Considering the Restructuring of Social Housing Areas

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Two Questions…

- How should we examine restructuring processes and outcomes?

- How should talk about restructuring?

Restructuring: A Heuristic Tool

Restructuring	Context	Choices	Consequences
What			
Where			
How			

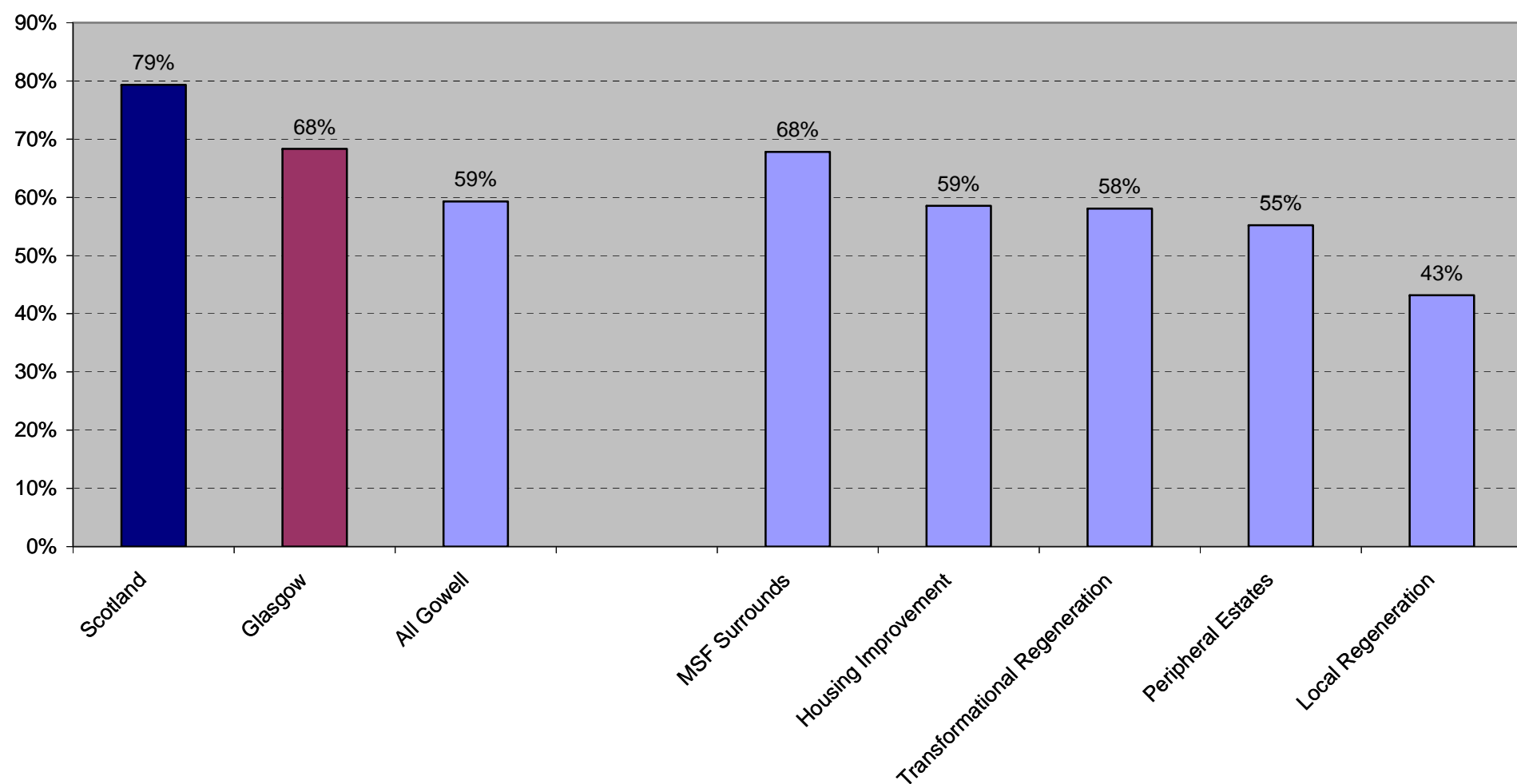| Attitudes & Outcomes			
Individuals		Communities	
Remainers	Outmovers	Origin (Treatment)	Destination (Treatment)

What? is Restructuring?

- What is the *Intention*…to restructure what?
  - <u>Housing</u> quality, dwelling types and the built environment;
  - Housing performance: fewer vacancies; lower turnover; higher demand; more residential choice and stability.
  - Housing <u>tenure</u> mix;
  - The housing <u>system</u> and neighbourhood structure of a city.
  - <u>Public space,</u> and environmental quality;
  - Local <u>amenities & services</u>;
  - Local <u>employment</u> (job opportunities; human capital: skills; employability)
  - <u>Community</u>: sense of community; social capital amongst residents; pride in local area.
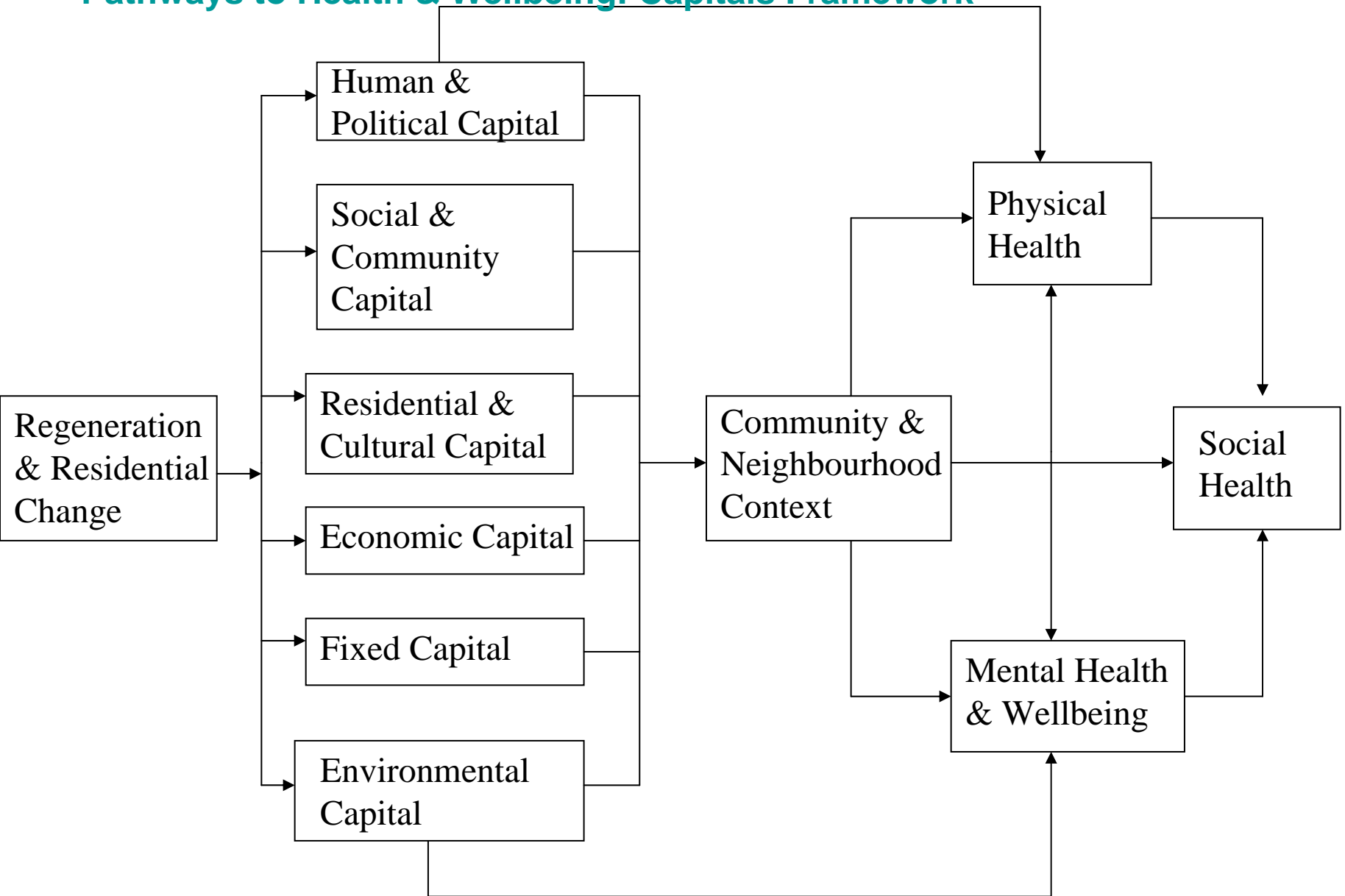
- <u>Community Empowerment</u>: engagement and influence in the process of change; service responsiveness to community needs & opinions; pro-active empowerment: community organisational development; linkages to decision-making circuits; demanding and devising changes.

- <u>Health & Wellbeing:</u>
  - Purposeful activity: fewer people doing nothing.
  - Health behaviours: smoking; physical activity; alcohol; diet; drugs.
  - Some places – often 'estates' – have health damaging cultures involving heavy drinking, aggression, violence, sex etc. that reflect poverty, domestic instability and low self esteem.
  - Mental wellbeing: lower rates of anxiety, depression and loneliness; more positive feelings; better mental functioning; higher psychosocial benefits from residence.

- Restructuring is about other things, or a lot more, than the 'social upgrading' of a resident population.

Survival to 65, by Area Type

% of 15 year-old boys surviving to 65 by area type, 2001/05
Source: calculated from GRO(S) mortality and CHI population data

Pathways to Health & Wellbeing: Capitals Framework

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Regeneration & Residential Change
  │
  ├──→ Human & Political Capital
  ├──→ Social & Community Capital
  ├──→ Residential & Cultural Capital ──→ Community & Neighbourhood Context
  ├──→ Economic Capital
  ├──→ Fixed Capital
  └──→ Environmental Capital

Community & Neighbourhood Context ──→ Physical Health
                                 ──→ Social Health
                                 ──→ Mental Health & Wellbeing

Physical Health ──→ Social Health
Social Health ←→ Mental Health & Wellbeing
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Is Regeneration About Social Restructuring?

- Often yes, to a greater or lesser degree, but…
- It may not involve the wholesale replacement of the existing residents.
- There is often an aim of providing greater housing choice for existing residents and their relatives (who may also be past residents), who wish to remain or return to the area.
- Housing tenure change is not a fail-safe mechanism for delivering social change.
- Policy can be vague about what is meant by, or expected of, social change.

- The need for social restructuring may relate to compositional issues other than income or class.
- Communities can be imbalanced in other ways, particularly in terms of age groups and household types – *see next slide*
- Policy finds it harder to tackle these other aspects due to:
  - Fear of 'social engineering' by the state on other than aspirational grounds.
  - Fear of giving communities power over people
  - Reluctance to alter the performance criteria and legal requirements of social housing (housing those in 'greatest need' and efficient use of housing stock)

Child Densities

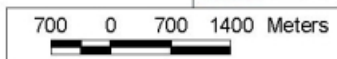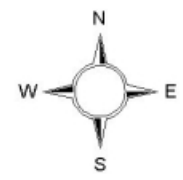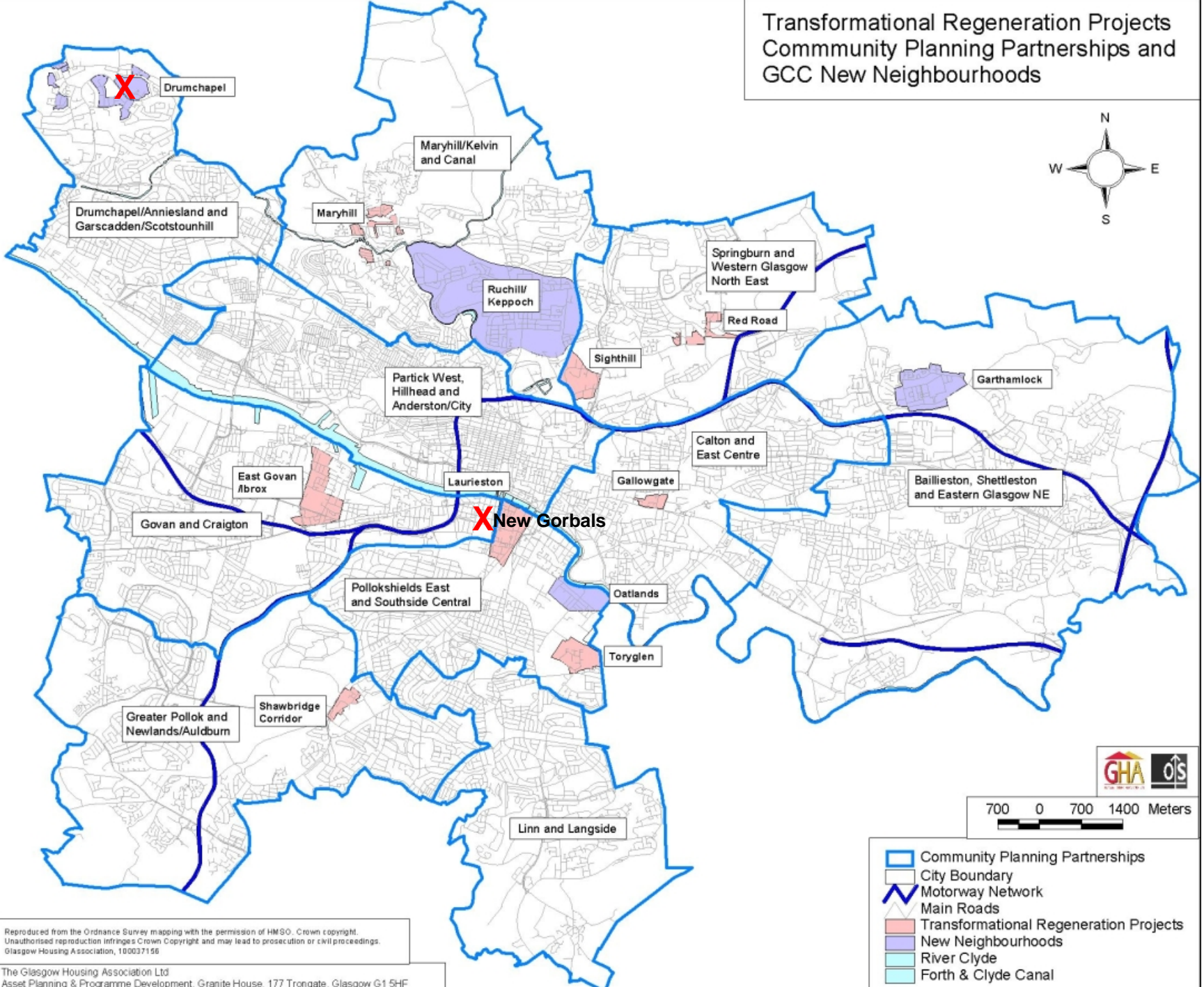|	% Population aged Under 16	Ratio of adults aged 25+ to children under 16	Ratio of adults aged 25+ to young people aged under 18
Transformation Areas	42	1.01 : 1	0.92 : 1
Housing Improvement Areas	24	2.67 : 1	2.36 : 1

Note that two of the most common problems in Transformation Areas are 'teenagers hanging around' and 'gang activity'.

Source: GoWell Community Survey 2006

Where? A Lot Depends on Context

- <u>City</u>: level of demand for social housing in relation to existing size of the stock. Is reduction or replacement of social housing stock deemed acceptable or essential?
- <u>Locality</u> being restructured:
  - Physical form and condition;
  - Available space for new development;
  - History of the community (stable vs unstable).
  - These things will affect what policy-makers want to do in terms of social restructuring, whether that is possible - and how, and what people think of it.
- <u>Location</u>: inner city versus peripheral locations influences the possibilities for attracting younger and more affluent social groups or middle-income families (if these are what policy desires), and the outcome as to who will buy new and rent new homes in the area and how long they will stay.

Transformational Regeneration Projects Commmunity Planning Partnerships and GCC New Neighbourhoods

X Drumchapel

Drumchapel/Anniesland and Garscadden/Scotstounhill

Maryhill/Kelvin and Canal

Maryhill

Ruchill/Keppoch

Springburn and Western Glasgow North East

Red Road

Sighthill

Garthamlock

Partick West, Hillhead and Anderston/City

Calton and East Centre

East Govan /Ibrox

Laurieston

Gallowgate

Baillieston, Shettleston and Eastern Glasgow NE

Govan and Craigton

X New Gorbals

Pollokshields East and Southside Central

Oatlands

Toryglen

Greater Pollok and Newlands/Auldburn

Shawbridge Corridor

Linn and Langside

N
W — E
S

GHA | OS

700 0 700 1400 Meters

Community Planning Partnerships
City Boundary
Motorway Network
Main Roads
Transformational Regeneration Projects
New Neighbourhoods
River Clyde
Forth & Clyde Canal

Destination?

- For people relocated, the contrasts between their origin and destination locations may be an important factor in outcomes.

    - Differences too great? People may not settle in, and may desire to move back.

    - Differences too small? Outcomes may not improve.

    - A happy medium?

How? Questions of Process

- How things are done may be as important as what is done. This is certainly the case for psychosocial and mental wellbeing outcomes.

- Key issues relate to:
  - Relocation of residents.
  - Degree of resident choice in any moves.
  - Mechanism used for relocation.
  - Extent of community engagement in planning and progressing restructuring.

Relocation

- To what extent is it a dislocation?
  - How far do people have to move.
  - How similar or different are the origin and destination locations, in terms of level of deprivation and housing tenure & social mix.
- Although relocation to 'worse' areas is unlikely (!), programmes will vary in the extent to which they seek to move people to 'much better' areas.
- And we can't predict what people will think about such relocations.
- We found 35% of Outmovers considered that they still lived in the same neighbourhood.

Relocation

- Is it an undesired and brutal process?
- Would people prefer to stay or go?
- This may depend upon:
  - How people got to live in the area in the first place;
  - What kind of experience they have had there:
    - Negative experiences?
    - Reliance on close social support.
  - How much they are affected by area stigma;
  - Whether they have ambitions of 'betterment' and see this predicated on moving.
  - Whether they have confidence in the renewal process.

Can we call it 'forced relocation' for everyone?

Desire to Move by Household Type (row percentages)
"Before you moved, had you been wanting to move home or area in any case?"

	Yes	No	Don't Know / Can't Recall	N
Adult Household	56.8	36.8	6.3	95
Single-Parent Family	35.3	61.8	2.9	34
Two-Parent Family	60.0	28.0	12.0	25
Older Person(s)	14.3	57.1	28.6	14
All	49.4	42.3	8.3	168

P = 0.007

Do people find moving to be a problematic process?

- Most people did not find moving problematic, but a sizeable minority did.
- The prevalence of problems with moving varied by type of issue and household type:
  - Costs Involved (after disturbance payments): 45%
  - Being Kept Informed about when and where you might move: 32% (esp. families with kids)
  - The upheaval and disturbance: 28% (esp. single parents)

Do people have choice?

- Choice is likely to always be constrained.
- Given the choice of moving or staying, most people opt to go sooner rather than wait longer for a new home in the restructured neighbourhood – is this partly forced?
- People rarely get a 'return ticket'.
- Nevertheless, a degree of choice for people in the relocation process can help them feel, to some extent, more empowered (less 'done to' and more 'done for') and more positive about their new situation.

Choice in the Movement Process (row percentage)
Those saying they had 'some' or 'a lot' of choice for each item.

	Area	Home (e.g. type & size)	Fixtures & Fittings	N (minimum)
Adult Household	63.6	52.1	39.1	115
Single-Parent Family	57.1	46.9	39.6	48
Two-Parent Family	36.8	39.5	31.6	38
Older Person(s)	38.9	36.3	21.0	19
All	55.6	46.6	36.4	220
P	*0.048*	*0.329*	*0.220*	

- Differences by household type are not significant.
- The issue that most interests commentators – that of location – is the one people felt they had most choice about.
  - A constrained choice, but within the 'world' they are familiar with [social housing areas].
- Standardised procurement methods have probably restricted choice about internal dwelling features.
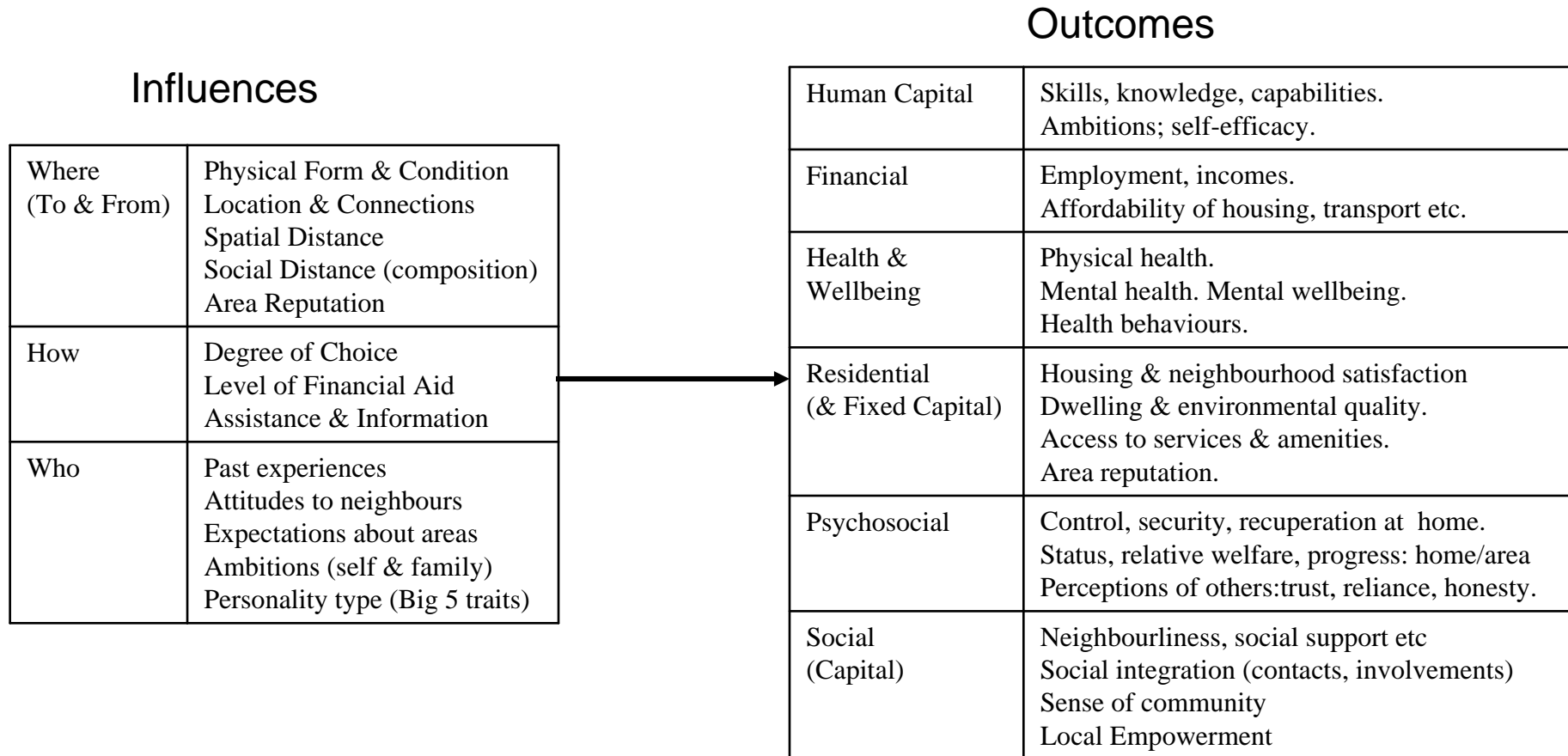
Choice by Communities

- Communities rarely 'choose' or demand restructuring:
  - People get used to their circumstances.
  - Low sense of control; fatalism.
  - Low self-efficacy.
  - Low expectations (of rights to something better).
- Community opinion can shift unpredictably.
- Communities are not necessarily opposed to restructuring:

- In Regeneration/Transformation Areas:
  - Sense of community may be low?
  - After a long period of decline and being ignored by the authorities, people can simply want something (anything?) to happen, the uncertainty to end.
- In Other Estates;
  - Many people (renters and owners) think mixing people from different tenures in the same area (previously social rented only) is a good idea because: people 'are the same'; it's 'more normal'; it provides local housing opportunities; it improves the reputation of the area; it stimulates care for the environment.
  - Both tenure groups also have concerns about mixing.
  - A lot depends on how the tenures are configured and the extent of similarity of dwelling design.

Community Engagement is Difficult

- Community engagement often focuses on objectives of *legitimacy* (for the process of restructuring) and *inclusion*, rather than on objectives of *democracy & accountability*.

- Community engagement is most deficient when there is uncertainty and delay and when moving from planning to implementation (the how, when & by whom).

- Discussions with the community focus more on housing, physical and amenity issues & less on the future social composition and functioning of the community (spatial not social planning).

- Rarely is the process of engagement in the regeneration process used for community cohesion, development and empowerment goals (even though these goals exist in such programmes).

- It is hard to see a direct relation between methods of community engagement and perceived levels of empowerment.

Outcomes for Outmovers (vs Remainers)

Influences

Where (To & From)	Physical Form & Condition Location & Connections Spatial Distance Social Distance (composition) Area Reputation
How	Degree of Choice Level of Financial Aid Assistance & Information
Who	Past experiences Attitudes to neighbours Expectations about areas Ambitions (self & family) Personality type (Big 5 traits)

Outcomes

Human Capital	Skills, knowledge, capabilities. Ambitions; self-efficacy.
Financial	Employment, incomes. Affordability of housing, transport etc.
Health & Wellbeing	Physical health. Mental health. Mental wellbeing. Health behaviours.
Residential (& Fixed Capital)	Housing & neighbourhood satisfaction Dwelling & environmental quality. Access to services & amenities. Area reputation.
Psychosocial	Control, security, recuperation at home. Status, relative welfare, progress: home/area Perceptions of others:trust, reliance, honesty.
Social (Capital)	Neighbourliness, social support etc Social integration (contacts, involvements) Sense of community Local Empowerment

Residential Outcomes: Housing

- Dwelling satisfaction was higher among Outmovers:
  - When those in similar types of dwellings are compared.
  - Note: Remainers may also have had improvement works.
- Occupant assessments of dwelling quality are also higher among Outmovers:
  - The biggest gaps in quality assessments are in relation to dwelling aspects that are important for health: thermal insulation; heating systems; and home security.
- But…More Outmovers than Remainers said they experienced difficulties meeting rent and fuel costs.
- Choice is important to dwelling satisfaction.

Choice and Dwelling Satisfaction for Outmovers

	Area	Home	Fixtures & Fittings
Degree of Choice	(% satisfied with neighbourhood)	(% satisfied with home)	(% satisfied with home)
A Lot	96.9	91.7	96.7
Some	91.2	87.0	83.7
None	74.8	68.6	71.4
N	222	223	219
P	*0.001*	*0.001*	*0.006*

Residential Outcomes: Neighbourhoods

- Resident assessments of neighbourhoods are more positive among Outmovers than Remainers. In descending order of difference:
    - Quality of surroundings
    - Anti-social behaviour problems
    - Services & amenities (some are better, others not)
- Two-thirds of Outmovers said they had moved to a 'better' neighbourhood.
- Most Outmovers (70%) said they were "happy to stay in [their new area] for the forseeable future"; only 4% wanted to move back to their previous area, though 16% intended to move home (larger dwelling the most common reason).
- Curiously, Outmovers were both more likely to say their area had a good 'internal' reputation, but also a bad 'external' reputation.

Effect of Distance

Neighbourhood Satisfaction for Outmovers, by Distance

Current Location	% of Outmovers	% Satisfied[1] (row percentage)
Part of same neighbourhood as before	35.0	93.6
Adjoining or nearby neighbourhood	26.0	89.7
A long way from previous neighbourhood	39.0	74.7
N	223	223

1. Percentage 'fairly' or 'very satisfied'.
2. *P = 0.000*

Psychosocial Outcomes

All Psychosocial Benefits were higher among Outmovers than Remainers.

The differences were greater for status-related items than for autonomy-related items.

Neighbourhood gain is large, compared with equivalent dwelling item.

Psychosocial Benefits of Home and Neighbourhood

	Remainers	Outmovers
My home makes me feel that I'm doing well in life	50	68
Most people would like a home like mine	39	66
My home expresses my personality and values	50	65
Living in this neighbourhood helps make me feel that I'm doing well in life	32	70

P=0.000 for all items

Social Outcomes: Neighbours

- Only a minority of Outmovers (a quarter) retained their 'closest' neighbours nearby.

- Distance affected this outcome:
  - 36% of those who moved to an adjacent neighbourhood retained their closest neighbours, compared with 19% of those who moved 'a long way'.

- Those who retained their neighbours were happier than others.

- But most of those who 'lost' their neighbours in the move were indifferent about this.

Satisfaction with Retention (or not) of 'Closest' Neighbours

Closest neighbours still live 'very nearby'	Feelings About Retention of Neighbours			Total % (n)
	Happy	Not Happy	Don't Mind	
Yes	47.4	0.0	52.6	100 (38)
No	8.2	13.1	78.7	100 (61)

P=0.000

Neighbourliness

- Neighbourly behaviours were higher among Outmovers, despite their shorter length of residence.

- Those who retained their neighbours were the most likely to engage in neighbourliness.

- The least likely were those who didn't know where their neighbours were now.

- Moving seems to have spurred people to be neighbourly, perhaps in an effort to 'settle in'. So Outmovers do enjoy some non-passive benefits.

Neighbourliness

	Remainers	Outmovers	*P*
Know 'many' or 'most' people in their nhd	25.1	30.4	*0.067*
Speak to neighbours at least once a week	67.9	72.9	*0.164*
Visit neighbours in their home[1]	28.6	57.1	*0.000*
Borrow things & exchange favours[1]	12.0	46.0	*0.000*
Stop & talk to people in the neighbourhood[1]	51.3	65.6	*0.000*
Minimum N	669	221	

1. Those who answered 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount'.

Sense of Community

- More Outmovers think they have moved to an area with a 'better feeling of community' than think it is worse in their new area.
- Views of the community become less positive the further the person has moved.

Relative Sense of Community, by Distance

Feeling of Community in New Location Compared with Old	New Location in Relation to Previous		
	Part of Same Neighbourhood	Adjoining or Nearby Neighbourhood	A Long Way from Previous Neighbourhood
Worse	2.6	10.5	26.4
Same	38.5	35.1	26.4
Better	59.0	54.4	47.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	78	57	87

P=0.000

Feelings of Belonging etc.

- If we compare people of the same citizenship status and similar length of residence, Outmovers are more positive in their feelings of belonging and inclusion than Remainers.

Sense of Community, British Citizens Only

Feelings…	Lived in Home for 5 yrs or less		
	Remainers	Outmovers	*P*
…Belong to the neighbourhood	65.2	75.2	*0.036*
…Part of the community	54.4	70.9	*0.001*
…Enjoy living here	75.2	83.0	*0.064*
N	161	206	

Things to Remember…

- Restructuring is about particular areas and particular cities:
  - what's best for one place may not be what's best for another.
  - What a community and a city want may differ.
- Restructuring itself takes a long time, and effects also emerge and change over time, so what we find depends on when we look.
- A lot of factors affect the outcomes for people; and people are different so that some cope well and seek gains from change whilst others do not.

- There are many potential outcomes to consider, and they are contingent and unstable. Making an overall judgement on whether restructuring is 'good' or 'bad' for people or communities is very complicated.
  - Unless we can agree on a primary outcome, our judgements will vary by the focus we select. You find what you look for!
- We have to weigh up the outcomes for, and contributions of, Remainers and Outmovers (and maybe also Returners and Incomers in due course).
- We also have to balance the impacts on Origin and Destination areas/communities.
- Context is crucial: the history of restructured areas; the contrasts between places people come from and go to; individual and community experiences. These all affect experiences and attitudes to change: place and past influence prospects.

- Reality is busy and messy. There are no 'clean' experiments or intervention studies; there are always a lot of other things going on in deprived areas and in people's lives that can influence outcomes. You can rarely taken enough or everything into account.
- People surprise you: in their attitudes; in their adaptability etc.
- Don't rely just on surveys to understand people's experiences and the impacts change has on them.
- Avoid common assumptions and conventional wisdoms, e.g. that change equals disruption and is a bad thing; that people would hate to lose their neighbours.

- Look at *how* things are done, not just at what is done.
- Remember that the world has changed from the 1950s and 60s. Communities today are different to those from a long time ago. It's too easy to say 'we are repeating the mistakes of the past'.
- Construct hypotheses, and avoid easy assumptions and conventional wisdoms about what is good or bad for individuals and communities in deprived circumstances.

Language can frame and distort

- We should be careful about using the language of 'state-led gentrification' to describe the restructuring of social housing areas.
  - It is biased and distorting, not a neutral and objective way to examine change.
  - It makes assumptions about motives, mechanisms and outcomes.
  - It presumes to know what is good (and bad) for people, without considering the realities and alternatives people face, nor what they themselves think.
  - It usually has wholly negative connotations.

The gentrification narrative

- That there is a dominant neo-liberal conspiracy ('hegemonic discourse') which has taken over urban regeneration policies across the world, using the language of social mix to 'disguise' gentrification objectives – i.e. regeneration *is* now gentrification. This is said to involve:
    - 'Collusion' with private sector interests and the 'erasing' of public housing & concentrations of welfare dependence through 'neo-liberal experiments'.
    - Forgetting the destruction of communities wrought by slum clearance programmes of the 50s and 60s
    - 'Enticing' the middle classes into 'working class neighbourhoods'.
    - 'A considerable ideological victory for neoliberal visions of the city'

Problems with the 'gentrification' label

- Any degree of social change gets described as 'gentrification'. This has negative connotations and ignores the facts that:
  - Some places do not so much have 'working class communities' but, rather, are very dysfunctional.
  - The processes by which people are moved and change occurs may be very different to those of the past, and less brutal and disruptive.
  - Some people may want to move in any case, or to avoid the disruptive effects of necessary improvement programmes.
  - Current approaches to mix in regeneration reflect decades of failure to manage large public housing estates. The size of such estates can also have problematic consequences (behavioural, cultural, reputation, inadequacy of services) that restructuring might address…Not so much an neo-liberal ideological victory as a practical alternative that has become a professional orthodoxy (in the absence of both an alternative and evidence it works).

More rigour needed in applying the definition..gradations of change

- The components of the definition of gentrification (cf. Warde 1991) may not apply, or have the implications implied by the narrative.

- "Displacement" (the 'vital' element):
  - Assumes relocation is 'forced' and unwanted.
  - Assumes that the 'working class' are *replaced* by a group of much higher social status.
  - Assumes that this results in new forms of segregation.
  - None of these is necessarily the case, and it depends *where* (which city, which localities) the process is occurring.

- Reordering of property values and extension of private ownership.
  - Yes, but there are limits to this reordering in many locations.
  - Prior residents are not always opposed to this.
  - The addition of modest economic value to property in an area may be beneficial to everyone.
- Gathering together of people with a shared culture and lifestyle and class-related consumer preferences:
  - Yes, but not that different to the consumer preferences of prior residents.
  - Those preferences can be very domestic and private, and the 'pioneering' gentrifiers can be absent, so wider change to the area does not occur.
  - One would struggle to see some places as "sites for new kinds of solidarities among people who chose to live in particular places".

- Transformation of built environment aesthetics, and new demands on services and amenities, producing a new 'cultural ambience'.
  - Social housing providers are also changing the aesthetics in many areas.
  - Prior residents may also want improvements to their local service environment. It is not necessarily the case that this would involve the unwanted 'invasion' of the middle classes (it depends on what exactly it is).
  - The potential for 'indirect displacement' through neighbourhood service changes and consequent 'loss of sense of place' by prior residents depends again on context (it may happen in riverside London but not in parts of Glasgow).
  - The new 'cultural ambience' often does not occur (absence of amenity developments & use of amenities elsewhere by incomers).

- If the 'new urban middle class' are meant to achieve 'elective belonging' whereby 'a chosen place of residence is congruent with one's life story' and where gentrifiers 'can satisfactorily account to themselves how they came to live where they do', then..
  - One should also consider whether prior residents in a social housing area achieve 'elective belonging' &
  - Whether they would be more able to do so were they to move elsewhere, or to see their area changed through redevelopment that includes social change and mixing in the area…
  - Before passing a negative judgement on the restructuring of social housing areas by calling it state-led gentrification.