help to blur differences and reduce tenure prejudice but, alone, is unlikely to overcome poverty and social exclusion.

Appendix One

Further information on methodology and data analysis

A. Desk research

A preliminary picture of the case study areas was developed by drawing on census data for 1981, 1991 and 2001, the English Indices of Deprivation 2004 (revised) (ODPM) and house price data from the Land Registry. In addition, the original planning documents, council reports and other available material, such as local newsletters, were used to provide background and to help identify key issues.

B. The fieldwork

There were three parts to the research that was undertaken, using a mix of quantitative and qualitative techniques, in each case study area.

Part 1: Establishing the case study context

The purpose of this part of the research was to place the case study areas in their social, economic and cultural contexts by investigating a range of stakeholders perceptions of (a) the current state of the case study areas (b) perceptions of how the case study areas have changed over the last 20 years and (c) perceptions of the 'standing' of the case study area in relation to neighbouring areas and the borough or city more generally. Interviews were undertaken with the following:

- **Professional stakeholders:** Across all three areas, 15 interviews took place with local authority planners, local authority housing workers, registered social landlords, estate agents and local councillors. In addition, eight head teachers were interviewed.
- **'Active' residents:** Four one-to-one or joint husband/wife interviews were undertaken with longstanding residents in Bowthorpe and Coulby Newham – people who had invested their time or other personal resources within the area, for example, through making voluntary commitments to community facilities or organisations. The time needed to identify the third area meant that it was not possible to incorporate this work into the Orton Goldhay study.
- **'Typical' residents:** Separate focus group discussions with renters and owners explored their views of the areas and how they have changed over time. There was participation from a range of residents, both in terms of age and length of residence (see Part 2).

Part 2: Adult residents' experiences of mixed tenure

A sample of 500 owner and renter households were identified in each case study area using the electoral register, 2001 census data and housing management data. A letter was then sent to the 500 households in each case study area. The letter

contained information about the study and a request for them to participate in the study by (a) joining a focus group discussion (see Part 1) and/or (b) agreeing to complete a weekly diary and possibly also a follow-up interview.

Diaries were completed by approximately 30 households in each of the case study areas with a maximum of two diarists per household. Diarists included a wide range of residents in terms of household type, age and length of residence. The exception to this was the gender profile of diarists, who were mainly women.

The diaries described the activities of individuals outside their homes for a period of seven consecutive days, categorised in terms of leisure, work and family visits. The diaries were then analysed quantitatively to consider the volume and location of resident interaction by tenure for each type of activity. This provided an important insight into how renters and owners used their neighbourhood, the wider area and how much contact they had with people from their own neighbourhood. This information was used to identify a representative sample of post-diary interviewees. This representative sample of post-diary interviewees was selected using the following variables: tenure, gender, age, length of residence, levels of contact inside the case study areas and levels of contact outside the case study areas. The post-diary interviews explored the daily lives of the residents and their views of the areas in more detail.

Stage 3: Children and young people's experiences of mixed tenure

Taking account of research that has unearthed 'tenure prejudice' among young people (Rowlands and Gurney 2000) the study focused on the experience of children and young people who were viewed as actors in their own right and not merely subsumed under the generic term 'households' (James *et al.*, 1998). As well as obtaining their opinions on their areas, a key aim was to understand whether social mixing in schools helped to overcome tenure prejudice and other related attitudes.

Focus groups were carried out with two groups of children; 7-8 year olds and 10-11 year olds, in each of the case study areas. Non-verbal research techniques i.e. drawings and photographs were used to help explore the children's views of their area, friendship groups and their long-term aspirations. Interviews were also carried out with eleven teenagers, drawn from across the three case study areas. These teenagers were identified from the diary sample and interviews explored their views of the case study areas as well as their daily lives and aspirations.

C. Data analysis

All of the focus group and post-diary interviews were taped and transcribed. The children focus groups, teenager interviews and the post diary interviews with adults were *manually analysed* to establish key empirical themes. (A similar process took place with the adult focus group and key stakeholder interviews transcripts

utilising the QSR Nvivo software). In undertaking the analysis of post-diary and teenager interviews, transcripts were split into:

- Owners;
- Renters;
- Case study areas.

This enabled the research team to identify empirical themes that were *generally applicable* as well as those that were *specific* to owners, renters and/or case study areas. When analysing children's focus group data, particular attention was given to *age*. To ensure anonymity in reporting, quotations are not necessarily attributed to the correct gender.

Appendix Two

Age profile

	1981	1991	2001	% change 1981-2001	% change 1991-2001
Bowthorpe – Clover Hill					
0-15	35.4	31.3	23.3	- 12.1	- 8.0
16-29	32.4	24.6	25.0	- 7.4	0.4
30-44	20.6	25.8	21.0	0.4	- 4.9
45-64	6.9	10.0	19.4	12.4	9.4
65 and over	4.7	8.3	11.4	6.7	3.1
Working age	59.9	60.4	65.3	5.4	4.9
Bowthorpe – Chapel Break					
0-15	N/A	30.2	23.3		- 6.9
16-29	N/A	21.4	19.6		- 1.8
30-44	N/A	22.7	22.9		0.2
45-64	N/A	11.5	18.7		7.2
65 and over	N/A	14.2	15.5		1.3
Working age	N/A	55.6	61.2		5.6
Norwich					
0-15	20.5	18.7	17.4	- 3.2	- 1.3
16-29	22.7	23.6	24.0	1.3	0.4
30-44	17.8	20.2	21.0	3.2	0.8
45-64	19.0	19.7	18.7	- 0.4	- 1.1
65 and over	19.9	17.8	18.9	- 0.9	1.2
Working age	59.6	60.9	63.7	4.1	2.8
Coulby Newham – A					
0-15	25.0	23.0	18.3	- 6.7	- 4.7
16-29	23.5	20.2	16.7	- 6.9	- 3.6
30-44	19.3	23.7	21.7	2.4	- 2.0
45-64	14.2	14.1	21.9	7.7	7.8
65 and over	18.0	19.0	21.5	3.4	2.5
Working age	57.0	58.0	60.2	3.2	2.2
Coulby Newham – B					
0-15	N/A	20.9	12.7		- 8.2
16-29	N/A	12.9	14.2		1.3
30-44	N/A	21.6	16.7		- 4.8
45-64	N/A	17.0	24.4		7.5
65 and over	N/A	27.6	31.9		4.3
Working age	N/A	51.5	55.4		3.9
Middlesbrough					
0-15	24.8	23.7	22.3	- 2.5	- 1.5
16-29	23.7	21.0	19.0	- 4.7	- 2.0
30-44	17.8	20.8	21.6	3.8	0.9
45-64	19.8	18.1	19.8	0.0	1.7
65 and over	13.9	16.4	17.4	3.5	0.9
Working age	61.3	59.9	60.4	- 0.9	0.5



	1981	1991	2001	% change 1981-2001	% change 1991-2001
Orton Goldhay					
0-15	31.0	28.7	27.6	- 3.4	- 1.1
16-29	29.2	23.9	22.7	- 6.5	- 1.2
30-44	21.0	23.0	22.6	1.6	- 0.4
45-64	8.5	12.4	16.8	8.3	4.4
65 and over	10.3	12.0	10.2	0.0	- 1.8
Working age	58.8	59.4	62.2	3.4	2.8
Peterborough					
0-15	24.9	22.6	22.0	- 2.9	- 0.7
16-29	22.2	22.2	18.5	- 3.7	- 3.7
30-44	19.6	21.7	22.8	3.2	1.1
45-64	19.0	17.6	20.3	1.3	2.7
65 and over	14.3	15.8	16.4	2.0	0.5
Working age	60.8	61.5	61.7	0.9	0.1

Appendix Three

Changes in household type

	1981	1991	2001	% change 1981-2001	% change 1991-2001
Bowthorpe – Clover Hill					
1 OAP	4	10	11	7	1
1 Adult	8	11	17	8	6
Households with children	61	48	33	- 28	- 15
<i>Of which lone parents</i>	8	9	12	4	4
Adults 1 M and 1 F	16	22	18	2	- 5
Other	11	9	22	11	14
Bowthorpe – Chapel Break					
1 OAP	N/A	16	12		- 4
1 Adult	N/A	9	13		3
Households with children	N/A	42	35		- 7
<i>Of which lone parents</i>	N/A	8	10		1
Adults 1 M and 1 F	N/A	26	18		- 8
Other	N/A	6	22		16
Norwich					
1 OAP	17	17	16	- 1	- 1
1 Adult	10	16	21	11	5
Households with children	29	26	22	- 7	- 4
<i>Of which lone parents</i>	3	5	7	4	2
Adults 1 M and 1 F	25	29	17	-8	- 12
Other	19	13	24	5	12
Coulby Newham – A					
1 OAP	12	20	24	11	3
1 Adult	11	13	17	6	5
Households with children	35	33	24	- 11	- 9
<i>Of which lone parents</i>	3	6	7	4	0
Adults 1 M and 1 F	27	25	15	- 12	- 10
Other	14	9	20	6	11
Coulby Newham – B					
1 OAP	N/A	31	30		- 1
1 Adult	N/A	12	19		8
Households with children	N/A	26	18		- 8
<i>Of which lone parents</i>	N/A	4	4		0
Adults 1 M and 1 F	N/A	23	13		- 10
Other	N/A	8	20		11
Middlesbrough					
1 OAP	12	15	15	3	0
1 Adult	8	12	16	8	4
Households with children	38	34	31	- 8	- 4
<i>Of which lone parents</i>	3	8	10	7	2
Adults 1 M and 1 F	20	24	14	- 6	- 11
Other	21	14	25	3	10



	1981	1991	2001	% change 1981-2001	% change 1991-2001
Orton Goldhay					
1 OAP	5	11	9	4	- 2
1 Adult	7	14	21	14	7
Households with children	48	40	34	- 13	- 5
<i>Of which lone parents</i>	3	9	13	10	5
Adults 1 M and 1 F	29	26	15	- 14	- 11
Other	11	9	20	9	11
Peterborough					
1 OAP	11	13	13	1	0
1 Adult	8	12	17	9	5
Households with children	37	33	29	- 9	- 4
<i>Of which lone parents</i>	2	5	8	5	3
Adults 1 M and 1 F	26	30	19	- 7	- 11
Other	18	12	23	5	11

Appendix Four

House price change

	Q1 1999	Q1 2005	% change
Detached price			
NR5 9 – Bowthorpe	£55,479	£157,734	184.3
Norwich	£116,025	£210,083	81.1
TS8 0 – Coulby Newham	£78,083	£174,883	124.0
Middlesbrough	£88,037	£176,684	100.7
PE2 5 – Orton Goldhay	£91,107	£183,187	101.1
Peterborough	£90,680	£199,513	120.0
<i>England and Wales</i>			94.6
Semi detached price			
NR5 9 – Bowthorpe	£45,785	£114,075	149.2
Norwich	£60,671	£127,625	110.4
TS8 0 – Coulby Newham	£67,150	£115,176	71.5
Middlesbrough	£52,394	£92,531	76.6
PE2 5 – Orton Goldhay	£40,154	£100,199	149.5
Peterborough	£52,287	£124,789	138.7
<i>England and Wales</i>			101.2
Terrace price			
NR5 9 – Bowthorpe	<3 sales	£99,540	n/a
Norwich	£54,256	£123,789	128.2
TS8 0 – Coulby Newham	£41,922	£80,361	91.7
Middlesbrough	£29,517	£44,288	50.0
PE2 5 – Orton Goldhay	£31,601	£89,008	181.7
Peterborough	£37,429	£92,445	147.0
<i>England and Wales</i>			95.2



	Q1 1999	Q1 2005	% change
Flat/maisonette price			
NR5 9 – Bowthorpe Norwich	<3 sales £40,083	<3 Sales £95,586	n/a 138.5
TS8 0 – Coulby Newham Middlesbrough	<3 sales £48,276	<3 sales £72,921	n/a 51.1
PE2 5 – Orton Goldhay Peterborough	£34,331 £42,710	£53,399 £79,861	55.5 87.0
<i>England and Wales</i>			90.4
Overall price			
NR5 9 – Bowthorpe Norwich	£49,824 £60,271	£131,379 £131,064	163.7 117.5
TS8 0 – Coulby Newham Middlesbrough	£64,434 £48,665	£134,596 £73,567	108.9 51.2
PE2 5 – Orton Goldhay Peterborough	£45,519 £58,638	£103,172 £128,720	126.7 119.5
<i>England and Wales</i>			92.3

Appendix Five

Employment and economic activity

Economic activity among those of working age (percentage)

	1981	1991	2001	% change 1981-2001	% change 1991-2001
Bowthorpe – Clover Hill					
Economically active men	93.3	88.4	82.1	- 11.1	- 6.3
Economically active women	51.8	63.1	66.5	14.8	3.4
Bowthorpe – Chapel Break					
Economically active men	N/A	92.7	80.2		- 12.6
Economically active women	N/A	63.8	69.8		6.0
Norwich					
Economically active men	90.3	88.6	78.0	- 12.3	- 10.6
Economically active women	62.6	71.8	67.2	4.6	- 4.6
Coulby Newham – A					
Economically active men	91.4	81.8	78.9	- 12.5	- 2.9
Economically active women	56.8	66.2	68.4	11.7	2.2
Coulby Newham – B					
Economically active men	N/A	49.1	65.8		16.7
Economically active women	N/A	29.7	66.3		36.6
Middlesbrough					
Economically active men	88.5	81.7	73.2	- 15.2	- 8.4
Economically active women	57.1	62.0	61.3	4.1	- 0.7
Orton Goldhay					
Economically active men	95.3	89.8	84.5	- 10.8	- 5.3
Economically active women	57.7	67.0	66.7	8.9	- 0.3
Peterborough					
Economically active men	92.4	90.5	85.3	- 7.1	- 5.2
Economically active women	59.0	70.5	71.2	12.1	0.7

Appendix Six

Index of multiple deprivation

Table One: The case study local authority areas compared to national indices and rankings

	England		Peterborough		Norwich		Middlesbrough	
	IMD 2004	Rank	IMD 2004	Rank	IMD 2004	Rank	IMD 2004	Rank
Most deprived SOA	86.36	1	60.86	857	53.69	1,656	80.20	17
Quartile point SOA	30.02	8,121	32.70	7,068	39.86	4,642	60.16	924
Median SOA	17.02	16,241	22.71	11,913	28.49	8,807	44.84	3,334
Quartile point SOA	9.62	24,361	10.94	22,746	18.47	15,014	18.08	15,347
Least deprived SOA	0.59	32,482	3.09	31,703	6.18	28,717	6.40	28,461

Notes:

IMD 2004: For a full explanation of the Index of Multiple Deprivation refer to *The English Indices of Deprivation 2004* (revised), ODPM, 2004.

SOA: The IMD is calculated at the geographical level of Super Output Areas. They are smaller than wards and are constructed from Census Output Areas.

Rank: The most deprived SOA nationally is ranked 1 and the least deprived holds rank 32,482. Rank in all cases refers to a SOA's national ranking.

Main points about the deprivation profile of the case study local authority areas:

- Middlesbrough is much more deprived than the other two areas studied, especially its 'poorer half'.
- Peterborough has some output areas which are more deprived than those in Norwich but is generally more prosperous. The upper quartiles of Norwich and Middlesbrough are very similar.

Table Two: The case study areas compared with national and local deprivation profiles

Super Output Areas	Orton Goldhay SOAs		Bowthorpe SOAs		Coulby Newham SOAs	
	IMD 2004	Rank	IMD 2004	Rank	IMD 2004	Rank
E01012033					46.15	3,027
E01026793			45.29	3,231		
E01015647	41.53	4,155				
E01026795			40.93	4,328		
E01015642	40.54	4,435				
E01012031					36.41	5,744
E01026791			35.09	6,206		
E01015637	33.86	6,638				
E01012035					32.64	7,096
E01026792			31.07	7,690		
E01015641	28.06	9,023				
E01015643	27.02	9,519				
E01026794			26.59	9,760		
E01012034					25.23	10,487
E01015640	23.83	11,208				
E01012030					18.64	14,900
E01015644	16.15	17,014				
E01012032					10.51	23,261
National quartiles	Local quartiles					
Most deprived	These SOAs lie in the most deprived quartile of their local authority area					
Next most deprived	These SOAs lie in the next most deprived quartile of their local authority area					
Above the median	These SOAs lie in the quartile above the median for their local authority area					
Least deprived	This SOA lies in the least deprived quartile in its local authority area					

Main points about the deprivation profiles of the case study areas:

- All three case study areas show higher levels of deprivation than the national average. Bowthorpe is the most deprived, with four of its five SOAs in the most deprived 25 per cent nationally. Bowthorpe and Orton Goldhay are housing similar sections of their local authority populations.
- Coulby Newham has a very different status within Middlesbrough, with only one SOA showing deprivation greater than the local authority median.

Appendix Seven

School provision

The social mix of the primary schools involved in the school work

	% pupils eligible for free school meals*	The social context as reported in the schools' most recent Ofsted inspection	The options at secondary level based on interviews with the primary school head teachers
Clover Hill First School 3 – 8 years	46%	An area of high social disadvantage. Most pupils live in rented homes (<i>Ofsted report December 2002</i>).	Bowthorpe: No school was planned on the estate and one local secondary school closed in 1991. There is now a differential pattern of leaving the Middle School with two-thirds of the pupils going to Costessey High School after Year Six and the others leaving after Year Seven and going mainly to Earlham High School, which is very strong in its provision for children with special educational needs. Choice of schools further away is possible.
Chapel Break First School 4 – 8 years	21%	Most pupils live in housing association and social housing with a small proportion of private homes. Some families are economically disadvantaged (<i>Ofsted report October 1999</i>).	
St Michael's VC Middle School 8 – 12 years	36%	Most pupils come from the surrounding area which is socially disadvantaged (<i>Ofsted report November 2003</i>).	
These are the only primary schools in Bowthorpe			
Braybrook Primary School 4 – 11 years	36%	There is no specific comment on the social context of the school in the <i>Ofsted report March 2001</i> .	Peterborough: There are two local secondary schools, Bushfield Community College in the Orton Centre and Orton Longueville School. The January 2003 Ofsted Report for the former school says <i>that the student backgrounds represent an unusually wide social spectrum</i> .
Winyates Primary School 4 – 11 years	41%	There is a good degree of social deprivation in the immediate area, evidenced by high crime figures, high unemployment and vandalism (<i>Ofsted report January 2003</i>).	
There are four other primary schools in Orton. Their percentage eligibility for free school meals is 4%, 23%, 33%, 51%			
Rose Wood Primary School 3 – 11 years	17%	The school serves a mixed economic area (<i>Ofsted report November 2001</i>).	Coulby Newham: After the local secondary school was closed there has been a tendency for pupils to move away for Key Stage Two to secure a place in favoured schools. However, it has recently reopened as the King's Academy. This school has attracted some controversy but local residents describe it as very popular.
Sunnyside Primary School 3 – 11 years	33%	The school serves the local community of Middlesbrough though many of the pupils who have special educational needs travel to the school from much further afield. Although there is a wide social mix the number who have free school meals is above the national average (<i>Ofsted report June 2003</i>). There are three specialist teaching units for pupils with impaired vision or hearing and for those with moderate learning difficulties.	
There is also a Roman Catholic primary school in Coulby Newham, described as regularly oversubscribed and with a percentage eligibility for free school meals of 10%.			

* January 2004 PLASC data obtained from the LEAs. The average percentage for pupils in maintained primary schools in England was 17%.

Appendix Eight

Population change

	1981	1991	2001	% change 1981-2001	% change 1991-2001
Population					
Bowthorpe – Clover Hill	3,563	3,994	3,893	9.3	- 2.5
Bowthorpe – Chapel Break		930	2,018		117.0
Norwich	119,759	120,895	121,550	1.5	0.5
Coulby Newham – A	2,046	3,482	3,375	65.0	- 3.1
Coulby Newham – B		742	765		3.1
Middlesbrough	149,200	140,849	134,855	- 9.6	- 4.3
Orton Goldhay	5,480	9,582	8,191	49.5	- 14.5
Peterborough	131,697	153,166	156,061	18.5	1.9
Households					
Bowthorpe – Clover Hill	1,182	1,458	1,597	35.1	9.5
Bowthorpe – Chapel Break		357	779		118.2
Norwich	47,730	52,733	54,584	14.4	3.5
Coulby Newham – A	798	1,478	1,603	100.9	8.5
Coulby Newham – B		343	362		5.5
Middlesbrough	50,965	54,599	55,164	8.2	1.0
Orton Goldhay	1,904	3,214	3,309	73.8	3.0
Peterborough	46,509	60,304	65,380	40.6	8.4
Average household size					
Bowthorpe – Clover Hill	3.0	2.7	2.4		
Bowthorpe – Chapel Break		2.6	2.6		
Norwich	2.5	2.3	2.2		
Coulby Newham – A	2.6	2.4	2.1		
Coulby Newham – B		2.2	2.1		
Middlesbrough	2.9	2.6	2.4		
Orton Goldhay	2.9	3.0	2.5		
Peterborough	2.8	2.5	2.4		

Appendix Nine

Key development milestones for the case study areas

Peterborough – Orton

- The South East Study (MHLG, 1964) identifies Peterborough for ‘big new expansion’.
- Peterborough Development Corporation established in 1968.
- Peterborough Master Plan approved 1971, comprising four new townships.
- Orton to be the second township developed, consisting of two existing villages and four new neighbourhoods, one of which was **Orton Goldhay**.
- Housing first available in Orton and in the **Orton Goldhay** neighbourhood in 1974.
- Housing development completed in **Orton Goldhay** in 1984.
- Orton township completed in 1986.
- The Development Corporation was dissolved on 31.12.1988.

Norwich – Bowthorpe

- The South East Study (MHLG, 1964) suggests Norwich as an area for expansion.
- Land for additional development brought within the City boundary in 1968.
- Outline planning permission for housing granted in 1972.
- The City Council purchased the land 1973, funded in part under the provisions of Circular 102/72 Land Availability for Housing.
- Master Plan approved February 1974.
- Norwich ceases to be a unitary authority (County Borough) in 1974.
- Housing first available in Bowthorpe in **Clover Hill** village in 1977.
- **Clover Hill** substantially completed by 1983, with isolated developments in 1985/6 and 1998/9.
- Housing built in Phase I, **Chapel Break**, 1983-1987. Development continues on some sites in Phases II and III over the next few years but then largely comes to a halt.
- Local authority housing is built in 1990, on an isolated site in Three Score, the third village.
- A second major road link is opened in 2000, releasing the remaining land for development.
- Development continues on **Chapel Break** and Three Score and plans for the final 30 hectares of Three Score are being finalised (2004).

Middlesbrough – Coulby Newham

- The North East: a programme for regional development and growth (BoT, 1963) identifies Teesside as a growth zone.
- Middlesbrough CB becomes part of Teesside County Borough Council in 1968 and the development of Coulby Newham is proposed.
- The Land Commission purchases the land in 1970.
- The Marton (Interim) District Plan is drawn up in 1972 and planning permission granted in 1973.
- Land transferred to Teesside Borough Council, in 1974. The council area is substantially enlarged after reorganisation.
- Development brief for the initial phase published in 1974.
- Master Plan review took place in 1976, following an assessment of a Housing Working Party.
- Housing available in Neighbourhood A in 1978.
- Sunnyside Primary School and Hollowfield local centre completed c1979.
- Housing available in Neighbourhood B in 1981.
- Work commences on the last local authority estate c1985.
- Housing available in Neighbourhood C.
- District Centre opens in 1986.
- Coulby Newham Secondary School opens in 1988.
- Master Plan reviewed and dwelling totals reduced to 5,200, 1992.
- Housing available in Neighbourhood E.
- Increased dilution of housing mix and land disposed for private housing, late 1990s.
- Boundary changes – Neighbourhood E now part of neighbouring Marton ward (2004).
- Ongoing residential development in Neighbourhood C – mainly private (2004).

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