University of
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Mixed tenure sustainable communities

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

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<u>ABSTRACT</u>

The aim of this study is to investigate Government led initiatives for the creation of mixed tenure sustainable communities. The study aims to analyse whether such communities are successful in combating the negative effects related to living within areas of segregation, in particular areas of concentrated deprivation.

The literature provided great scope on the topic, indicating levels of economic segregation, reasons for the emergence of concentrated areas of deprivation together with studies conducted to analyse the positive and negative effects of creating mixed tenure communities.

To gain greater insight, primary research was conducted gathering the opinions from residents, housing officers and project managers involved with the creation of two, recently developed, mixed tenure communities. The data shows conflicting opinions between the residents, housing officers and project managers on the success of the projects. Such data suggests that Government polices promoting the inclusion of mixed tenure within future developments is not necessarily successful.

The objectives were then aligned with the results and consequential recommendations were made. Such recommendations were made to the Government to adjust planning policies, attaching conditions to facilitate the success of future mixed tenure sustainable communities together with recommendation to overcome problems with widespread segregation within already existing communities.

<u>CONTENTS</u>

Chapter 1: Introduction:

The purpose of this paper is to investigate whether housing different social groups together combats the negative effects related to segregated communities, in particular, deprived communities.

Poverty is the key constraint on sustainable regeneration. The percentage of the population classed as in poverty rose by half between 1979 and 1991. This high frequency of poverty accounts for Britain's low ranking on the United Nations' Human Development index, at 16th Developed countries in 1996, and 12th of the European Countries (*UN Development Program,* 1996)(Carley, Kirk, 1998)

For the last 30 years the Government has been aware that spatial concentrations of deprived communities have attributed to the high unemployment rate amongst the deprived communities. Three million people live within these pockets of disadvantage with over half being registered as unemployed. (Carley, Kirk, 1998) These clusters of deprivation are becoming increasingly more segregated from society, transforming into "excluded places"(Anderson, H.K 2002)

The government has sought to find ways of overcoming such problems by investing 38 Billion Pounds in creating sustainable communities. Figure 1.1 details what constitutes a sustainable community:
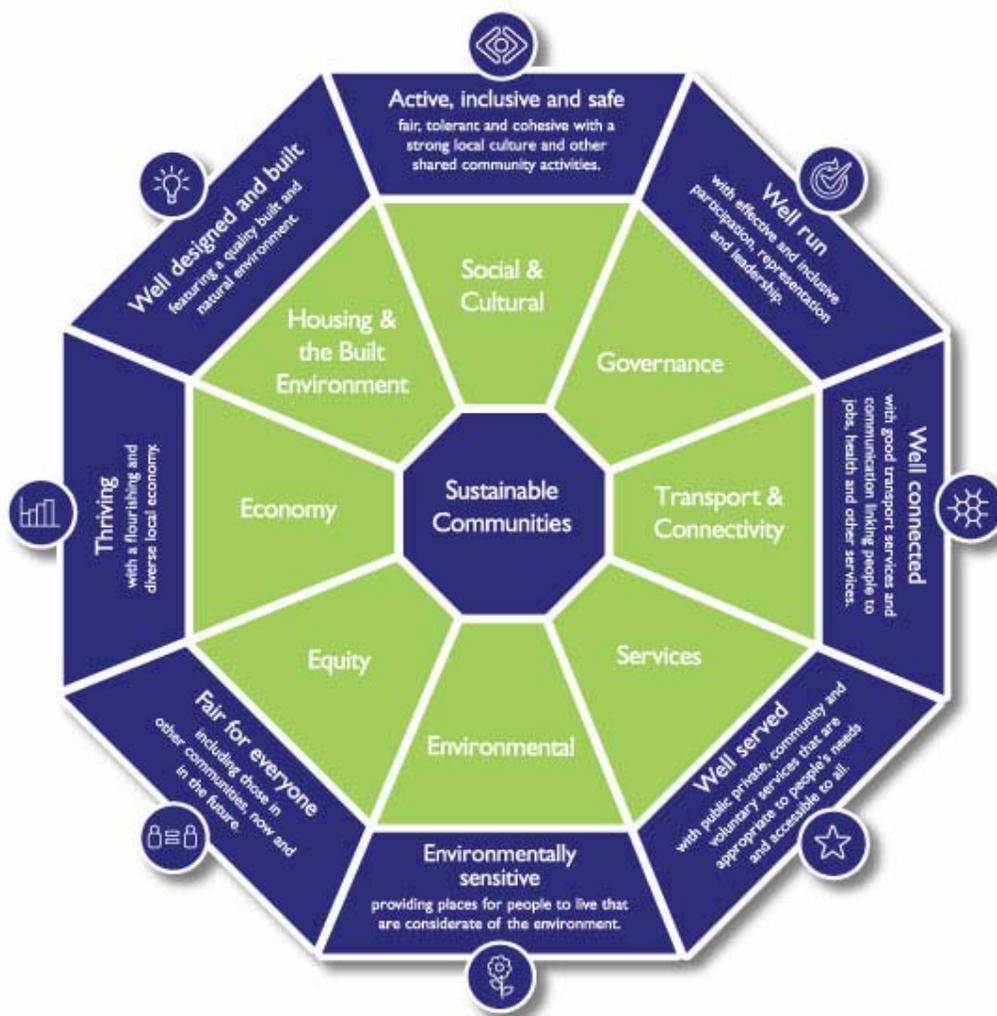
Figure 1.1 Definition of a Sustainable Community

Definition of a sustainable community according to government policy:

"Sustainable communities are places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all"

There have been a number of government policies that have both shaped and encouraged the creation of mixed sustainable communities including the Housing Green Paper (2000). The Deputy Prime Ministers Sustainable Communities Plan in

2003 and the current policy guidance shaping most developments at present being the Deputy Prime Ministers 5-year plan(ODPM, 2005).

Sustainable communities aim to balance and integrate social factors by bringing together different social groups. This is achieved by creating mixed tenure developments, which hope to improve life prospect, and the economical status of deprived communities. (Hiscock 2001)

The definition of tenure relates to the rules and arrangements connected with the ownership of land (www. dictionary.cambridge.org.uk)

According to Somerville & Sprigings (2005) there are three main tenures in the UK; owner occupation, social renting and private renting. At present the proportions of occupants in each tenure are approximately 70 per cent owner occupied, 20 per cent socially rented and 10 per cent privately rented, this is a far cry from the early nineteen hundreds where 90 per cent of UK housing was privately rented.

The idea of creating mixed communities is not a new notion. George and Richard Cadbury created one of the first mixed housing developments in 1895(www.cadbury.co.uk). They wanted to improve the life of their employees and did so by creating a village community with a balanced residential mix of affordable homes for both employees and non-employees(www.cadbury.co.uk). Other early examples of mixed housing developments is the creation of Joseph Rowntree's New Earswick Village in York which sought to create an affordable balanced community by creating a village with low rents which were on offer to all members of the public (www.jrf.org.uk). The Joseph Rowntree Foundation was established in 1904 and went on to create numerous projects with the common consensus of creating balanced communities. (www.jrf.org.uk)

After the war the health and housing minister Aneurin Bevan encouraged the mixing of tenureship. She found it "*entirely undesirable that on modern housing estates only one type of citizen should live. We should try to introduce what was always the lovely feature of English and welsh villages, where the doctor, the grocer, the butcher and*

the farm laborer all lived in the same street….the living tapestry of a mixed community.

(Cole and Goodchild, 2001)

During the early eighties the social sector saw a major reform. In 1979 Margaret Thatcher was elected into parliament on the notion that she would implement the right to buy system to support her agenda "Rolling back the welfare state"(Anderson.I 2004). This system allowed council tenants to purchase their council property at a reduced rate, allowing them to enter into the private ownership market. This right to buy system brought different social groups together as some council tenants would sell their properties to private buyers breaking up large concentrations of deprivation; however this only proved successful in areas which were desirable to live in (Anderson.I, 2004).

This paper specifically focuses on new government led housing developments, which are created with the intention of being socially and environmentally sustainable. The success and satisfaction of its residents in terms of increased social cohesion and social capital will be explored an evaluated in order to ascertain whether the government are right to invest substantial sums of money into such projects and whether it is the future for housing.

Aims and Objectives

The aim of the research is to ascertain whether mixed tenure housing really does combat segregated communities and enhance the lives of all residents. In order to fulfill this aim, detailed objectives were set as, as follows:

1. To define mixed tenure housing and to offer explanation as to the nature of segregated communities.

2. To analyze the causes and effects of social deprivation, with particular reference to housing.

3. To identify the relationships between large concentrations of social deprivation and housing supply.

4. To identify relevant case studies that might produce evidence of mixed tenure housing.

5. To obtain direct evidence from residents of mixed tenure housing regarding their benefits.

6. To evaluate government policy on mixed tenure housing and draw conclusions from this research that will inform its implementation.

General Research Approach

In order to successfully answer the aims and objectives a number of research methods will be used. The first being thorough analysis of the literature already published on the topic together with primary data collection in the form of resident questionnaires, Semi-structured interviews and personal observational analysis of life in mixed tenure communities.

Structure of The report

This paper has 5 chapters. Chapter 2 thoroughly analyses the already existing literature relating to segregation, deprivation and the emergence of mixed tenure communities as a solution. Chapter 3 explains the data collection process relating to primary research with chapter 4 presenting the findings from such data collection. A conclusion is provided in chapter 5, which culminates, all information sought and seeks to provide answers to the aims raised in chapter 1.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

<u>2.1 Introduction</u>

This section aims to review all of the current relevant literature based around levels of economic segregation, effects of concentrations of deprivation and government led policies. The literature is sourced from journals, books and newspaper articles from the United Kingdom, the United States and other European Countries. From the literature it was found that there were several broad topic areas regarding the subject, these topics will now be discussed in turn.

<u>2.2 Levels of Economic segregation and concentrated deprivation in the UK</u>

Progress has been made over the last 20 years in seeking to reduce poverty and increase employment levels. Between 1998 to 2001 Hills (2004b) found that relative poverty fell faster in the UK than in any other EU member state.

Fig 2.1 demonstrates the changes that have occurred between 1993-2003 in terms of employment levels.

	1993	1997	2003	Change 1993-2003 (%)
North East	65.4	66.8	68.1	2.7
London	67.5	70.3	70.3	2.8
East Midlands	72.9	75.3	75.9	3
Yorkshire & Humber	70.7	70.5	74.1	3.4
Eastern	74.4	75.9	78.7	4.3
South East	74.8	77.9	79.5	4.7
North West	68.4	69.9	73.	4 5
South West	73.2	77.1	78.4	5.2
West Midlands	68.8	72.7	74 5.	2
Scotland	69 7	0.3	74.3	5.3
Wales	65.6	68.2	72.6	7

Fig. 2.1 Percentage of working age population in employment by region, 1993-2003 (Gibbons 2005)

Figure 2.1 shows all regions saw an average increase of over 2.5% in employment levels, however the table does not indicate details of employment types. Evidence has shown that levels of unemployment are significantly higher for low skilled labour workers than educated workers. (Gibbons 2005).

Figure 2.2 highlights further evidence of this issue. The chart demonstrates the employment rate among non-qualified young men residing in council housing in the Southeast has increased from 58 per cent in 1993 to 65 per cent in 2002. In contrast, employment rates amongst young males in the northern conurbation's fell from 32 per cent to 25 per cent over the same period.(Faggio and Nickell, 2003)
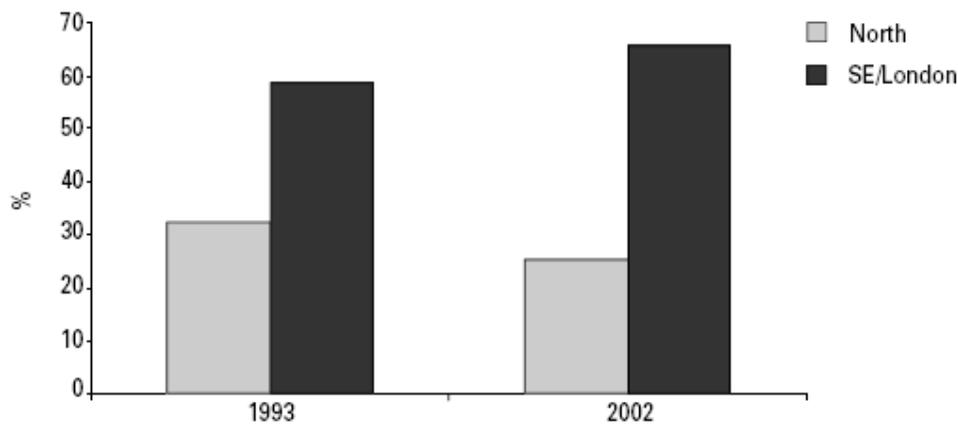
Fig 2.2 The percentage of young men with no qualification in council housing who are working
(Faggio and Nickell, 2003)

Berthoud (2001) suggests the main factor contributing to such high levels of unemployment amongst low-skilled council tenants is the inability to re-locate. People tend to migrate across regions in response to job offerings. However, council tenants who can not relocate as easily as the better educated, find themselves trapped in areas of high-unemployment with significant deprivation levels. (Berthoud 2001). Such concentrated areas of deprivation become economically segregated from their local area, which have detrimental effects on its inhabitants (Berthoud 2001). Further reasons for high-unemployment levels within deprived communities are discussed later in the chapter.

2.3 The Effects of Segregation in Deprived and High-income areas

2.3.1 The Effects of Segregated Concentrations of Deprivation

Economic segregation can be extremely harmful to the social capital of its residents. This is due to the fact that different economic groups interact less frequently with attitudes becoming more polarised (Kearns and Forrest, 2000).

Definition of social capital "networks norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation *for mutual benefit*"(Putnam 1995)

Concentrations of poverty can have a number of detrimental effects including lowered employment levels, public health, education and attainment, and increased levels of crime and disorder (Carley and Kirk 1998). When visible signs of urban decay both physical and socially occur, rapid changes occur in the ways such communities are seen by outsiders (Skifter Anderson 2002). Anderson (2002) states that such communities develop into "excluded places", becoming omitted from the mental maps of possible living environments for the majority of the urban population

The UK Social Exclusion Unit created A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal report in 1998. The Report described deprived communities as "Neighbourhoods that don't work" (social exclusion unit, 1998) such analysis is not an accurate social description but it is true in the fact that unemployment is the main underlying effect of large concentrations of deprivation as mentioned previously. It has been found that individuals living in deprived areas are 5-15% more likely to be out of work than the rest of the population (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004). Such individuals become cut off from social networks that could possibly provide an avenue for employment (Berube 2005). It is also possible that high levels of long-term unemployment can result in residents failing to regard work as a social norm disregarding the need to improve labour skills needed in order to pursue work (Wilson.W.J 1991). Furthermore, Wilson (Wilson.W.J 1991) found that employers may be discouraged to employ individuals from deprived neighbourhoods due to the stigma attached to these residents

Gibbons, (2002) found that attendance in schools located within deprived and close to deprived areas were predominantly attended by low-income students. Gibbons

also states that academic results from schools at primary level are influenced by student characteristics and neighbourhood wealth above teacher quality and expenditures per pupil.

The effects of segregated concentrations of deprivation can result in the retreat of public services from the areas. Lack of local and public presence within such community's results in problems of social control, more crime and social retreat by vulnerable residents. (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000)

Initial research into the correlation between low-income communities and levels of crime was conducted by Shaw & McKay (1942, revised 1969). It was suggested that such concentrations of deprivation result in the disruption of the community social organisations causing an increase in acts of crime and disruption. In addition, Gladwell (1963-) suggested that crime is "contagious" and large concentrations of low-income families in urban neighbourhoods may lead to "epidemics" of criminal behaviour. Matsueda & Anderson (1998) state that "delinquency is correlated with the delinquency of ones peers". Such evidence suggests deprived neighbourhoods segregated from society will only fuel the behaviour of its inhabitants. Gladwell (1963-) found that even if such delinquents were to be re-housed in a less deprived segregated community they might be unresponsive to incentives for pro-social behaviour.

Skogan (1986) found that fear of crime caused individuals to withdraw physically from the community, consequently weakening the physical control of crime and disorder as well as harbouring the mobility capacity of individuals. Borooah & Carcach (1997) supports this claim by stating levels of crime in ones personal area does cause detrimental effects to quality of life and feelings of safety.

Freidrich (1996) reinforces this idea by stating the context effects of neighbourhoods are marked on disadvantaged estates with restricted opportunity and the development of deviance. It is thought that cohesion can harbor ethnic and religious conflict and may lead to discrimination and exclusion (Freidrich 1996).

Galster (2003) found that living within spatial concentrations of poor household's detrimentally effects health. Residents suffer higher levels of mental and physical

illness together with higher mortality rates than those from higher income communities

In 2004, the Home Office conducted a report (Home Office Online Report, 2004) designed to enhance understanding of deprived neighbourhoods. The report studied the perceptions of its residents and non-residents in four different communities in both rural and metropolitan areas.   The main findings of report showed that there is much to celebrate in such communities. Parents are able to bring up their children successfully despite its problems, with resident adults generally liking their area together with children under the age of 8. Children past this age tended to form critical opinions, and subsequently had suggestions for change. One resident stated "the tenacity that exists in the community should be acknowledged". Residents not living in the communities had different views on such communities, focusing on inherent negative aspects.

2.3.2   Segregated Communities in High Income areas - Gated communities

Small defended, high-income neighborhoods have sprung up in the US and increasingly in Britain characterized by use of buzzers, monitors and increased security both on estates and in private developments. Blakely and Snyders (1997) claims that people are being sold the notion of prestige and security by some developers, producing an inward looking cohesion. Wilson-Doenges (2000) develops this issue of spatial control and states that individuals with issues of reputation and exclusivity have been found to block more positive and collective social interactions. One particular instance resisted disabled facilities. This leaves planners in a difficult position (Wilson-Doenges 2000)

Atkinson et al. (2004) reinforce this idea by stating that high-income groups are "voluntarily segregating" with about 1,000 such communities existing in England today, homes to 100,000 people.

2.4 The response

2.4.1 Government policies in terms of creating mixed tenure communities.

In response to the search and findings on the negative effects of segregated concentrations of deprivation, the government has sought to address these problems by creating policies, which encourage the mixing of tenures on estates.

There are 3 main government policies, which are related to this. The first policy document encouraging the inclusion of mixed tenure housing is the Housing Green Paper (2000). This policy document sought to upgrade the current social housing stock and promote new sustainable communities with the inclusion of affordable housing.

The Deputy Prime Ministers devised a Sustainable Communities Plan in 2003. This document also detailed the need to upgrade the current social housing stock whilst also seeking to address the imbalance between housing supply and demand. The document details the fact that mixing tenures is a key requirement for sustainable communities and states that "a well integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes "(ODPM 2003a)

The current policy guidance at present, which all local and regional governments should refer to, is the Deputy Prime Ministers 5-year plan. This document seeks to improve homeownership by creating an increase in affordable housing, tackling areas with low housing demand and giving social housing tenants more choice. The document encourages the creation of sustainable communities, which balance and integrate social, economic, and environmental factors, which meet the needs for existing and future generations.

Tunstall (2003) examines the terms and language used by governments and housing bodies in presenting their housing policies to the general public and she appears to be a lone voice in the research collection to date reminding interested and influential groups and individuals to define ultra clearly exactly what is meant by terms such as mixed tenure housing. Tunstall concludes that prior to the late 1980s the term mixed tenure was used as simply a euphemism for increasing privatization at the expense of social housing. The choice of phrases and language used by such bodies is

significant and influential in shaping change and Tunstall compliments Lee and Murie (1997) for their language clarity, clear goals and focus which deals with the neighbourhood effects of social mix rather than tenure mix.

In order to substantiate whether government policy should be investing such large sums of money into mixed tenure sustainable communities we need to analyse both the positive and negative effects of creating such schemes.

2.5   Positive effects of mixed communities in deprived areas

Several recently held theories have been discussed on the positive possible effects of owner-occupiers within concentrations of social housing.

The first is the possible beneficial influence of owner-occupiers of dilution effects. This is simply that deprivation and anti social behavior will be reduced as the relative number of renters is reduced to make way for more owner-occupiers. (Hiscock 2001)

The second centers on increasing social capital in deprived areas (Lang and Hornburg, 1998). Role modeling will occur with the assumption that owner-occupiers will bring desired income and stronger work ethics to a community. (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001) In addition (Hiscock 2001) introduces the possibility for consideration that as renters observe the positive visual effects of upgrading properties, they may be influenced to do the same. However, there was no evidence available to support the statement.

Hiskcock (2001) supports the fact that mixed tenure communities could in fact enhance employment rates. The study acknowledges the possibility that the sharing of job knowledge could widen work prospects locally and reinforce the view that work is a better option than crime. (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001).

The third theory suggests owner-occupiers provide better, wider interactions for the social renters (Hiscock 2001). The evidence was taken from small case studies in a variety of countries and discovered that when social renters in an area was reduced there was no enhancement of social capital because cross tenure social networks were not commonly developed (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000).

It is thought that an important factor in sustainable mixed tenure estates is the inclusion of areas for social interaction between residents. Research by Rohe and Basolo (1997) points to the elevation of standards of interaction when owners are active members of local residents and community associations and points also to the possibility of stronger feelings of rootedness and permanence in owners as opposed to renters.

Hiscock (2001) states that despite the government's promotion of mixed tenure housing, research on its beneficial effects have not produced overwhelmingly positive results. Thus raising the suggestion that government policy on this particular issue of housing, lacks a clear theoretical basis

Hiscock (2001) challenges the assumption that social capital is always positive. Information from European research on Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia is used to argue that the inward looking nature of certain strong communities can provide less social stability and any social capital is negative rather than positive

Atkinson and Kintrea (2000) also challenge the assumption that working owners add social capital. The study found that owners with spouses in employment could threaten local services, which help cohesion and stability, resulting in social renters being unable to use the services, and that some may be forced to close. Their influence in such cases will produce negative social capital (Atkinson and Kintrea (2000).

Unlike much of the early research on tenureship relating to social capital on large housing estates, Hiscock (2001) fills a gap by using information from smaller surveys, interviews and estate data collected between 1991 and 2001. A wider geographical area was included covering a variety of forms of tenure mix compared to previous research and therefore may be seen to have more validity and usefulness by planners and housing bodies etc . Areas studied include England, Scotland, Sweden, The Netherlands and the US.

The research undertaken by Hiscock (2001) shows that interaction between social renter and owner-occupier only occurs where the housing is spatially integrated and when owners have local roots. Many owners see their home as a stepping stone and do not invest emotionally in the area. Other concerns include disagreements over

views on children playing in the street and acceptable noise levels. The research concludes that whilst there may be enough cohesion to solve neighbourhood problems, there was not enough to influence job prospects for tenants therefore suggests that additional local job training will be necessary.

The findings from the reports suggested that diluting pathways changed estate profiles by merely 'importing' working households rather than raising the opportunities of jobs prospects for the deprived. (Hiscock 2001) This appears to be an inadequate response to the underlying social divisions and problems facing such areas. (Hiscock 2001)

2.6 Negative effects of breaking up existing single tenure estates

The findings with the reports analyses by Hisock (2001) lead to the suggestion that too much emphasis is placed on large scale changes to social mix which can have a deleterious rather than beneficial effect on communities. The case study within the "Urban Policy and Research: creating inclusive communities through balancing social mix", suggests that projects find no evidence that a varied social mix is a pre requisite for a cohesive community.

The data finds that some existing estates have cohesion and supportive networks and that breaking them up to artificially change the mix is illogical. Lang and Hornburg (1998) state cautions against large scale moving of tenants as it may make them 'less visible creating rootlessness of individuals and families is increasing their vulnerability without addressing the important poverty and employment factors.

Observations from the Queensland Housing Dept (Marston 2000) documented information on the Aboriginal and Torres Strait islander families like the supportive ties of their Manoora estates and protest that breaking up these ties will disrupt family attachments.

The Australian 'Waterloo Project' (Hiscock 2001) has an alternative approach as it targets all aspects of regeneration without the social upheaval. The focus is to build stability and integration with the existing community in- situ with employment strategies and the encouragement of ethnic diversity on the estate. The theory is that

by encouraging existing tenants to work together in common undertakings across a range of ethnic backgrounds more positive and integrated communities will develop.

An article in the Big Issue (April 2007) presents the most up to date findings in terms of improving already existing communities instead of changing the tenure mix. The literature details the issues raised in the 'COMMUNITY COHESION IN YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD' conference organized by The Community Safety Advisory Service in London where 100 delegates from the voluntary sector, local authorities and police representatives shared ideas on how to foster community goodwill. Vicky Torrence, CSAS manager said groups "on the ground" were best placed on to respond to community issues but that government policy makers often do not hear their voices. Ife Piankhi, a delegate volunteer coordinator from Merton Borough is setting up a project to turn disaffected 16-25 year olds into park rangers with the aim to give young people a stronger role in communities and foster safety in public areas for all. She claims that racism and gang culture is growing and that following the stabbing of a teenager, young black people are under curfew and not allowed out. The scheme wishes to attract more black and ethnic youths, previously a group less likely to volunteer. Another city project in Barking has been running for two years on the Marks Gate Housing estate called "in the mix" and its aim is to counter the lack of communication between young and old on the estate. Older people had become frightened of the behavior of the young and had banned them from the community facilities. To remedy things, "In The Mix" organized mixed sessions where the elders taught youngsters how to play bingo etc and youngsters became involved making Christmas cards etc for the elderly. Evidence on the success of the project involved the acknowledged reduction of £6000 worth of vandalism from the previous year down to zero. Initially only white children involved themselves but more cultural mixing resulted as dance and art projects were introduced.

The fact that there are increasing numbers of both low-income and high-income areas of segregation enforces the idea that both local and national government need to address this issue in order to enhance social cohesion amongst the entire population.

2.8 Summary of literature

From the literature under review it is clear that the way forward for planners, government strategists and individual groups concerned with raising social capital within communities is indeed complex and involves the consideration of a wide variety of interplaying factors – locally, regionally and nationally. The information reviewed covers studies from the 1930s to the present day. European, US and Australian studies have been included in the review as a broad coverage of evidence may have relevance particularly as there is a general assumption that globalization is having an increasing impact on the everyday lives of us all. In hoping to gain a balanced and informed view of the relative importance of tenureship mixing in relation to factors involving improving social capital, early evidence of regeneration plans has been included which initially concentrated on increasing the relative numbers of home owners to tenants.

It is clear from the evidence that numerous studies have been conducted on deprived communities, both for their negative and positive effects together with studies of government initiatives and current and pending sustainable mixed tenure.

There is however very little research on the success of emerging sustainable mixed tenure community projects in terms of resident satisfaction. The government, developers, planner's etc are fully promoting its beneficial effects but further research needs to be undertaken in order to gain knowledge on the opinions of residents within such schemes.

The next section of this paper will aim to gain first hand opinions from residents and employees within these projects in order to ascertain whether their opinions reflect those from professional bodies.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Purpose of the Study

Trough thorough evaluation of already existing data and findings within the literature review, a number of factors has arisen which need to be addressed within the primary research. These factors therefore act as the basis for setting this paper's objectives and deciding the research methods to be used.

The most apparent void in the research upon completion of the literature review is the lack of primary research undertaken to record first hand, primary data on the success of mixed tenure sustainable communities according to the residents within such a community. The purpose of this study therefore is to establish the success of such projects according to its residents and establish whether the government should be investing such large sums of money to build and promote them.

3.2 Qualitative and Quantitative Data

This paper will use both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. Quantitative data relies on numerical evidence to draw conclusions. (Veal 1998) To enable reliability of results a large number of participants must be included together with the use of a computer program to analyze the results (Veal 1998). Qualitative data involves gathering a great deal of information about a small group of people and focuses on opinions, feelings and personal experience rather than producing results in numerical form (Veal 1998).

3.3 Data collection methods

The following research methods were adopted to facilitate the data collection process:

- Secondary data examination
- Qualitative observational attendance records
- Two semi-structured qualitative interviews
- Resident questionnaires including both qualitative and quantitative questions.

3.4 Secondary Data

This form of research refers to the analysis of already existing data, which once reviewed provides avenues for primary research which may not have previously been documented. Kerlinger (1992) outlines the main functions of secondary data collection:

- It may be the entire basis of research
- It can be the source of ideas on topics for research;
- It ensures that the research has not already been done
- It is a source of methodological or theoretical ideas;
- It may be the source of comparison; and
- The information may be integral or supportive part of the research.

The secondary data for this study was obtained from the University of Portsmouth library. Textbooks and journals were analyzed to grasp a thorough understanding of the topic. Although both secondary research sources were used, the majority of information came from journals which documented a number of theories and detailed case studies. Other primary sources obtained and analyzed were Government documents which detailed public policies in relation to sustainable developments and deprivation levels.

3.5 Primary Data

3.5.1 Observational Attendance Records

Observational attendance records were completed on two recently created sustainable development projects with mixed tenure status. The two projects involved were Seldown Eco Village in Poole, Dorset and BedZED Eco Village in Wallington, London.

By personally attending both projects using an unstructured observation/non-participant observation technique (Saunders et.al, Thornhill 2003), first hand experience could be acquired by providing a narrative account of social interactions, behavior and the relationships of the residents (appendix). Observation has the advantage of being unobtrusive (Veal, 1997). It is often referred to as using

unobtrusive techniques (Kellehear, 1993) and has the advantage of gathering information about peoples behavior without their knowledge (Veal, 1997).

Observational records benefit over surveys where only the behavior of residents is inferred. Residents in surveys may exhibit a tendency towards replying in a way which they feel they should as people become extremely protective about their local area and environment (social desirability effect)(business research methods). Even if a resident is aware of negative aspects of their environment they may be reluctant to state this in a survey. (Business Research Methods). Differences between stated behavior and actual behavior can also provide false results in a survey as how people say they are likely to behave and how they actually behave may be inconsistent (Clarke and Critcher, 1985). These attendance records compliment the Interviews and resident's questionnaires and are used to add an extra angle when concluding all the primary data.

3.5.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

There are three types of interviews: Structured, unstructured and semi-structured interviews (Sekaran, 2003). Structured interviews focus on a list of predetermined questions which are considered pertinent to the problem (Sekaran, 2003). Unstructured interviews are often used as a starting point in research, enabling preliminary issues to rise to the surface allowing the researcher to decided upon which variables require further in-depth information (Sekaran, 2003).

A Qualitative semi-structured open-ended questioned interview was used when interviewing Glyn Peterson (appendix). This form allows for to a one to one exchange of dialogue in a more discussion/conversational approach. This approach uses topics and issues as starting points for discussion, asking brief questions to encourage the participant to expand and give their personal opinion on each subject area, gaining required and new information, which may not have been previously considered (Minichiello et al. 1990). By using a qualitative interview over quantitative interview new questions which follow up the participants replies can be asked, together with the ability to rearrange the order of questions and possible omit any questions which may not be relevant (Veal 1997). Quantitative interview questions would not allow this flexibility, as it would compromise the standardization on the interview process affecting the reliability and validity of measurement (Saunders et al. 2003).

A semi-structured qualitative interview was also used in the compilation of information for the second next mixed tenure community: BedZED Eco Village. The difference between this interview and the interview with Glyn Perrens from Seldown Eco Village was the face-to-face aspect. On contacting the project it was stated that any further information on the project apart from that obtained when attending the BedZED tour, would not be available. However when attending the architects question and answer session at the end of the BedZED tour, a contact name was acquired of a member of staff who could provide me with further information on the social cohesion of its residents. An email address of Jess Hodge, BedZED's center manager, was provided and subsequently contacted. The findings from a resident satisfaction survey conducted two months prior to the visit were obtained. When emailing jess to ask formally for such information a semi-structured written interview (appendix) was attached to the email, requesting she complete and return. The interview asked similar questions to the ones put forward to Glyn. However, as I was unable to gain access to a face to face interview due to the projects high status and limited time allowed for public questioning, the answers received by email could not spark a discussion allowing for scope in subject area. The questions put forward to jess were open-ended allowing expansion and possible deviation from the initial questions with a section allowing inclusion of any further comments on subjects which may not have been covered.

3.5.3 Resident questionnaires

There are two types of questionnaires that were considered when considering which approach to take. The first is interviewer completion questionnaires and the second respondent completion questionnaires. Bellow show the advantages and disadvantages related to both options.

	Interviewer completion	Respondent completion
Advantages	More Accuracy Higher Response rates Fuller and more complete answers Design can be less 'user friendly'	Cheaper Quicker Relatively anonymous
Disadvantages	Higher cost Less anonymity	Patchy response Incomplete response Risk of frivolous responses More care needed in design

Fig. 3.1 Comparison of Interview and Respondent completed questionnaires
(Veal 1998)

Due to the fact that Seldown only has 86 residents an interviewer completion method was chosen in order to gain a high response rate with more accuracy.

When attending the Seldown Eco Village with Glyn Peterson door-to-door requests were made to the residents to complete the questionnaire. On entering each property the participant was informed who and why this questionnaire was being conducted and reassured that all information was both confidential and anonymous. This was stated to reassure the participant that any opinions given in the questionnaire would not affect their standing both in the community and alter relationships with local residents. By keeping the questionnaires anonymous the participant would be more willing to be honest and thorough. (Saunders et.al, 2003)

The questionnaire, which was constructed to gain personal opinions of life on mixed tenure estates, was of both qualitative and quantitative nature. Sixteen of the questions asked were of quantitative nature as they sought details on housing tenure and demographics. Other quantitative questions included, sought to find information, which would give a broad view on the percentages of areas such as crime levels, types of interaction with neighbours and property appearances. The reason for such questions was to gain a broad understanding of the percentages of each tenure group to allow comparison of answers. The further six questions were of qualitative nature encouraging the participant to give personal opinions and details of issues relating to the community.

3.6 Analysis of results

Three difference data collection methods were used in this study which allows scope for triangulation. Although using such a method is seen as "less credible" with data analysis being difficult (Saunders, 1997: 74) for this study it will be beneficial in order to gain a clear understand of life in mixed tenure communities.

When analyzing the qualitative data in both the questionnaires and semi-structured interviews the following steps must be taken in order to successfully interpret and analyze the findings;

- Comprehend and manage the data
- Integrate related data drawn from different transcripts and notes
- Identify key themes or patterns from them for further exploration;
- Develop and/or test hypotheses based on these apparent patterns or relationships;
- Draw and verify conclusions

(Saunders et al, 2003)

Bar charts and pie charts will be used to show the findings from the quantitative data involved in the questionnaires. As only a small number of participants were involved with the questionnaire process, the use of a computer analyst system is not necessary. Simple bar charts will successfully be able to show the findings of the data with key themes and patterns being easily identifiable.

When analyzing the data retrieved from the two interviews, a table will be formed which will demonstrate the key themes and responses from both recipients. This will allow for comparison of answers between each individual on each subject theme. A summary of all the data will then conclude the section giving a thorough analysis of responses.

3.7 Ethical issues

Great care was taken to ensure the anonymity of all individuals involved with the data collection process in accordance with Saunders at.al (1997). All participants were informed of the nature of the research and consented to be fully involved as suggested by Burns (2000:18).

3.8 Limitations of research

Due to the time restraints involved with this project and the response rate to the interview completion questionnaires, the findings may not show a broad and truthful understanding of the subject in hand and move prove biased.

Results

The main purpose of the research was to discover the success of mixed tenure housing projects in terms of resident satisfaction and enhanced social capital. The results of the data collection methods have been ordered in such a way to reflect and contrast resident and non-resident opinions to the success of such projects.

Personal Observation

Appendix 3 and 4 show my personal observations from attendance on both sites.

Results from semi-structured interviews

The following data demonstrates the results received from the interviews of employees within the two mixed tenure communities.

Subject Area	Response from employee at Seldown Eco Village	Response from employee at BedZED Eco Village
Interaction of residents	- Respondent stated "They seem to get on fine" - community association attended by both groups	- Genuine sense of community - Active Residents association - On average residents know 23 people within the BedZED community (figures obtained from additional info provided with the interview-see appendix…) 70 % of residents know more people than their last home. (figures obtained from additional info provided with the interview see appendix…).

Summary: Interaction between tenants on both sites appear to be fairly frequent. The Residents association brings members from all social groups together enhancing cohesion.

Cohesion between tenures	• Generally mix works well • Good interactions between both groups. • Odd comment by shared owners on lack of respect to environment by social tenants. • Examples of cohesion between polar opposites	• No problems witnessed concerning the cohesion between tenures.

Summary: On a whole each employee felt the cohesion between the different tenures was positive.

Spaces for Community Interaction	• Community centre frequented by both groups. • Number of events held in community centre to encourage interaction.	• Community Centre • Allotment Site • Playing Field • Village Square • All spaces for community interaction frequented by all social groups.

Summary: a number of communal areas are provided on both sites to facilitate community interactions.

Conflict amongst residents	• No witnesses of conflict between residents	• No witnesses of conflict between residents.

Summary: Both employees witnessed no conflict between residents.

Interaction of Children	- Community centre provides a great source of interaction between children - Children from both groups socialise together. - Children increase cohesion amongst parents from different social groups - Bonds between different social groups are created and enhanced.	- A large number of children socialise in the village square and in the playing field. - Unsure of whether the children socialising were from different tenure groups.

Summary: Children socialise together in both communities with the aid of the communal spaces provided. Different tenure groups interact at Seldown however no evidence is given for those at BedZED.

Crime/Vandalism Levels	- Only one incident of crime in the last 2 years. (Drunk and disorderly arrest). - Two incidents of vandalism thought to have been caused by non-residents. - Respondent states no residents from the project have witnessed any incidents of vandalism	- Incidents of crime and vandalism in the area are high, however the majority of incidents involved people from the surrounding area. - Respondent states "Anecdotal evidence suggests that there is more anti-social behaviour around the social housing block, but this has not been measured" - A resident caretaker has been employed, which has discouraged residents from vandalising the area.

Summary: incidents of crime and vandalism have been noted in both communities, however most involved non-residents. The anecdotal evidence suggests that more anti-social behaviour occurred around the social tenant's block in BedZED.

Personal safety	• Respondent has always felt safe walking around the site both in the day and at night. • Of the opinion that the majority of residents have good feelings of personal safety.	• No data provided on feelings of personal safety.

Summary: Both respondent and residents felt a sense of personal safety within the Seldown Eco Village. No data was provided for the residents at BedZED.

Sense of Unity	• Design and layout of properties have been successful in creating a sense of unity and increasing community cohesion on estate.	• Good sense of unity amongst residents due to BedZEDs unique design, feelings of shared experience. • Separating the social tenants from the private tenants has hindered unity for such tenants.

Summary: a good sense of unity is shown in both projects, however it is clear to see that integrating social tenants with private tenants has proved more successful in strengthening feelings of unity.

Success of Project	• On a whole the project has been successful despite the physical defects of the buildings.	• Comments on the success of the project are positive, however it is felt that it is too early to tell whether BedZED

	• Feels residents are happy with the project in terms of its mixed tenure aspect. • The mix of tenants has worked well. • No divide amongst residents. • Tenants are living side by side in reasonable happiness. • Increased motivation for unemployed social tenants to seek involvement in the community for the better good of others and oneself. • The project has not been successful in terms of design. The materials used to build the project have not weathered well and there are a number of defects in terms of land contamination and design faults resulting from a poor design brief.	has succeeded in creating a socially sustainable community. • Residents are pleased with their properties and supportive of the BedZED concept. Residents commented that they very much enjoyed living at BedZED • Residents have commented on the strong sense of community that has emerged on the estate. • The choice not to "pepper pot" the social tenant properties within the private properties has had an impact on their integration within the community. It is noted that the Peabody Trust, who manages the social tenant block, made this decision as they felt it would make maintenance easier.

Summary: It is clear to see that both employees feel the project they are personally involved in has been successful. Both projects have created a sense of unity, with the exception of the social tenants within the BedZED site, due to the layout of the development. There is a strong sense of community within each project with high levels of resident satisfaction. Both employees agree that integrating the social tenant's properties with the private tenant's properties enhances social interactions and creates a more inclusive community. Social capital has improved for social tenants within the Seldown site in terms of employment prospects. It is felt that this is due to their inclusion within such a community, encouraging them to improve the lives of the community and themselves. Employees feel that the levels of crime within each site are low. The incidents that have been reported are thought to have been committed by non-residents. The Anti-social behaviour around the social tenant's blocks in BedZED however could suggest the project has failed somewhat in improving resident cohesion and integration of social tenants into the community.

It must be noted however that due to both sites being relatively new it is difficult to state whether the projects have been successful in creating socially sustainable communities.

Results from resident Questionnaire

Results from all the questions asked be shown in the appendices, however relevant questions relating to the papers objectives together with answers which show significant results are shown in this chapter.

The first two graphs give an overview of the respondents. Of the 21 questionnaires received, 13 were from social housing and 8 were from shared ownership tenants. The highest numbers of recipients were single parents living in socially rented housing with the next highest proportion being from two parent families in socially rented accommodation. This will inevitably have a small impact on the validity of the results, however it must be borne in mind that opinions have been gained from both social groups across all family types.

Fig. 4.1 Response to Questionnaire

Response to Questionnaire by Tenure

- Social Rented
- Shared Ownership

Fig. 4.2 Family Status of Respondents

Family Status of Respondents

- Private
- Social
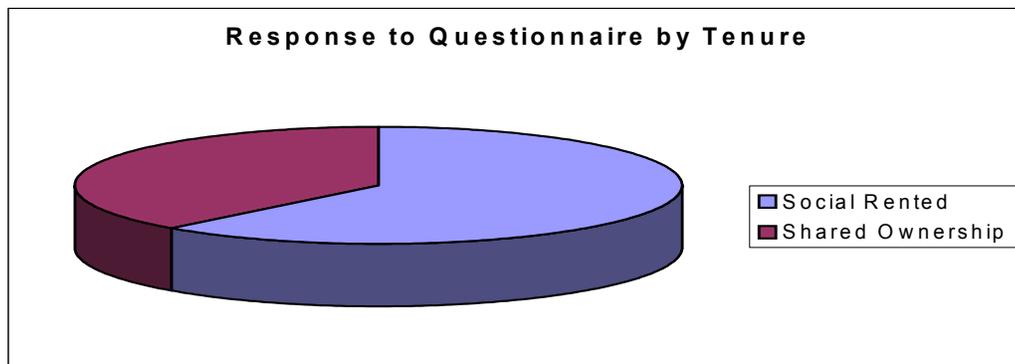
Number of residents
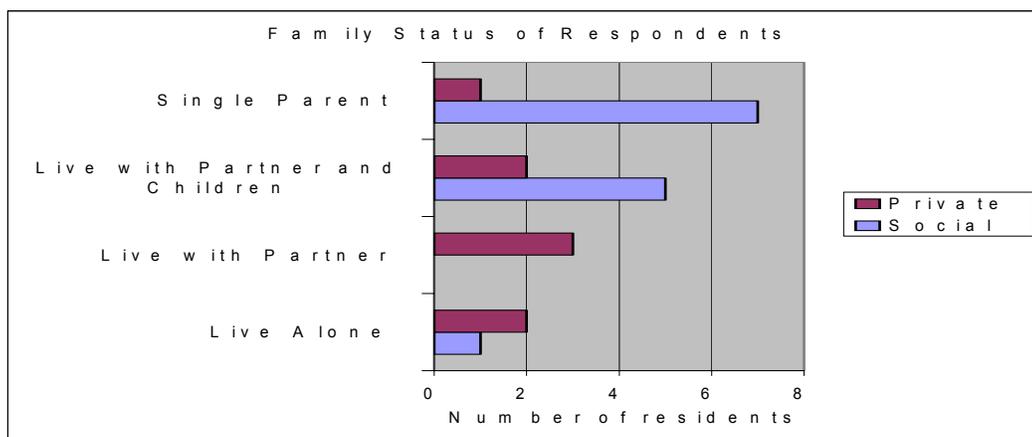
Resident Cohesion

Fig. 4.3 Cohesion amongst residents

Do you get along with your local residents?

Number of Residents

social
private

yes   no   no interaction
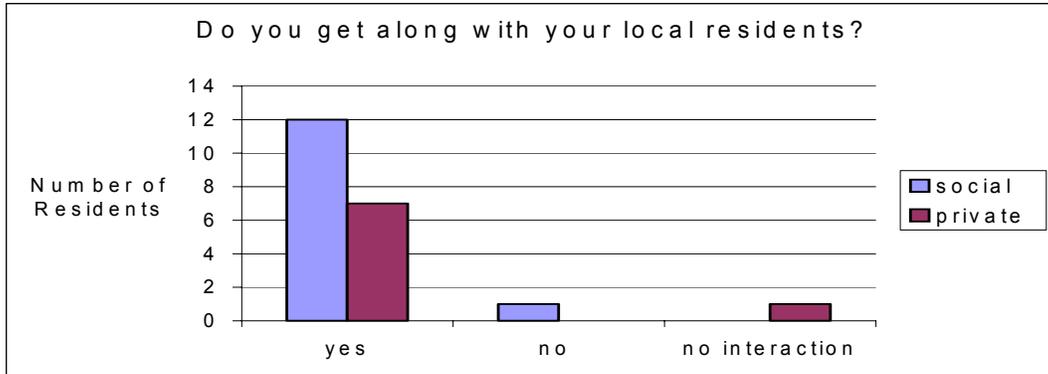
Fig. 4.4 Frequency of interaction with neighbours

How often do you talk to your neighbours?

Number of Residents

Social
Private

On most days   Once or twice a week   Once or twice a month   Less often than once a month   Never
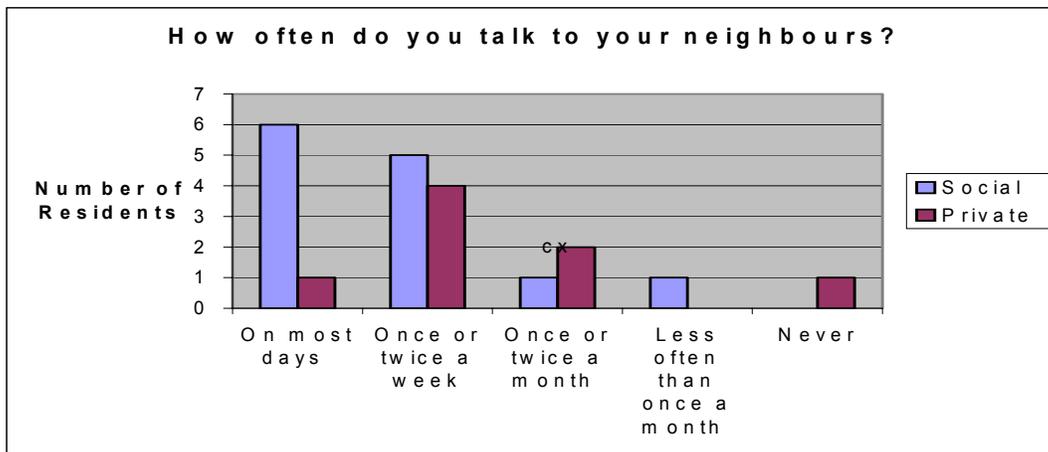
Fig. 4.5 Type of interactions between neighbours

How do you engage as neighbours

Number of Residents

Social
Private

Regularly engage in social activities   Occasionally engage in social activities   Co-exist as neighbours rather than friends
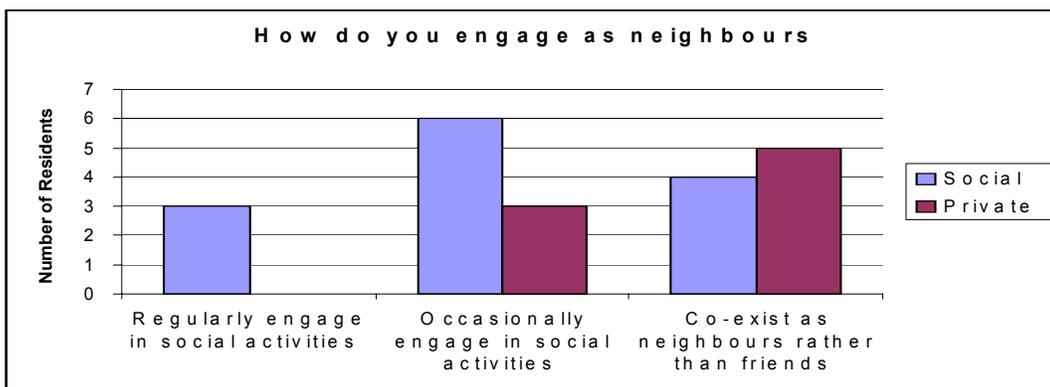
Figures 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5 demonstrate that there is overall cohesion of residents from both social groupings. It appears that social tenant's converse more with their neighbours than their shared ownership counterparts and marginally feel a greater sense of cohesion within their community.

Shared ownership tenants tend to converse with their neighbours quite frequently, however no real social bonds are created, usually co-existing as neighbours rather than friends. This compares to social tenants who tend to form stronger bonds with their neighbours.

Places for Social interactions

Fig. 4.6 Use of on-site Community Centre
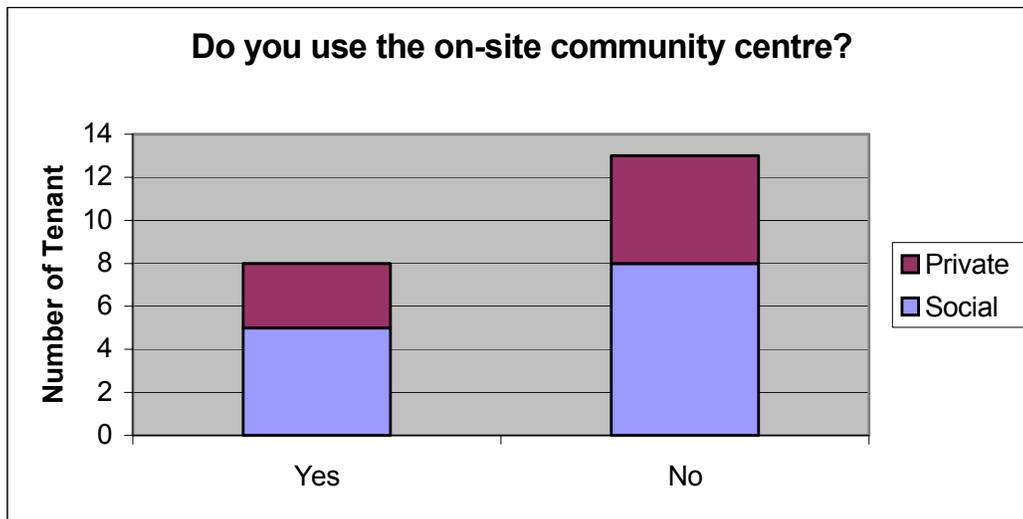
Figure 4.6 demonstrates that only 38% of the residents questioned used the community centre as a means for social interactions, with more social tenants frequenting than shared ownership tenants.

<u>Conflict between residents</u>

Fig. 4.7 Conflict between residents
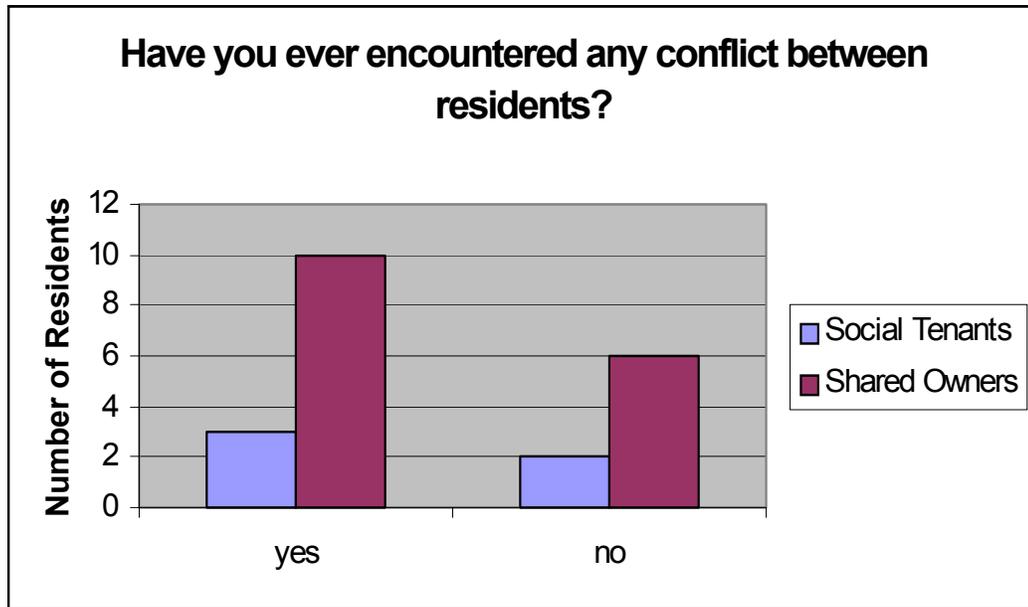
Fig. 4.8 Tenure groups involved with resident conflict

.
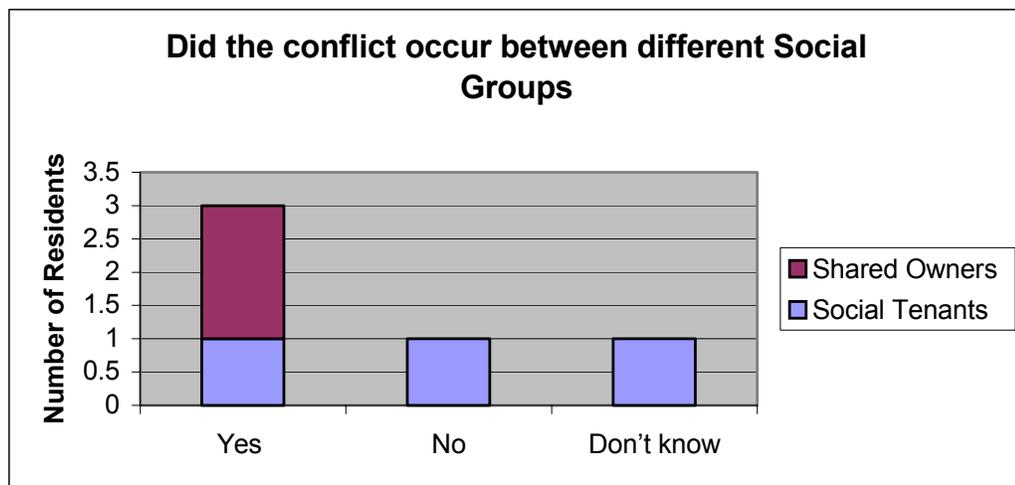
Figures 4.7 demonstrates that conflict has been witnessed between tenants with figure 4.8 showing the conflict was more often than not between different tenures. As only 5 respondents witnessed any form of conflict, the figure difference between whom the conflict occurred can not necessarily be relied upon to justify such a conclusion.

Crime and vandalism

Fig. 4.9 Incidents of Crime and Vandalism

Witnesses of Crime & Vandalism
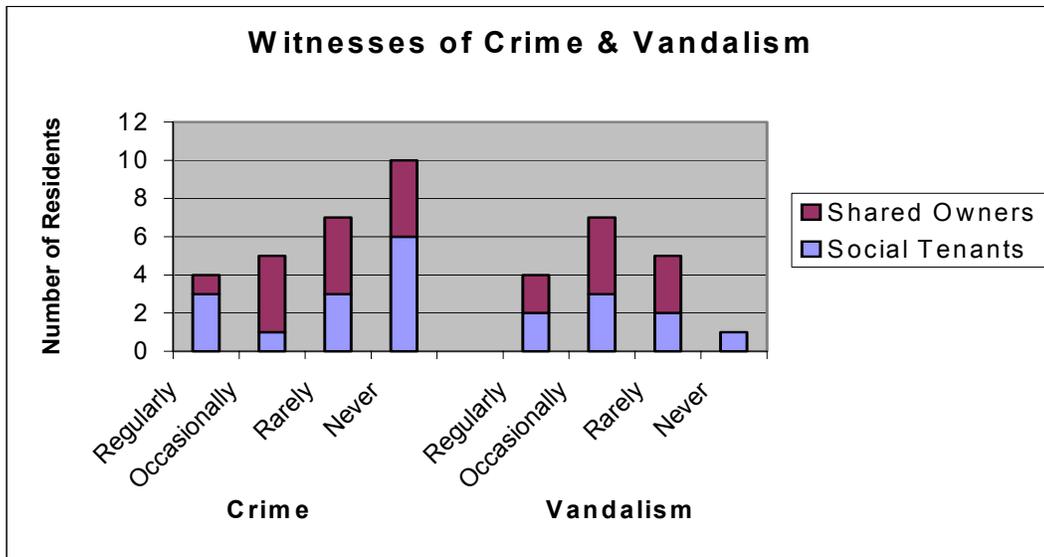
Fig 4.8 shows all tenants have witnessed incidents of crime and vandalism within the site. The data shows a moderate level of crime, however some residents witness incidents of crime and vandalism on a regular basis.

Fig. 4.10 Feelings of personal safety within the community.

Would you say this neighbourhood was a place where you feel personally safe?
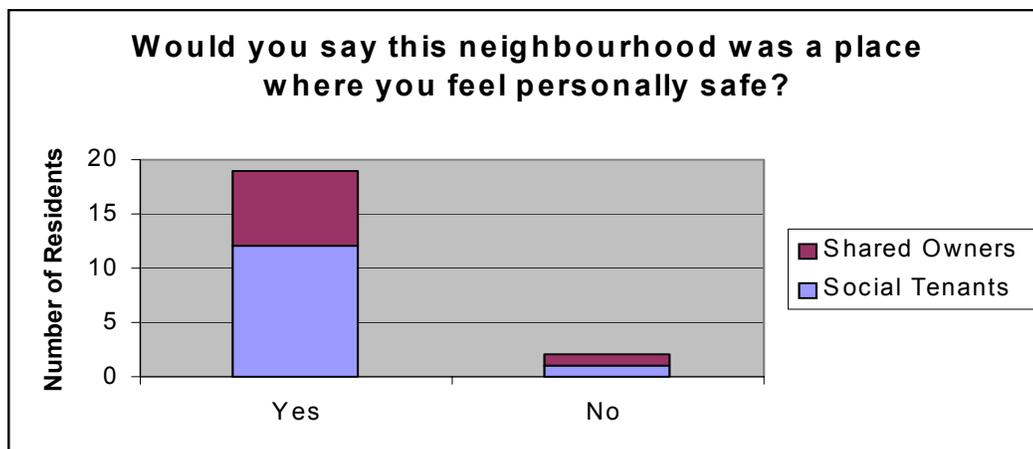
Fig. 4.10 demonstrates overall satisfaction with ones community in terms of personal safety.

Recommendations for living within a mixed tenure community

Fig. 4.11 Recommendations by residents for living within a mixed tenure community
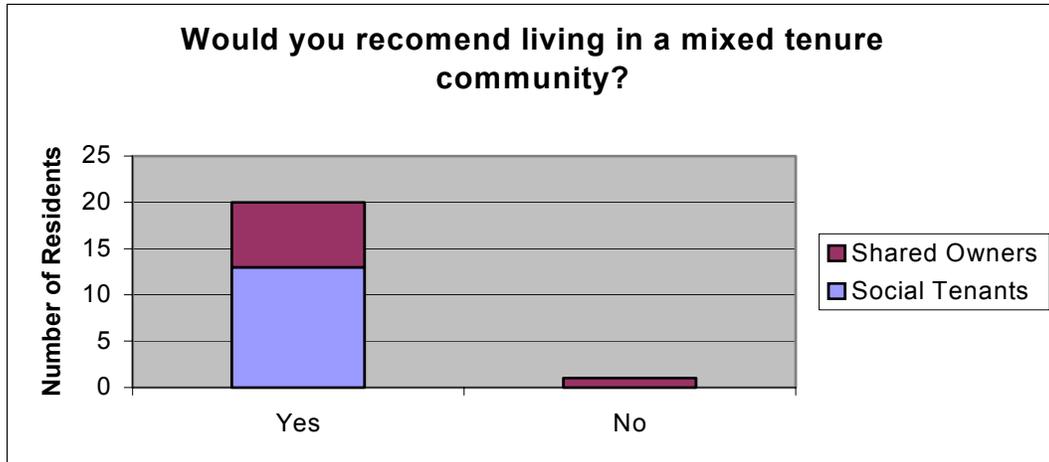
Fig. 4.11 shows that nearly all residents would recommend living within a mixed tenure community with one resident stating otherwise.

Q21 & Q22. Positive & Negative effects of mixed tenure communities

Such questions were of qualitative nature and encouraged residents to give their opinions on mixed tenure communities. The majority of comments made were positive with the overall notion that putting different social groups together enhanced their knowledge of different cultures and ways of life. The comments were made by parents with children and referred specifically to the beneficial impact for their children.

Two negative comments were received both from shared ownership tenants. They both gave the view that social tenants tended not to take care of their properties and failed to respect their surroundings

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

This research paper aims to analyse whether mixed tenure housing is successful in combating segregated communities. The paper also sought to evaluate whether planning policies promoting such developments are correct. Evidence documented in the literature review show that segregation occurs across both deprived and high-income groups. Including a range of social groups in terms of income within one area is clearly a subject of great debate and high on the agenda within government policy.

Previous research suggests the inclusion of different social groups within an area provide a number of beneficial effects in terms of social capital. The primary research undertaken in this paper sought to clarify whether such claims were correct and address whether government policies are correct in their recommendations for such projects.

The findings indicated that opinions from employees involved with the implementation of mixed tenure housing projects did not necessarily coincide with the views of the residents. Such findings suggest that employees be of the opinion that recently developed mixed tenure communities were positively working to improve the lives of residents. Residents within such projects had a slightly negative attitude to its success.

The findings indicated that employees rarely witnessed any conflict between residents and felt interactions between residents were good. The opinions of the residents contrasted such statements, stating a number of conflicts had occurred. The findings demonstrated the conflict often occurred between different tenure groups. The reasons for such conflict may suggest that cultural difference of opinions and ways of life my fuel conflict.

The details of bonds formed between differed between social groups also differed between employee and resident. Employees felt there was a great sense of community with good social bonds between all types of residents. The findings from the results however demonstrate that the majority of social tenants formed stronger

bonds with their neighbours. Private tenants on the other hand chose to distance themselves somewhat from the community. Private tenants tend to co-exit as neighbours rather than friends. Reasons for such findings may be due to private tenants choosing not to interact with the community due to the stigma of social housing tenants. The different tenures may feel no connections with residents from differential social groups resulting in the distancing of the community.

In terms of crime levels, the findings show deferential evidence between employee and resident. It appears that employees are not aware of the levels of crime within such communities. As employees are not residents within the site the opportunities for observations of crime and vandalism are limited. Information received from the BedZED Eco village stated that incidents of anti-social behavior were higher around social tenant's properties. The project in question did not have an evenly distributed mix of social tenants within the site. The layout of the development may have resulting in the creation of a small pocket of segregated deprivation.

5.2 Recommendations

5.2.1 Future mixed tenure developments projects

The findings suggest that the development of government led mixed tenure communities is fairly successful. However in order for communities to be successful in enhancing social capital and combating segregated communities work needs to be undertaken above ground level not just focusing on tenure mixing. The Government needs to think more laterally including smaller networking schemes to enhance cohesion between residents. Employment opportunities can not just been enhanced by inclusion of different social groups. Schemes to promote employment and facilitate the process back into work must be included alongside such projects.

It is clear from the data collection that the layout of the development in terms of tenure is imperative to the success of creating socially sustainable communities. Government policy must ensure that any new development seeking to create a socially sustainable community must integrate social housing evenly within the development.

<u>5.2.2 Existing segregated communities.</u>

In terms of addressing segregated communities on a whole it is clear that creating new mixed tenure developments in not necessarily the solution. If the government is to be successful in meeting its objectives to reduce economic segregation nation-wide a number of initiatives must be included in future public policies:

1. The government needs to address issues in already existing neighbourhoods where the vast majority of segregation occurs. Focus needs to be on creating economic diversity together with the improvements of public services.

2. Affordable housing must be included in already existing areas to dilute the concentration of single tenure council estates.

3. The government needs to ensure the notion of creating mixed tenure communities stays high on government agenda and not just a suggestion that be forgotten in later years.

<u>5.3 Recommendations for future research</u>

More in-depth research needs to be undertaken in order to gain a broader opinion of the success of mixed tenure developments in terms of enhanced social capital. Analysis should be sought from a greater number of projects in order to find possible trends. Due to such projects being relatively new a similar study conducted in 5 years time may show differences in resident cohesion and levels of social capital.

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Appendix 1
Local Community Questionnaire

I am a third year BSC(Hons) Property Development student compiling a research project (dissertation) on Sustainable Communities. By you completing this questionnaire I hope to gain your personal opinions on living within your local community.

1. Is your home (please tick):
- ❑ *Private*
- ❑ *Rented*
- ❑ *Part rent/part buy (affordable housing)*
- ❑ *Social housing (council/housing association funded)*

2. Are you aware of different social groups living in your immediate community?
- ❑ *Yes (please go to question 3)*
- ❑ *No (please go to question 4)*

3. What is your family status?
- ❑ *Live on my own (go to question 8)*
- ❑ *Live with a partner (go to question 8)*
- ❑ *Live with a partner and children (go to question 6)*
- ❑ *Single Parent (go to question 6)*

4. Do your children interact with other children within your local community
- ❑ *Yes*
- ❑ *No*

5   If yes, which groups do they socialise with?
- ❑ *Children from the same social groups*
- ❑ *Children from all social groups.*

6. Do you get along with your local residents?
- ❑ *Yes*
- ❑ *No*
- ❑ *I do not interact with them.*

7. How often do you talk to any of your neighbours? Is it . . .
- ❑ *On most days*
- ❑ *Once or twice a week*
- ❑ *Once or twice a month*
- ❑ *Less often than once a month*
- ❑ *Never*

8. How do you engage with your neighbours?
- ❑ *Regularly engage in social activities*
- ❑ *Occasionally engage in social activities*
- ❑ *Co-exist as neighbours rather than friends*

9. Are there places within the local area for social interactions?
- ❑ *Yes*
- ❑ *No*

If yes please state where? …………………………………………..

10. Is there a difference in the appearance and quality of the properties between the different tenures (private, rented, part buy/part rent/social housing)?
- ❑ *Yes*
- ❑ *No*

11. Which group would you say value their property more and regularly improve and keep the property looking presentable?
- ❑ *Private*
- ❑ *Rented*
- ❑ *Part rent/part buy/ (affordable housing)*
- ❑ *Social Housing*

12. Have you ever encountered any conflict between local residents?
- ❑ *Yes*
- ❑ *No*

13. If yes please state details of conflict
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
………

14. Did the conflict occur between different social groups?
- ❑ *Yes*
- ❑ *No*

15. Would you say this neighbourhood is a place where you personally feel safe?
- ❑ Yes
- ❑ No

16. Have you witnessed incidents of crime in the area?
- ❑ *yes regularly*
- ❑ *occasionally*
- ❑ *rarely*
- ❑ *Never*

17. Have you witnessed acts of vandalism in the area
- ❏ *Yes regularly*
- ❏ *Occasionally*
- ❏ *Rarely*
- ❏ *Never*

18. Would you recommend living in a mixed tenure community?
- ❏ *Yes*
- ❏ *No*

19. What are the advantages/ positive aspects you would identify of living in a mixed tenure community?

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
………

20. What are the disadvantages/negative aspects you would identify of living in a mixed tenure community?

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
………

21. Please tick your age group

❏16-21   ❏21-35 ❏35-50 ❏50-65 ❏65 and above

Please use this space for any additional comments

……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………

Thank you for your time

Appendix 2 Tenure of home

Part Buy/Part Rent 8
Social Housing 13

Q2 Awareness of Different social groups in the area

Yes 19   12 Social   8 Rented
No 1   1 Social

Q3 Male female?

Q4

Q5 Family Status

Live on Own 3   1 social   2 Rented

Live With Partner 3   3 Rented
Partner and Children 7   5 Social 2 Rented
Single Parent 8   7 Social 1 Rented

Q6. Do your children interact with other children in local community

Yes 11   9 Social 1 Rented
No   3 Social 2 Rented

Q7 If yes, what groups do they socialise with?

Children from Same Social Groups   4   4 Social
Children from all social groups 6   4 Social 2 Rented
Don't know   1 Social

Q8. Do you get along with your local residents?

Yes 19   12 Social 7 Rented
No 1   1 Social
I do not interact with them 1   1 rented

Q9. How Often do you talk to your neighbours?

On most days 7   6 social 1 rented
Once or twice a week 9   5 social 4 rented
Once or twice a month 3   1 social 2 rented
Less often than once a month 1   1 social 0 rented
Never 1   1 rented

Q10 How do you engage with your neighbours

Regularly engage in social activities 3   3 Social
Occasionally engage in social activities 9   6 Social 3 rented
Co-exist as neighbours rather than friends 9 4 Social 5 Rented

Q11 Do you use the community Centre?

Yes 8   5 Social 3 Rented
No 13   8 Social 5 No

Q12 is there a difference in the appearance of the properties in each tenure?

Yes 4   2 Social 2 Rented
No 8   4 Social 4 Rented
Don't Know 8   7 Social 1 Rented

Q13 which group would you say value and regularly improve their properties

Socially   0   0 social 0 rented
Part rent/part buy 4   2 Social 2 Rental
Neither   17   14 Social 3 Rented

Q14 have you ever encountered any conflict between residents?

Yes 5   3 social 2 rented
No 16   10 social 6 rented

Q15 Details?

Q16 did the conflict occur between different social groups?

Yes 3   1 social 2 rented
No 1   1 social 0 rented
Don't know   1 social 0 rented

Q17 Would you say this neighbourhood was a place where you feel personally safe?

Yes 19   12 social 7 rented
No 2   1 social 1 rented

Q18 witnesses of crime in the area

Yes regularly 4   3 social 1 rented
Occasionally 5   1 social rented 4
Rarely 7   3 social 4 rented
Never 10   6 social 4 rented

Q19 Witnesses of vandalism in the area

Yes regularly 4   2 social 2 rented
Occasionally 7   3 social 4 rented
Rarely 4   2 Social 2 rented
Never 1   1 social 0 rented

Q20 would you recommend living in a mixed tenure community

Yes 20   13 social 7 rented
No 1   1 rented

Q21 advantages?
Q22 disadvantages?

Q23 age group

16-21   2   2 social 0 rented
21-35   15   9 social 6 rented
35-50   4   2 social 2 rented
50-65
65 and above

Appendix: 3
Observational Log
Location: Seldown Eco Village

In order for me to gain unbiased observational opinion on the site I attended the project 15 minutes early prior to my meeting with Glyn Perrens. This was in order for me to have a walk around and note my personal feelings/opinions of the site.

The site appeared to be extremely quiet, with the odd mother and baby leaving/entering the site.

I found the site to be a lot different in its appearance and quality to its description and images on the bioregional website(the developers). On paper the site looks pristine and immaculate, however on observing first hand I found it to look a little run down. The materials that had been used to build the site looked weathered and un-kept; however there was no litter and the area on a whole looked tidy. No signs of graffiti or signs vandalism were witnessed. The layout of the site felt unthreatening and I did on a whole feel safe walking around the site. My only feelings of uncertainty were due to the lack of non-human activity. No real analysis can be made on community interactions due to the lack of human activity in the area

The community Centre was closed with notices on door detailing upcoming events and details of a job opportunity seeking a new chairperson for the residents association. Such observations indicate the centre is used, however it did not look particularly inviting with just a few chairs in scarce room being observed.

Appendix 4
Observational Log
BedZED Eco Village

On approaching the site BedZED did look extremely impressive and stood out considerably to its local surroundings. The bright multi coloured ventilation coolers on the roofs gave it a distinctive look and made it look fun and inviting.

The appearance of the properties was very different from regular developments comprising mostly of glass and wood. They did have an eco appearance about them with the use of natural materials. The tour began in the exhibition centre, which housed numerous displays on the creation, and ideas behind BedZED, together with information on other projects not related to the site. On walking around the site I felt extremely comfortable and safe due to the inviting buildings and use of glass

together with the bright colours.

The open gardens gave the village a sense of unity as there were no high fences or walls, which I imagine, would encourage interaction between residents. Although I did not witness any human activity by residents, the village still felt lived in. the areas

designed for community interaction looked as though they were used which indicted some form of social cohesion and community.

The social tenant's block differed slightly in appearance, with the upkeep of such units not matching those within the privately owned unit blocks. The social blocks appeared slightly less un-kept than their counterparts.
Dorset

Appendix 5: Interview with employee at Seldown Eco Village

Date: 6th March 2007 @ 1pm
Glyn Perrens –Western Challenge Housing association.

Who is western challenge and what do they promote?

Western Challenge has about 10,000 properties across the south east which provide both rental and properties to buy. We will be developing a number of similar projects to Seldown in the areas of Southampton and Portsmouth as it is one of the planned growth areas for Portsmouth Urban South Hampshire (PUSH)

What is the mix at Seldown?

The mix is slightly in favour of shared owners, 60% in shared ownership and 40% Socially rented housing. The local authority have obviously had a influence on the amount of affordable housing in the area. They inform us the amount they require from us, how many key worker homes are needed etc, .

Yes, planning guidance states what amount has to be affordable

Yes its hard as we end up with housing strategy saying one thing, the planners from another section saying another and us being stuck in the middle…because our business plan is about developing numbers of accommodation, its very much focused on numbers……we need to get 5,000 within the next 10 years, if someone says to us it has got to be shared ownership, we will say fair enough, it costs the same to build as general rented we will just adjust the income streams a bit….so we are sort of almost stuck in the middle of trying to build places and then the Council or housing corporation will tell us what we can do and we end up doing that. But that's just the way it goes now.

Were you involved with the initial planning stages of Seldown?

No

So you are unaware of how much community opinions and input were considered when designing the site.

I was not involved directly but apparently technically there was, there was input, the land was sold by the local authority and at the time we understand that there was a Lib Dem council so they were quite keen to sell the land at a bit of a discount in favour of this eco development, then there was change of administration, the new administration decided that they would not sell it cheaply to a commercial organisation and they wanted the buyers to pay more money for it…consequently the price went up, for example the solar panels we cut back on together with timber windows, so there are PVC windows now

One of the constant features was the eco idea of cutting back on parking permits, when residents moved in we gave them a travel pack, we gave them a long interview to inform them that they would not be getting a parking permit necessarily, we gave them train and bus timetables, a voucher for 50% of a bicycle. A lot of it was a bit of PR but obviously its trying to do what you can….we are an organisation which is in partnership with the local authority but there is only so much we can do. We did what we could. We were up front with the residents that it was an eco project and cars would be discouraged due to its carbon emissions, and few cars would be allowed, but my opinions on some of that was people were so desperate for the accommodation due to the housing shortage in the area that they quite happily accepted the properties and decided to find alternative arrangements for a car later on, so people were not necessarily choosing it because they wanted the eco concept. This is purely my opinion and is not based on anything other than the fact that residents have stated that they need a car now and a number of enquiries have been made to the local council about the fact that there are no parking permits. It seems clear that as soon as the eco factors like not being able to own a car due to not having access to a parking permit arise, because it affects them personally they don't seem to be swayed by the ecological and money saving benefits of not owning a vehicle.

In terms of the residents, have you noticed any divides between the different tenures, the socially rented residents and the privately rented/owner residents? Do they seem to get on ok?

I think they seem to get on fine, there has been the odd comment which has arisen at resident meetings, a number of comments have been made by one shared owner who states that "there are too many women with tattoos in the area and there are too many St George's flags hanging on the balconies during the world cup, he said it looks really common and looks like a council estate. Personally I think it is ridiculous, I have worked with female colleagues who have tattoos, it does not shape a person, I just feel his comments have arisen due to the project not working out as well as he had hoped. Generally there is not a divide; a few comments have been made about socially rented residents not caring about their area, as they do not have to pay the rent.

So in terms of the upkeep of properties would you say that any one tenure respects and keeps the appearance of their property at a higher standard then another?

Generally no, we have one situation where we have a trainee solicitor living in a privately rented property and she lives directly next to a socially rented tenant and you could imagine that cohesion could prove a problem and that you would notice difference in the appearance of the properties, but there is no real noticeable differences between the two and they seem to get on fine.

What is your opinion on creating mixed tenure communities as a means of improving social capital?

When I started in housing back in the 80's there was no such thing as balanced communities, you just had developments, and the agenda during the last 4/5 years had pushed for sustainable communities

Oh yes of course, well it is government policy at the moment to push for such schemes

Yes definitely, and I worked in the midlands for quite some time, just before I moved to Western Challenge and we had a scheme where the average length of a tenant was three years, which pose problems for keeping the tenure mix, in Poole we seem not to have this problem, you get sustainable tenancies and leases anyway without having to do any social engineering, purely because there is less choice in this area for housing and most tenants seem to stay put once they are housed. So because of this we do not have a problem with short tenancies, there is quite alot of sustainability in that sense, but then it depends how you define suitability? Our sustainability indicators are probably different to other peoples, we can look at the turnover of accommodation and we don't seem to see such a large turnover, in two years Seldown has seen one mutual exchange and one death in 2 years in 86 units that's less than 1%.

What the government and what I am researching into is the idea of sustainability in terms of people working together to build a community which people want to live in, which improves life prospects and breaks down the barriers of segregated communities by bringing all different social groups together.

There is a community association which does get a good turnout and the community centre does get used. The community centre had to be built as part of the development to gain planning permission and create this sustainable community. We don't have that in other projects created by Western challenge.

Do you think the community centre has worked? Has it brought people together for the better?

It has brought people together, if only just to cause people to have opinions even if they are negative about the physical defects of the site. I wouldn't say working together well was the right expression, but there is certainly no divide and I think that if there is no divide then you have people living side by side with reasonable happiness.

Without major conflict?

I would not consider that we work particularly well together but we don't have any problems, I know it is a slightly negative angle to look at but it does work out generally. Generally speaking the mix has worked well; if you can divorce that from the fabric related problems such as parking permits, housing defects then I think you would find that residents would say that they are happy with the scheme.

Are there many families with children in the community?

There are some single people but the majority are either single parents or couples with one or more children

Is that's true for both socially rented and private?

Yes,

It has been found that children are a major source of bringing groups, that would not normally associate with each other, together, do the children all play together?

Yes, when the community association meets, which is attended by all social groups, the children do play together; there has also been a number of events and children's parties held at the community centre used by all groups. We have had very few problems relating to children, and I would say that it has enhanced relationships between the community, bringing people together.

In terms of the design and layout of Seldown, are the different tenures scattered amongst each other or is the development sectioned of into separate tenure groups?

Hornbeam square where there is a row of 5 houses, where we do have a problem with gas (benzene which is being investigated), comprises of 3 shared ownership properties and two socially rented properties. You would not know which property was owned by which tenure group, the design is identical. In terms of income, referring to the trainee solicitor tenant, who some people would say was a respectable profession with a high income/middle class, is living next to a single parent family in a socially rented property. So there is that nice mix there….the buildings are not identical but you will get a cluster of flats built to the same specification which will house a number of tenure groups.

You would say there was a sense of unity?

You would not know which was which from the outside and on entering the properties would struggle to say what tenure the property was from the inside as well. I would say that the design of the properties and layout has been extremely successful in creating a sense of unity and cohesion on the estate. Despite all the cynicism which I feel has come from the problems which arose from the design brief, the employers agent, the building surveyors, the contractors, the suppliers, lack of continuity lack of ownership….I think we get lost in the fact that we won all of these awards, we forgot that we needed to ensure all the defects in the properties were sorted and make sure the locks work and things like that.

Seldown does have a distinctive style and its appearance does differ from other developments? Would you say the design has enhanced the community in any way? Added anything to the area?

I would not say that it has enhanced the community at all, the design and choice of the materials I think may cause problems in the future as I do not feel that it will not weather well and it may turn into to a bit of a slum. I don't think England is ready for large timber clad developments, certainly no one has said anything negative about the design but then I have heard no positive about the design either…I think that is quite an interesting question it would be interesting to see whether in a few years time, whether it will make a difference, whether people would make that comment.

What is the crime rate like on the estate?

We have had one police call, due to someone being arrested for being drunk in two years…which I think is very good, I have colleagues that work on other housing projects around the country and they describe their projects as working in Beirut. This is clearly not Beirut. I worked on one project where there would be 50/60 empty properties at a time and we would have to remove the boilers and kitchen units as they would be continually broken into and stole. We do not have this kind of problem here, we do not need to board up empty properties, and we have very few break-ins

Have you had many incidences of vandalism?

We have had a small amount of graffiti and a tree has been vandalised, however both these incidents happened next to a public access way, which I think was caused by non-residents walking by, either by drunks or children..we have not had anyone from the estate witness any vandalism.

So you don't get groups of kids hagning around the estate, causing trouble…it does seem very quiet.

Yes I think because you have quite a few shared owners, they do seem to work, or at least one of the partners tend to work…I do a monthly inspection of the estate. I have never witnessed any problems on the estate even when I have attended residents meeting at 9.30pm I have not witnesses any acts of crime or vandalism.

So you feel safe walking around the estate at night?

Yes I do and I would say that allot of the residents also feel safe walking around the estate at night.

Do you think mixed communities are the future for housing?

I think it is, affordable housing, whether rented or shared ownership is the only way forward for a lot of people, particularly in Poole, possibly for yourself? It was bad enough in the late eighties trying to purchase properties, but now it's getting to a point where people aspire to home ownership and something needs to be put in place to actually help that…. It is a difficult concept, difficult to manage but it does show that people are aware that it is an issue. I think it is the way forward purely because you will not see big developments of 500/600 houses, we do not have enough land and secondly planners will want to see suitability and will want to see mixed communities, so I think that everyone has realised that it is the way forward and it is the way the agenda is going. I think at a grass roots level it can work really well, it can also go badly wrong I think.

How do you think it could go wrong?

I think it depend on who you have living there and how it is managed,

Generally speaking yes I feel that it is the future and also the present as everything we build now has an element of shared ownership in it. It comes down to how you define affordable housing, we tend to still say shared ownership and rented, the CIH would say that, RICS would say that, National Housing federation would say that, planners…I think everyone would say that it was the way forward. And even if it isn't we are stuck with it as it is what the government, planners etc all want to see.

Would you say this and similar projects do work towards improving the social capital, life and job prospects of its residents in particular for the deprived communities

We do have a few people on the estate who are either long term unemployed or are in receipt of incapacity benefit, some of them possibly unemployable who do a lot of community work and are involved in a lot of things concerned with this project, helping the community association. Even though it may not necessarily get them back into work because they may be unable to, they are seen as contributing to the community which definitely enhances their social capital in terms of a sense of place, sense of status etc

Appendix 6:
Interview with Jess Hodge- BedZED Eco Villag:

Was the mix tenure aspect a key element in achieving sustainability at BedZED?

We feel that a mixed use (residential and commercial), mixed tenure (privately owned, private rent, social housing and key worker housing) development is better able to deliver true sustainability (environmentally and socially).

What spaces/activities are available for community interaction?

Formal spaces:
Allotment site (food growing and composting)
Playing field (used on an ad-hoc basis for sports, kite flying etc)
Village square (benches – people sit and chat/ read there. Also play petanque and have BBQs)
Community centre (known as the Pavilion). This is only open for organised activities, it is not a drop-in centre. It is used for lots of different activities – aerobics, yoga, children's parties, seminars, a bar, quiz nights etc. For a full programme of events please contact the manager, Jo Simister - 07936399027 bedzedpavilion@yahoo.co.uk

There are also informal spaces that are used socially, for example, shared sky bridges that link flats to gardens, and the walkways between terraces that encourage social interaction.

Are these facilities used regularly? By what groups?

From questionnaire, Jan – Mar 2007.

Which of the BedZED community facilities do you/ your household use?	
Allotments	26%
Nursery	4%
Pavilion (community centre)	74%
Sports field	26%
Village square	26%

We haven't yet broken down this data by tenure.

Have you ever witnessed any conflict between residents on the development?

No

If yes, did the conflict occur between different tenure groups?

n/a

Children play a key part in bringing a community together: are there many families with children that live on the site?

Yes. 31 out of 99 homes are occupied by children.

Do the children interact with each other?

They do seem to, though I am only at BedZED Monday to Friday so don't see what happens at weekends. Certainly there were lots of children playing in the walkways between the terraces, and on the village square and playing field last week (during the Easter holidays)

Do all children from all tenures socialise together?

Don't know

Who uses the onsite nursery? What percentage of children from each tenure group attends the nursery?

The nursery is not just for BedZED residents. As you can see from the questionnaire so far, only 4% of households have used it. Again, I don't know from which tenures. You could try contacting the nursery but I doubt they would give out information about customers.
Sunnyfields Day Nursery: 020-8401-1950
http://www.nursery-school.net/sandmartinway.htm

Have you witnessed or heard of any incidents of crime in the area? What tenure groups were involved/targeted?

There have been incidences of crime at BedZED but on the whole they have involved people from the surrounding area, not from BedZED. BedZED has been the target of vandalism; graffiti, arson, broken windows etc; most recently a bench that the community had made was set on fire in the allotment site.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that there is more anti-social behaviour around the social housing block, but this has not been measured.

Is there difference in design between each tenure property group?

There are 27 different housing types at BedZED. The key worker housing, and homes that are privately owned or rented comprise studio flats, 2 bedroom flats, 3 bedroom maisonettes and 4 bed houses. The social housing is in 2 blocks, not spread around the whole site and comprises flats of various sizes. All of the homes are built to the same standard, using the same materials and with the same fixtures and fittings.

Is there a sense of unity?

Yes I think so. There is an active residents' association and a genuine sense of community here.

Has the design/layout been successful in encouraging social interaction between the different social groups?

Obviously there would have been more social interaction between the different groups if all of the housing had been pepper-potted rather than having the social housing in separate blocks. (This was chosen by The Peabody Trust as they felt it would make maintenance easier.)

Would you say there was a difference in the level of upkeep of the properties within each tenure group? Does any group value/make regular improvements to their property above any over tenure group?

All of the properties are leasehold. Home improvements here are not possible in the same way as for standard housing stock as this could have a negative impact on the environmental sustainability of the homes. So residents are able to make changes to the inside of their homes and to the gardens but not the outside. They could not, for example, change the windows or add an extension.

How successful would you say BedZED has been in achieving a socially sustainable community?

I think it is too early to tell. BedZED has been fully occupied for 5 years, and there is definitely a strong sense of community here.

Would you say the social capital of the social housing tenants has improved due to their inclusion on the BedZED site?

Don't know

What changes, if any, could be made to improve the project to enhance social interactions/social capital of the residents?

Mixing the different tenures so that all groups were represented in each block.

In your opinion do you agree that mixed tenure sustainable developments are the future for housing? Do you personally feel that by mixing different tenure groups can enhance the social capital of its residents, in particular improving the lives of deprived communities?

Yes. In this way we can seek to avoid pockets of deprivation/ ghettos and promote understanding between different social groups.

Please note any further comments you may have on the success of BedZED or on any other mixed tenure development.

I think that the community spirit at BedZED has been greatly enhanced by the provision of community facilities but also because of the absolute commitment to making it succeed by all of the parties involved in the development. (Initiated by BioRegional, BedZED was developed by the Peabody Trust in partnership with BioRegional Development Group and designed by Bill Dunster Architects). BioRegional and Bill Dunster Architects both have offices on site and organised events for residents to start off with, and continue to be involved in ongoing improvements. BioRegional obtained funding for a 'green lifestyles officer' who was in post for the first 18 months, and this resulted in greater community engagement because she organised so many social activities such as bike maintenance workshops, composting, food growing etc, which meant that the residents got to know each other quickly. If the development team had simply finished the development and moved on, this would not have happened to the same extent.

On most Peabody Trust sites they use their standard contractors for maintenance, upkeep of the grounds and so on. At BedZED this didn't really work (they did not work in a way that was sympathetic to the ethos of BedZED, for example, using herbicides to kill weeds) and so they employed a BedZED resident to be a part time care-taker. This works really well. I think that vandalism is discouraged because the residents know the person who is responsible for repairs. And the caretaker has pride in his work because he also lives here.

There is also the fact that BedZED is still a fairly unique development and so it is possible that the residents feel a sense of unity and shared experience simply because they all live here.