

# **Large Housing Estates in London and Birmingham, United Kingdom**

**Opinions of residents on recent developments**

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# Large Housing Estates in London and Birmingham, United Kingdom

Opinions of residents on recent developments

**RESTATE report 4j**

Stephen Hall  
Alan Murie  
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RESTATE  
Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices  
and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities

Utrecht 2005  
Faculty of Geosciences, Utrecht University



# RESTATE

RESTATE is the acronym for the international research project Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities.

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## 1.1 RESTATE: a general overview

Cities and their regions are the dynamos of the European economy, enabling the European Union (and potential member states) to maintain a strong position in the global economy. When these cities contain large areas that are not faring well, it is important to find out how best to change them so as to remove their dysfunctional characteristics. Large-scale housing estates built in the three or four decades after the Second World War are seen as problem areas in many cities all over Europe. Here, economic decline goes hand in hand with physical and social decline.

All over Europe massive numbers of people live in these post-WWII large-scale housing estates. They were carefully planned, but now they often manifest a multitude of problems. They house large numbers of low-income households, the unemployment rates are above average, and in some countries these estates have become concentration areas for ethnic minorities. Many estates are becoming increasingly associated with crime and social exclusion. The circumstances on the estates and policy initiatives associated with them are the focus of the RESTATE project. An important part of the project is the exchange of experiences and solutions between policymakers and academic researchers.

RESTATE is the acronym for Restructuring Large-scale Housing Estates in European Cities: Good Practices and New Visions for Sustainable Neighbourhoods and Cities. All the participants in this project share the basic underlying conviction: if the problems of these large-scale housing estates are not resolved, they will increasingly hinder the good economic functioning of cities. The study draws on estates in ten European countries: France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The project has the following objectives:

- to identify and to clarify the social and economic changes which have occurred on large post-WWII estates and in particular to identify general and specific factors triggering and influencing the emergence of problems and patterns of decline in these areas;
- to develop a checklist of items that have proved to be important in successful and less successful policy responses with respect to these estates;
- to draw conclusions about the potential for the cross-national transfer of knowledge and experience and for cooperation in strategic planning for these areas and in area and estate management;

- to produce a comprehensive and practical handbook in which forward-looking scenarios and new visions for large post-WWII estates in Europe are associated with examples of evidence-based best practice to achieve the sustainable future development of these areas;
- to build for practitioners and researchers a user-friendly database containing details of the nature, successes, and failures of present policies aimed at improving the position of large post-WWII estates and their inhabitants;
- to consider whether and in what ways European-level policy could contribute to more effective responses to problems associated with these estates.

The primary objective of RESTATE is to deliver evidence-based knowledge drawing on experiences in cities in all parts of Europe. The methods used include literature research, statistical overviews, interviews, a survey, and interviews of urban representatives. The proposed handbook that will be written at the end of the research period will set out best practices for future sustainable developments of these areas and for effective policy implementation. It is hoped that the results will be useful for policymakers seeking to discover the contexts in which measures have been, or can be expected to be, successful in improving large-scale housing estates in cities.

Case studies are the heart of the project. Each study:

- establishes general information about the estate: its characteristics, its history, and its demographic, social, economic, and physical development and problems;
- identifies the philosophy and aims of the policies that are being promoted in the estates, how policies have matured over time, what their effects have been, and how all these matters can be evaluated.

It is important to know precisely what we mean by a large-scale housing estate. Following Power (1997), we could define a large-scale housing estate as a group of buildings that is recognised as a distinct and discrete geographical area. We add one element to this definition: we see large-scale housing estates as developments planned by the state or with state support. With respect to size, we confine our attention to housing estates with at least 2,000 housing units. The focus on the project is on estates built in the second half of the 20th century. Taking these elements together, this project is concerned with large-scale housing estates built in the second half of the 20th century that can be defined as groups of at least 2,000 housing units that are recognised as distinct and geographical areas, planned by the state or with state support.<sup>1</sup>

## 1.2 The contents of this report

In a first report of the RESTATE project (Murie et al., 2003) we concentrated on the structural and other factors that explain the differences between the success and failure of large post-WWII estates in Europe. A later series of reports dealt specifically with large housing estates in the ten countries previously mentioned. In these reports descriptions can be found of the estates

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1 In the rest of the report we refer to these estates as *large housing estates*.

in which the RESTATE research has taken place (see Hall et al., 2003 for the report on the United Kingdom, also see our website ([www.restate.geog.uu.nl](http://www.restate.geog.uu.nl)) for an overview of the rest of the reports). In a third report the focus was on the policies and practices in the estates (see Hall et al., 2004 for the report on the United Kingdom and the website for the other reports).

The basic question addressed in the present report reads as follows:

*Which inhabitants profit from the developments and policies in the estates? Which inhabitants experience clear disadvantages?*

This research question makes it clear that the inhabitants of the estates stand to the fore in this report. It seems logical to assume that current residents would profit from improvements made to their area. But favourable developments such as better housing, more employment opportunities, and better social cohesion may benefit some people or groups but may pass others by completely. Older people will not benefit from policies targeted at those of working age; childless households will not benefit from policies aimed at families; and residents will benefit differentially or at a different time or with different degrees of disruption depending on the part of the estate or the kind of housing in which they live. These patterns may mean that households from minority ethnic groups by and large gain less than others or the other way around. Young people may profit more than old people, households with children more than singles or two-person households. Moreover, developments and policies may have perverse effects: higher quality housing may lead to higher rents and these may force people to move out. Increased social cohesion for some groups may increase exclusion for others; increased employment for some may result in fewer chances for others.

Most results in this report are based on a survey carried out in our estates. The opinions and experiences of the inhabitants of the estates stand to the fore in this survey.

In the second chapter of this report, we give a brief description of the estates that feature in this report: Bow, Poplar, the Birmingham Central Estates and Hodge Hill, all post-WWII housing estates in the cities of London and Birmingham, the United Kingdom. In Chapter 3 we say something about the survey and give some first impressions of the results of the survey. Chapter 4 focuses on the positive and negative aspects of the estates as seen through the eyes of the residents. Here we describe the kinds of people who are satisfied with their homes and with their environment and what they think about the social relationships on their estates. In Chapter 5 we concentrate on the effects of the policies, again according to the respondents. Chapter 6 concerns the future: do people think that the estate will be a better place to live in the future? Or do people want to move out as soon as possible? In Chapter 7 we present our general conclusions.

This report is concerned with the cities of London and Birmingham in England; the same kind of information for estates in other countries in the RESTATE project can be found in the parallel reports.



## 2 The estates: a brief overview

This report refers to four estates in England; two located in Birmingham and two in London. The estates were each built in the 1950s and 1960s by local authorities and largely consisted of subsidised housing for rental. In the period since their construction they have been affected by some common processes, as well as by some distinctive processes.

Along with most of the council housing sector in England the estates have suffered from a lack of investment in the period since their construction. This has resulted in deterioration in the maintenance of properties and the estates on which they are located. The sector has been affected by a long-term trend towards residualisation of council housing; a narrowing of the social base, with a greater concentration of lower income households living in council housing than was the case in the past.

The image and reputation of the estates has changed along with the characteristics of tenants. Council housing has become a sector with a higher concentration of very young and elderly households, and levels of unemployment and benefit dependency has increased. This pattern of change has been made more pronounced by the progress of Right-to-Buy.<sup>2</sup> The tendency has been that the most attractive properties, and in particular houses with gardens, have been sold; and more affluent tenants have bought. Estates have developed mixed tenure characteristics and the Right-to-Buy, in the short term, delayed changes in population because purchasers remained in the accommodation that they have bought. The characteristics of council tenants have become even more associated with poorer quality properties and weaker economic positions. The better properties and more affluent households within estates are no longer council tenants, although affluent households may still live in the neighbourhood.

These processes have affected all the estates that we have looked at but they have been affected to different extents. All of the estates include high-rise properties that have been less affected by

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2 In the period up until 1979, privatisation was a side agenda for council housing and did not have a fundamental impact upon its development. However after 1979, this is not true. The Right-to-Buy scheme is statutory and was introduced in legislation in 1980. It is aimed at secure tenants of local authorities and those assured tenants of RSLs who previously held secure tenancies with local authorities – for example, those who became assured tenants after their council homes were transferred to housing associations (known as the preserved Right-to-Buy). It gives tenants the right to purchase the home they occupy at a discount. To be eligible, tenants require a minimum of two years public sector tenancy. The percentage of discount they receive is dependent upon the number of years of their tenancy and could provide substantial discounts of up to 70 per cent on market value. This has resulted in nearly a third of all council properties in England being sold to sitting tenants over a period of 20 years.

the Right-to-Buy and are more likely to be included in the least popular categories of property. Nevertheless, the estates have different levels of mix of dwelling types as well as different locations. Most importantly they have been subjected to different policy interventions. These details are discussed in the following summaries for each estate.

## **2.1 Hodge Hill estate, Eastern Corridor, Birmingham**

Hodge Hill is a 'text book' example of a peripheral local authority housing estate, comprising some 4,000 dwellings, including a number of high-rise blocks. It is located on the eastern periphery of Birmingham, 11 kilometres to the east of Birmingham city centre. The estate, unlike those in Bow, Poplar and Central Birmingham has not been the recipient of a major regeneration programme. Much of the activity in this part of the city is the legacy of an unsuccessful citywide Large Scale Voluntary Transfer (LSVT) proposal formulated by Birmingham City Council and rejected by tenants in a ballot that would have resulted in the transfer of the entire municipal housing stock to ten housing associations. The Hodge Hill estate is the location of a pathfinder Community Based Housing Organisation (CBHO), a network of which Birmingham City Council is seeking to develop in response to the failure of LSVT. The CBHO represents an experiment in localised housing management and community participation.

The Hodge Hill area has a much lower proportion of minority residents than the City of Birmingham as a whole, and the other RESTATE estates. It also is characterised by a higher than average level of elderly residents and children.

## **2.2 The Central Estates, Birmingham**

The Central Estates comprise of five estates (Benmore, Five Ways, Lee Bank, Woodview and the Sentinels) built adjacent to the city centre of Birmingham. The estates have a very high proportion of high-rise properties, mostly built in green 'park' environments which are now seen as unsafe and are unused, and include the two highest residential blocks built in Britain (32 storeys).

The housing stock on the estates was transferred to the Optima Community Association and secured Estate Renewal Challenge Fund finance in 1999. The estates were selected for this regeneration programme because they were regarded as among the most problematic in the City and because of resident demands for investment in the estate. The area consists of some 2,800 properties in the social rented sector. It has very high levels of deprivation and a mixed community with about 40 per cent of the population are from minority ethnic groups.

The present policies are aimed to change the mix of property types and sizes and to introduce a greater mix of tenures. Substantial demolition (one-third of the stock) and re-building to higher density is involved and there is an active programme of socio-economic regeneration designed to complement the investment in properties. Because of the proximity to the City Centre some of the new development in the area will be of private housing and it is hoped to attract higher income households to this accommodation as well as providing opportunities for lower cost home ownership.

## 2.3 Bow HAT, Tower Hamlets, London

Tower Hamlets is one of the 32 boroughs of London. According to the Index of Local Deprivation (2000)<sup>3</sup> 'Rank of Average of Ward Scores', it is the most deprived local authority district in England. The Tower Hamlets Housing Action Trust (HAT) has operated in three estates in the sub-district of Bow in the north-eastern corner of Tower Hamlets. The HAT is known locally and referred to in this report as *Bow HAT*. It is one of six HATs established by the 1988 Housing Act. Bow HAT is a Non-Departmental Public Body (i.e. quango) to which three estates, formerly belonging to the Tower Hamlets Borough Council, were transferred, in 1993, following a ballot of tenants.

The HAT's housing stock was, at the time of designation, comprised mainly of high-rise units constructed in the 1960s and 1970s. By the end of the programme (2004/2005), approximately 1,000 new homes will have been built and a further 150 improved. The HAT is remodelling the three old estates on a low-rise 'neighbourhood' basis and also undertakes community development work through its subsidiary (and one of its successor bodies) 'Bow People's Trust'.

Bow HAT's lifetime government grant in aid will be approximately £123 million, far greater than that of other estate-based regeneration schemes in England. This has been supplemented by a partnership with the Circle 33 Housing Association and the creation of a new landlord 'Old Ford Housing'. At the end of the HAT programme, in 2004, tenants will be balloted (again) on their future choice of landlord.

The estates houses a predominantly elderly, white, population compared to the Borough of Tower Hamlets as a whole, and to Poplar, the other local case study estate (see Section 2.4).

## 2.4 Poplar HARCA, Tower Hamlets, London

Poplar is a neighbourhood in the northeast of the Borough of Tower Hamlets. It is immediately south of Bow. It was noted above that the Borough of Tower Hamlets has been classified as the most deprived local authority district in England. Nevertheless, Poplar is immediately north of Canary Wharf and the London Docklands development area while the financial centre of the city of London is less than two kilometres away, to the west.

Poplar HARCA (Housing and Regeneration Community Association) is a housing association to which seven widely dispersed estates comprising 6,360 dwellings, formerly belonging to Tower Hamlets Borough Council, were transferred between 1997 and 2001, following a series of tenant ballots, as part of the Estates Renewal Challenge Fund (ERCF). The housing stock comprises mostly flatted accommodation of between three and eight storeys. It is proposed that some 10 per cent of the stock will be demolished and the remainder refurbished using £53 million of ERCF resources plus £91 million of private finance. The estates have a very high proportion (i.e. an absolute majority) of ethnic minority tenants, especially of a Bangladeshi origin. Some 30 per cent of residents are below the age of 16 years.

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3 The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) uses a range of data to produce a series of deprivation indices at local authority and small area level. The seven 'domains' of the IMD are: income; employment; health and disability; education, skills and training; housing and services; living environment; and, crime.

## 2.5 Conclusions

The estates display a variety of demographic, social and economic characteristics. Three of the estates (Bow, Poplar, and the Birmingham Central Estates) are the subjects of major regeneration programmes. The key social, economic and housing characteristics of the four estates are summarised in Table 2.1.

*Table 2.1 – Key characteristics of Birmingham and London estates*

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Total population	9,015	6,582	4,869	17,741
Number of dwellings	3,937	3,298	2,285	6,304
Social housing (%)	41.2	66.1	64.6	74.1
Flats (%)	38.6	77.8	77.5	85.1
Under 16 (%)	25.6	14.4	19.2	30.4
Over 60 (%)	19.1	15.6	16.6	12.4
Employed (%)	53.5	35.5	50.3	39.6
Unemployed (%)	7.7	10.3	7.3	8.1
Black and minority ethnic (%)	13.0	39.0	31.6	58.5

Source: ONS, 2001

# 3

## The survey: methodological issues and some characteristics of respondents and dwellings

### 3.1 The survey in Birmingham and London

Social survey work was carried out in each of these four estates in May and June 2004. The survey was carried out by BMG Research International Ltd., a market research company, and involved face-to-face interviews using a pre-coded questionnaire. This questionnaire was based on the RESTATE questionnaire used in other cities within the RESTATE programme (see the Appendix for the survey). However, for the estates in England we included a small number of additional questions to enable us to develop some further insights on processes within the estates.

Each estate was delineated, and a sample drawn from all of the addresses within the boundary of the estate. Households where the interviews were to take place were pre-selected at random across the four estates (i.e. 200 interviews per area) using set cluster points. Cluster points were selected at random across each of the defined areas and utilised the addresses provided by CURS members (Council of Urban Representatives). In total for each of the four areas 12 cluster points were randomly selected to ensure a 'good spread' across the defined estates. Each cluster point comprised 40 addresses. Across Poplar, Optima and Tower Hamlets 1,500 addresses were issued in total, 500 per area. Within Hodge Hill a number of the cluster points had all or most properties earmarked for demolition or were vacant. Further cluster points were therefore randomly drawn which meant that 600 addresses were issued within this location. Interviewers were allowed to approach only pre-selected addresses and where necessary approached the property on up to three occasions in order to achieve the required sample target. No further addresses were issued.

The aim was to achieve 200 interviews completed in each of the estates; fieldwork took place between the 22nd May and the 10th June 2004 and mainly during the weekends and some evenings (not before 10 a.m. and not after 8.30 p.m.). Each survey lasted an average of 30 minutes and contained a total of 73 questions. Fieldworkers reported no problems with regards to the layout and structure of the questionnaire.

In total 827 interviews were completed of which 12 were removed as a result of quality control procedures. A sample size of 815 means that the sample is subject to a maximum standard error of  $\pm 3.4$  per cent at the 95 per cent confidence level on an observed statistic of 50 per cent. Thus, for the main survey, we can be 95 per cent confident that responses are representative of those that would be given by the total working-age population, if a census had been conducted, to within 3.4 per cent of the percentages reported (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 – Details of response rates actual and adjusted for each estate (%)

Area	Hodge Hill		Central Estates		Bow		Poplar	
	Actual	Adjusted	Actual	Adjusted	Actual	Adjusted	Actual	Adjusted
No response	28	41	38	47	46	52	40	44
Refused	5	7	3	4	4	4	10	11
Vacant/ demolished	22	0	4	0	5	0	2	0
Interviews completed	34	52	41	49	40	44	42	45
Not used	11	0	14	0	5	0	6	0
Response rate	34	52	41	49	40	44	42	45

Source: BMG technical report of survey, 2004

The survey, concentrated on addresses within defined areas, rather than individuals meeting specific criteria (ethnicity, gender etc). As such, we cannot be sure that it is representative due to limited population information. However, the insight provided is valuable and unique therefore, the results should not be dismissed. It should be noted, the four estates were chosen due to their very different stages of redevelopment and regeneration. It is our belief that the use of the 2001 census to weight data is not relevant here on the basis of the very nature of the estates in terms of demolitions and turnover rates.

### 3.2 Characteristics of the respondents

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 set out the demographic social and economic characteristics of residents. Each of the estates has a different skewness in terms of residence.

Table 3.2 – Age of respondents (%)

Age	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Under 18	2.6	0.0	1.6	4.8
18-30	31.3	20.9	13.7	28.1
31-44	35.4	30.2	31.7	29.9
45-54	11.5	17.4	10.9	11.4
55-64	6.3	11.0	12.6	9.0
65 and over	13.0	20.3	29.5	16.8
Base without refusals	192	172	183	167
Refusals (% of total base)	6.3	14.4	9.0	19.7
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

As Table 3.2 illustrates, Hodge Hill has a significantly younger population than the other estates; there were 50 per cent of households aged under 45 years. Bow has the oldest population with 38 per cent of households aged 55 years or older. What is clear is that there appears to be a hollowing out of the population on all estates. This would confirm the trends highlighted in our previous RESTATE reports (cf. Hall et al., 2003).

These age characteristics do not relate directly to the length of time lived at the address. This is illustrated in Table 3.3. Over 50 per cent of Bow' residents have moved there since 2000. The relatively small proportion of residents who had moved since 2000 in the Central Estates area is probably accounted for by the progress of refurbishment and estate renewal. We know a significant number of households have been temporarily moved and have not expressed a demand to return. If we take the proportion of respondents who had moved to the area before 1991 as an indication of stability then Poplar has the most stable core population (32 per cent), Central Estates 28 per cent, Hodge Hill 22 per cent, and Bow 10 per cent. These figures suggest very considerable differences in the stability and continuity of residence between the estates although figures for Bow must be interpreted in the context of the substantial new-build activity in the area.

*Table 3.3 – Date respondents moved to present dwelling (%)*

Date moved in?	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Pre 1950	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.5
1951-1980	14.0	16.0	4.5	13.8
1981-1990	8.5	11.9	6.0	17.9
1991-1995	8.5	12.4	4.0	9.2
1996-2000	25.0	34.0	31.5	20.5
2001	6.5	6.7	12.0	5.6
2002	13.0	5.7	14.0	10.3
2003	15.0	8.8	24.5	16.9
2004	9.5	3.6	3.5	5.1
Base without refusals	200	194	200	195
Refusals (% of total base)	2.9	3.5	0.5	6.3
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

There are also considerable differences in household composition between the estates, partly reflecting the types of property available. As Table 3.4 illustrates, the highest proportion of single persons is found in the Central Estates 51 per cent, followed by 40 per cent in Hodge Hill, 29 per cent in Bow and only 20 per cent in Poplar. The Central Estates area has the smallest proportion of households that included children – 28 per cent, unsurprising, considering the types of dwelling and the location. The other three estates all had a higher proportion of families with children than are found in the population as a whole. The figure is highest in Poplar (at nearly 52 per cent). Hodge Hill had the highest proportion of single parent households with children (28 per cent), while Poplar and Bow had a significantly higher proportion of households consisting of two adults with children.

As Table 3.5 illustrates, the majority of respondents in each of the estates, except Poplar, was white. Here, although white accounted for the single largest group at 42.3 per cent, other ethnic groups together are larger, the 'majority minority' (as referred to in census analysis). In the Central Estates, more than one-quarter of respondents were of a black African or Caribbean origin.

With the exception of Poplar, the majority of respondents in each estate had left school before they were 17 years old (Table 3.6) and in each of the estates the largest group of respondents stated that they had no qualifications. This ranged from 48 per cent of respondents in Poplar to

Table 3.4 – *Marital status of respondents (%)*

Marital status	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Living alone	39.5	52.0	29.4	19.8
Living with a partner, no children	8.8	13.5	14.7	9.3
Living with a partner and children	17.6	14.0	33.0	31.9
Single-parent household, with children	28.3	14.0	12.2	19.2
Living alone with others (i.e. house share, no partner, no children)	1.0	3.5	2.5	6.6
Living with partner and others	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.7
Living with partner and others and children	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.5
Living with parents	4.4	2.0	4.1	7.7
Other	0.5	0.0	2.5	2.2
Base without refusals	205	200	197	182
Refusals (% of total base)	0.0	0.5	2.0	12.5
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.5 – *Ethnic origin of respondents (%)*

Ethnicity	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
White GB/European	80.5	57.7	76.6	40.4
White other	1.0	6.0	2.0	1.9
Black Caribbean	6.8	18.4	7.0	6.7
Black African	3.9	8.0	2.5	5.8
Black other	0.5	1.5	0.0	1.4
Indian	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.0
Pakistani	2.9	0.5	0.5	1.9
Bangladeshi	0.0	0.5	8.5	32.2
Other Asian	2.9	0.5	1.0	1.4
Chinese	0.0	1.0	0.0	3.8
Mixed race	1.5	3.5	1.5	1.9
Refused	0.0	2.0	0.5	1.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

63 per cent of respondents in Hodge Hill. Central Estates reported the highest proportion of residents with a paid job (36 per cent) with Hodge Hill having the lowest proportion (26 per cent).

As Tables 3.6 and 3.7 indicate, levels of formal education are low amongst respondents on all four estates. The majority of respondents had left formal education by the age of 16 in Hodge Hill (81 per cent), Central Estates (71.1 per cent) and Bow (75.1 per cent). In Poplar 49.5 per cent of respondents had left education by age 16, but this figure should be offset by a disproportionate number of respondents who could not remember when they left education (25.3 per cent). Respondents were subsequently asked for the highest level of qualifications that they had attained. In this case, the majority of respondents had no formal qualifications (Table 3.7). This may be due in part to the early withdrawal of many people from formal education,

Table 3.6 – Age respondents left full time education (%)

Left education	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
11 years	0	1.0	0.0	1.4
12-15 years	25.4	30.5	45.2	20.8
End of secondary - 16 years	55.6	40.0	31.5	27.5
End of college - 17-18 years	9.8	12.0	10.2	12.1
End of university - 19-21 years	3.4	10.0	5.6	12.6
Over 22 years	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5
Still in education	0.5	1.0	0.0	1.9
Don't know	5.4	5.0	7.6	23.2
Base without refusals	205	200	197	207
Refusals (% of total base)	0.0	0.5	2.0	0.5
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

although it should be recognised that some respondents will have subsequently completed adult learning courses to increase their qualifications. The impact on employment and income is probably negative, as illustrated in the next section and Table 3.8.

Table 3.7 – Highest educational qualification (%)

Educational qualifications	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
No qualifications	63.4	51.8	58.8	48.0
Secondary level (up to 16 years of age, CSE, O'level or GCSE)	8.9	6.7	11.1	8.3
Post school academic (16-18 years A-levels)	4.5	6.7	1.5	7.8
Post school vocational (16-18 years NVQs/NVQs)	14.9	14.0	16.1	12.3
University education (18+, degree, masters, PhD)	1.0	8.3	3.0	8.3
Other/don't know	7.4	12.4	9.5	15.2
Base without refusals	202	193	199	204
Refusals (% of total base)	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.0
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

When asked to describe their net weekly household income, there was a mixed response from residents. On all estates there was a high refusal rate for this question. Of those who did respond positively to this question, the majority were in the bottom 20 per cent against national income averages. (The top three deciles represent the higher income category (£431-over 700 per week), £243-430 represent the middle income category, £159-242 is a low income, whilst less than £158 income per week is classed as very low.)

A clearer picture of income may be provided by responses to the question about their employment situation and main source of income. These are illustrated in Tables 3.9 and 3.10. A majority of households had no paid employment in all four estates, in particular, Hodge Hill, where 74 per cent of respondents said that they did not have a paid job. Paid employment

Table 3.8 – Net weekly income (%)

Weekly income	Hodge Hill		Central Estates		Bow		Poplar	
	With refusals	Without refusals	With refusals	Without refusals	With refusals	Without refusals	With refusals	Without refusals
Over £700	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.8	1.5	2.3	1.4	3.8
£516 - £699	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.8	1.9	5.0
£431 - £515	1.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	2.0	2.5
£374 - £430	0.5	0.8	0.5	1.8	1.5	2.3	2.4	6.3
£325 - £373	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	3.0	3.4	8.9
£282 - £324	1.5	2.4	1.5	5.4	2.0	3.0	2.4	6.3
£243 - £281	3.4	5.6	1.0	3.6	1.0	1.5	1.0	2.5
£206 - £242	3.9	6.4	2.5	9.0	4.5	6.9	2.8	7.6
£159 - £205	8.3	13.6	5.0	17.9	8.0	12.2	4.8	12.7
Less than £158	29.3	48.0	13.9	50.0	17.9	27.5	4.3	11.4
Don't know	12.7	20.8	3.0	10.7	24.4	37.4	12.5	32.9
Refused	39.0	-	72.1	-	34.8	-	62.0	-
Base	205		201		201		208	
Base (without refusals)		125		56		131		79

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

provided the main source of income for only a minority of households (Table 3.10), in Hodge Hill 30 per cent, in Central Estates 40 per cent, Poplar 41 per cent and Bow 42 per cent. In Bow and Central Estates there was greater likelihood of people being dependent on pensions than in the other two areas which is accounted for due to the elderly population, in Bow at 30 per cent of respondents being over 65 years of age. In Hodge Hill the majority of households were dependant upon unemployment and other social security benefits for their main income (again where the age of respondents was high at 31 per cent being between 18 and 30 years of age).

Table 3.9 – Proportion of respondents in paid employment (%)

Paid employment	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Yes	25.9	36.3	31.8	27.4
No	74.1	61.7	67.2	67.3
Refused	0.0	2.0	1.0	5.3
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.10 – Respondents main source of income (%)

Source of income	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Work	30.2	39.8	42.2	41.4
Unemployment or social benefit	54.1	30.3	28.4	35.1
Pension	12.2	19.4	23.9	12.0
Other	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.4
Refused	3.4	9.4	5.5	10.1
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

It is perhaps possible to deduce from this that the estates have a low qualification base, which contributes to low incomes, high unemployment and high dependency on state social security benefits. In many cases an aging population and young workers who are more vulnerable compound problems.

The social and demographic characteristics suggest that the four estates have a very different population than for England as a whole. They reflect the tendency for mass council housing estates to cater for a much more low income and deprived household population with lower employability and a higher dependency on benefits. They include a higher proportion of families with children than applies nationally, although the variation in this reflects differences in property type. The individual estates do not demonstrate the classic picture of council estates with a higher proportion of both young and elderly households, and there is a tendency for this pattern to be reflected to a greater extent in some cases than in others. Again this reflects both the history of the area, the property types that exist and the pattern of demand for housing in the area. These patterns are also likely to have been affected by the progress of regeneration schemes over recent years.

What we have described are deprived communities and populations with limited bargaining power and employability, but with distinctive characteristics in each case. The communities are not identical, some have longer histories on the estate and the proportion of older people and single persons, or of children varies between the estates and affects the dynamics of the estate and the problems and potentialities associated with each of them.

### 3.3 The respondents' dwellings

Table 3.11 indicates the types of dwellings in which respondents live. The largest group in all of the areas except Bow consists of flats and maisonettes. In Bow there is a higher proportion of terraced houses, 50 per cent.

*Table 3.11 – Type of dwelling (%)*

Dwelling type	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Flat*	79.5	85.1	43.3	91.8
Terrace	12.2	10.0	49.8	4.8
Other houses**	8.3	5.0	7.0	3.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

\* flat includes maisonettes, converted (properties and bed sits)

\*\* other houses include detached and semi detached houses as well as bungalows

Again with the exception of Bow the largest group of properties were built in the post-war period up to 1980 (Table 3.12). In Bow a considerable number of respondents referred to properties built since 1991 and this reflects the restructuring of the estate carried out under the Housing Action Trust Programme.

The number of residents in high-rise blocks is indicated by the proportion who are living above the fifth floor, 46 per cent in Central Estates and 41 per cent in Hodge Hill, but only 8 per cent in Poplar and 17 per cent in Bow.

*Table 3.12 – Age of dwelling (%)*

Age of dwelling	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Pre 1945	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0
1945-60	41.9	22.3	0.6	37.8
1961-70	48.4	45.6	13.1	18.9
1971-80	3.2	20.4	3.1	18.9
1981-90	3.2	5.8	1.3	5.4
1991-2000	3.2	0.0	40.0	16.2
2001-2001	0.0	2.9	41.9	2.7
Base (without don't knows)	31	103	160	37
Don't knows (% of total base)	84.9	48.8	20.4	82.2
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

The size mix of dwellings that respondents are living in shows a considerable variation (Table 3.13). The Central Estates have their highest proportion of properties with four rooms or less (45 per cent), but also the highest proportion with eight rooms or more (8 per cent), and have the smallest proportion of six room properties. In this sense its stock seems to be more skewed between smaller and larger units, whereas Hodge Hill and Bow in particular have a larger supply of five and six room dwellings.

*Table 3.13 – Size of dwelling – number of rooms*

Number of rooms	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
One room	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.0
Two rooms	6.4	3.6	0.0	0.0
Three rooms	6.9	10.2	9.0	9.4
Four rooms	23.0	32.1	11.5	23.2
Five rooms	21.1	21.9	28.0	22.2
Six rooms	31.4	14.8	30.0	25.1
Seven rooms	7.8	9.7	14.5	16.7
Eight or more	2.9	7.7	7.0	2.5
Base (without refusals)	204	196	200	203
Refusals (% of total base)	0.5	2.5	0.5	2.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.14 illustrates that the two London estates include fewer households living in one-bedroom properties than the two Birmingham estates, while Central Estates has considerably more one and two bedroom properties than any of the other estates, either high rise flat properties not yet demolished or already redeveloped, whereas Bow has considerably more terraces.

The tenure structure of the response sample on the four estates is illustrated in Table 3.15. The four estates remain predominately areas of social rented housing. In Poplar 84 per cent of

Table 3.14 – Size of dwelling – number of bedrooms

Number of bedrooms	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
One bedroom	32.4	34.7	15.4	16.7
Two bedrooms	25.5	39.3	45.3	39.4
Three bedrooms	40.7	15.8	28.9	37.4
Four bedrooms	1.5	8.2	10.4	5.9
Five or more bedrooms	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.5
Base (without refusals)	204	196	201	203
Refusals (% of total base)	0.5	2.5	0.0	2.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

housing is rented from either the council or a housing association. In Central Estates it is 88 per cent, in Bow 93 per cent, and in Hodge Hill 96 per cent. Amongst respondents there is minimal renting from private landlords and a small amount of owner occupation – 12 per cent in Poplar, 9 per cent in Central Estates, 5 per cent in Bow, and 2 per cent in Hodge Hill; this is typical of the estates as a whole. While Hodge Hill can still be typified as a council estate, Central Estates and Bow reflect the transfer of housing to a housing association and are dominated by a single social landlord other than the council. Poplar has a more mixed tenure composition. Almost a third of properties are rented from the council, but just over a half are rented from a different social landlord. This is reflective of the fragmented nature of Poplar HARCAs stock ownership, which in itself is the result of a fragmented approach to stock transfer and rationalisation by Bow Council. Clearly, as reflected by the results of the 2001 census of population, the process of stock transfer has made it more confusing for tenants as to who owns their home.

Table 3.15 – Tenure of present dwelling (%)

Tenure of dwelling	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Owners*	2.0	9.1	5.0	12.2
Rented from local council	94.6	7.1	5.5	32.7
Rented from housing association/ registered social landlord	1.0	81.2	88.0	51.2
Rented from a private landlord	2.4	1.5	0.5	2.0
Other	0.0	1.0	1.0	2.0
Base without refusals	205	197	200	205
Refusals (% of total base)	0.0	2.0	0.5	1.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

\* owners include shared ownership, leaseholders, owners with a mortgage and those owned outright

Respondents were asked what proportion of their income they spent on housing costs. Their answers are illustrated in Table 3.16. The question asked was open to interpretation by the respondent. Therefore responses to this question must be treated with some caution primarily because in the UK, housing benefit can be paid direct to the landlord. This may result in a tendency not to take this benefit fully into account in householders calculation of their income, or alternatively to understate the proportion of income going on rent.

Table 3.16 – Proportion of income spent on housing costs (%)

Housing costs	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Less than 10 per cent	7.4	6.8	26.2	14.8
11-30 per cent	23.2	18.2	19.8	15.6
31-50 per cent	22.6	35.1	8.6	16.3
More than 50 per cent	21.1	9.5	13.9	17.0
Don't know	25.8	30.4	31.6	36.3
Base without refusal	190	148	187	135
Refusals (% of total base)	7.3	26.4	7.0	35.1
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

The results point to an interesting trend if correct. In both Birmingham estates, the majority of households suggest that they spend more than 30 per cent of their income on housing costs (44 per cent in Hodge Hill and 45 per cent in Central Estates). If the indication that 30 per cent of income represents an affordability threshold,<sup>4</sup> it may be assumed that these households are in 'unaffordable' accommodation. This is in stark contrast to London: Poplar has a more even distribution of housing costs whilst in Bow a majority of households pay less than 30 per cent of their income (46 per cent).

Residents were asked about their previous address and tenure. Responses are illustrated in Tables 3.17 and 3.18. The majority of all respondents identified that they had moved from either within the same city or neighbourhood to their present address (over 80 per cent in all cases). In the two London estates a higher proportion of people had moved in the same neighbourhood, 85 per cent in Bow, (perhaps reflecting the progress of demolition of previous properties and re-housing in the same neighbourhood), and 59 per cent in Poplar. This compared with 38 per cent in Hodge Hill and Central Estates. In Central Estate's case, the survey does not enable us to consider those people who have been moved out of the area as a result of the remodelling of Lee Bank. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that these households have been moved some distance from their original homes and it is unclear how many will return to the remodelled estate. Very few people had moved to any of the estates from beyond the city in which the estate is located.

The majority of respondents identified their previous address as within the social rented sector, and so we have a population, which has moved within the social rented sector in the majority of cases, 70 per cent in Hodge Hill, 74 per cent in Central Estates, 95 per cent in Bow, 80 per cent in Poplar. The most important previous tenure other than this was renting from a private landlord, although the two Birmingham estates are also included a significant group of movers from the owner occupied sector, 14 per cent in Hodge Hill, 13 per cent in Central Estates.

Residents were asked about their reasons for moving to the neighbourhood. Responses are illustrated in Table 3.19. The two most important groups of responses relate to low rent and housing costs, and the lack of availability of other dwellings. In the two Birmingham estates low rent and housing costs are marginally more important than other factors. In Bow the demolition of the previous home was more important than any other factors whilst in Poplar, the fact that no other dwellings were available was an overriding factor in their reasons for moving. Good

4 Source – National Housing Federation.

Table 3.17 – Location of previous address (%)

Previous address	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
In the same neighbourhood	37.7	38.9	84.6	59.1
Somewhere else in the city	54.9	44.9	13.4	29.3
Elsewhere in the country	2.5	5.6	0.5	1.9
Elsewhere, abroad	1.5	4.0	0.0	4.8
Don't know	3.4	6.6	1.5	4.8
Base without refusals	204	198	201	208
Refusals (% of total base)	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.0
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.18 – Previous tenure (%)

Previous tenure	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Owners*	14.2	12.9	0.5	6.4
Rented from local council	69.1	44.8	48.2	45.3
Rented from housing association/ Registered social landlord	1.0	28.9	47.2	35.0
Rented from private landlord	14.7	9.0	2.0	8.9
Other	1.0	4.5	2.0	4.4
Base without refusals	204	201	197	203
Refusals (% of total base)	0.5	0.0	2.0	2.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

\* owners include shared ownership, leaseholders, owners with a mortgage and those owned outright

connections, for example through public transport was most significant in Central Estates (10 per cent) and Bow (9 per cent), and least important in Poplar (5 per cent) and Hodge Hill (2 per cent). Proximity to relatives and friends was more important in the two London estates.

Table 3.19 – Present address and reasons for moving to area (%)

Reasons for move	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Low rent/housing costs	33.7	29.4	10.4	13.9
Being close to relatives and friends	4.9	4.0	8.0	16.8
Being close to work	1.0	3.0	0.0	1.4
Good connections (e.g. public transport)	2.0	9.5	8.5	5.3
Good schools	0.5	1.5	0.0	1.0
Presence of other services	1.5	1.0	2.0	4.8
There were no other dwellings available	32.7	18.9	10.9	24.0
Opportunity to move to a newly built accommodation	0.0	0.0	5.0	1.0
Old home was demolished	0.0	2.5	23.4	0.0

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.19 – Present address and reasons for moving to area (%) (continued)

Reasons for move	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Transferred by housing association	0.0	1.0	4.5	2.4
Other	6.3	14.9	5.0	6.7
None/not applicable	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.0
Don't know	17.1	13.9	21.4	22.6
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.20 – Location of previous address and reasons for moving here? (%)

All four estates	Same neighbourhood	Somewhere else in city	Somewhere else in the country	Abroad	Don't know
Low rent/housing costs	20.1	22.5	23.8	33.3	33.3
Close to relatives and friends	9.4	8.3	0.0	4.8	6.1
Being close to work	0.7	1.7	9.5	4.8	0.0
Good connections (e.g. public transport)	6.7	5.2	9.5	9.5	0.0
Good schools	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	3.0
Presence of other services	2.0	2.4	0.0	9.5	3.0
No other dwellings available	19.7	25.6	28.6	9.5	18.2
Opportunity to move to a newly built accommodation	2.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Old home was demolished	10.3	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transferred by housing association	2.7	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	6.7	10.7	14.3	4.8	6.1
None/not applicable	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	18.3	18.0	14.3	23.8	33.3
Base	447	289	21	21	33

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Respondents' reasons for moving to the neighbourhood were cross tabulated against the location of their previous address (Table 3.20). The two most important groups of responses relate to low rent and housing costs and the lack of available other dwellings. In Table 3.1A in the Appendix, the data is broken down according to each estate. For both Birmingham estates, low rents/housing costs (42 per cent and 28 per cent) and the lack of availability of other dwellings (30 per cent/36 per cent) were the primary reasons for moving regardless of whether that move was within the same neighbourhood or from somewhere else in the city, respectively.

In London, respondents in Bow, who moved within neighbourhoods did so due to demolition of previous homes (25 per cent) and those moved from within the city (19 per cent), as well as there being no other dwellings available (10 per cent and 19 per cent respectively). For the respondents in Poplar, however, housing is not the only issue. The lack of available dwellings (30 per cent and 18 per cent) and being close to friends and family (19 per cent and 16 per cent) were the main reasons for moving from within the same neighbourhood and from somewhere else in the city.

### 3.4 Conclusions

The four estates included in this study highlight both the continuities and differences, which exist between large post-war council estates in Britain. There are also continuities associated with the role of council and social rented housing and the types of dwelling, especially flats and maisonettes built in the post-war period. There are also continuities associated with both of these factors in terms of income and employability. However, once we look beyond broad tenure categories at individual estates, the distinctiveness of estates also emerges.

There is a distinctiveness associated with dwelling type and location as well as with the history of the neighbourhood. There is a distinctiveness deriving from the nature of the London housing market compared with that of Birmingham with the greater pressure of demand meaning that more households in London felt that they had no choice of dwelling. There is a distinctiveness in terms of ethnicity and community with Hodge Hill and Bow, still predominately white estates but with much greater ethnic mix in the other two areas, and with different minority groups evident in each area. The dynamics of these estates and the issues facing policymakers reflect both the continuities and common elements across the estates, but also the distinctive patterns associated with each.



## 4

## Positive and negative aspects of the estates

The continuities and differences identified between the estates in this study are further explored in this section with reference to views expressed by residents about their home and the estate. Initially we present this data at an estate level and we can consider the extent to which there is variation in levels of satisfaction associated with different estates. However, any such variation may obscure continuities in the attitude to particular groups within the estates. Particular household types or age groups may consistently be more or less satisfied, or have consistent views irrespective of which estate they live on, and this issue is addressed more fully as the discussion of the data proceeds.

### 4.1 Neighbourhood based activities

Residents were asked a series of questions about activities based on the estate, and their responses to these questions begin to build up a picture of the importance of the neighbourhood for respondents.

Table 4.1 illustrates the different perceptions of residents to the concept of 'neighbourhood'. In Hodge Hill, Central Estates and Poplar the majority of households identified with a very narrow conception of neighbourhood, extending only as far as the block of flats or the street in which they live. The exception was in Bow where a majority of households (42.3 per cent) identified with a collection of neighbouring streets as their neighbourhood.

Table 4.1 – Area that respondents define as 'neighbourhood' (%)

Neighbourhood	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Street	33.7	6.0	28.4	15.9
Block of flats	27.8	57.2	12.9	45.7
Neighbouring streets	13.2	17.9	42.3	16.8
Entire estate	18.0	14.9	13.4	16.8
Other	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
Don't know	7.3	3.5	3.0	4.8
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Hodge Hill also emerges as the most inward looking area; if this is measured by the amount of time people spend outside of their neighbourhood (see Table 4.2). Disregarding 'don't knows'

and non-responses, more than 50 per cent of the residents of Hodge Hill spent less than 3 hours outside their area on a normal weekday. This compared with 19 per cent in Central Estates, 20 per cent in Poplar and 34 per cent in Bow. Only 4 per cent of the residents of Hodge Hill said they spent 10 hours or more outside the neighbourhood compared with 26 per cent in Bow and 22 per cent in Central Estates. Table 4.1A in the Appendix, illustrates that those in paid work spend more time outside of the estates in all four cases, and that in every case very little paid work occurs within the estates with the exception of Hodge Hill where 28 per cent of respondents in work spend less than an hour outside their neighbourhood each day.

*Table 4.2 – Time spent outside neighbourhood per weekday (%)*

<b>Time outside neighbourhood</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
10 hours or more	3.9	22.4	26.4	17.3
5-9 hours	8.8	24.4	15.4	19.2
3-4 hours	15.6	20.4	16.4	29.8
1-3 hours	50.7	12.4	23.4	15.4
Less than 1 hour	14.1	7.0	10.9	4.8
Don't know	5.9	13.4	7.5	13.5
Base	203	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Residents were also asked about resident and tenant groups. Responses are illustrated in Table 4.3. Respondents in Hodge Hill were least aware of any residents and tenants groups in the area, 12 per cent compared with 17 per cent in Poplar, 28 per cent in Bow and 49 per cent in Central Estates. This is perhaps given the number of tenants and residents groups on this estate and its closely defined area. Table 4.2A in the Appendix, further examines awareness of tenants and residents groups by tenancy type. Knowledge or awareness of tenants and residents' associations is far higher where the property is rented from a housing association than any other tenancy type (50 per cent in Central Estates, 28 per cent in Bow and 24 per cent in Poplar).

*Table 4.3 – Awareness of tenants and residents' associations (%)*

<b>Awareness of tenants groups</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Yes	11.7	48.8	27.9	16.8
No	86.3	47.8	65.7	79.3
Don't know	2.0	3.5	6.5	3.8
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Among those who had heard of tenants or residents groups, the highest proportions that are members of such groups were in Central Estates (22 per cent), as illustrated in Table 4.4.

In general the questions asking about memberships of organisations show very low levels of participation, as illustrated in Tables 4.5 and 4.6. When asked about membership of organisations that meet outside the area, the same pattern applies – a very low level of membership of such organisations, 7 per cent in Central Estates and 2 per cent in each of the other estates (Table 4.6).

*Table 4.4 – Membership of tenants and residents associations (%)*

<b>Membership of tenants groups</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Yes	12.5	22.4	7.1	17.1
No	87.5	77.6	91.1	82.9
Don't know	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.0
Base	24	98	56	35

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.5 – Membership of other organisations inside estate (%)*

<b>Membership of other internal groups</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Yes	2.0	5.5	3.5	3.8
No	98.0	93.5	94.5	95.2
Don't know	0.0	1.0	2.0	1.0
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.6 – Membership of other organisations outside estate (%)*

<b>Membership of other external groups</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Yes	1.5	6.5	2.0	2.4
No	98.5	91.0	96.0	95.2
Don't know	0.0	2.5	2.0	2.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.7 provides data on respondents' views of the accessibility of a variety of services. Respondents were asked whether they could reach a range of facilities within 10 minutes of their home, and responses to these questions indicate a high degree of accessibility to certain services, (grocery shops around 90 per cent in all cases), a greater variation related to post offices or doctors surgeries and a generally lower rate of accessibility for banks. In general Hodge Hill had the lowest rate of accessibility reported with Bow, and to a lesser extent Poplar the highest levels of accessibility.

*Table 4.7 – Services accessible within 10 minutes of dwelling (%)*

<b>Accessibility of Services</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Grocery shop	90.2	89.6	90.5	91.8
Your bank	33.2	51.2	87.1	63.5
A post office	82.9	71.1	90.5	81.3
A doctors' surgery	69.3	74.1	89.1	85.6
A public park	66.3	65.2	90.5	80.8
Bus stop	94.6	86.1	92	91.3
Primary school	77.6	65.7	82.6	82.7
A dentist	31.2	64.7	82.1	74
Your place of work	16.6	19.9	15.4	23.6
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

## 4.2 Satisfaction with the dwelling

When asked about satisfaction with the home there was a considerable variation between residents (as illustrated in Figure 4.1). Hodge Hill emerged as having the lowest levels of satisfaction. More than a third of respondents in Hodge Hill indicated that they had low satisfaction and only 3 per cent very high satisfaction. At the opposite extreme 9 per cent of respondents in Bow indicated low satisfaction, and 14 per cent very high satisfaction. Central Estates emerged as the most polarised with 16 per cent with low satisfaction and 11 per cent with very high satisfaction. Overall, the most overwhelming impression is of indifference in the satisfaction level of residents.

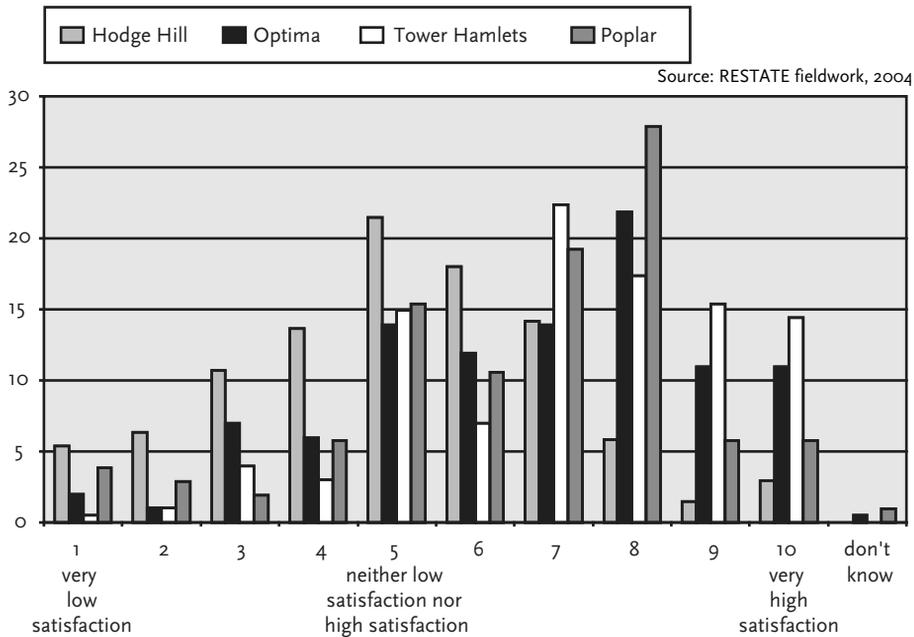


Figure 4.1 – Satisfaction with dwelling (%)

These figures would appear to reflect differences in the progress and pattern of regeneration. In the Central Estates case, some parts of the estate were still undergoing changes and there are residents who have not benefited from changes. In Bow the regeneration scheme is largely completed and more people have seen an improvement in their circumstances, as is indicated later in this report. In Hodge Hill, no significant regeneration activity has yet been carried out.

Table 4.8 indicates the extent to which respondents felt that their satisfaction with their home had increased or decreased in the last five years (by all respondents). Table 4.9 refers to only those who have lived in their home for five years or more. Again, respondents in Hodge Hill are most likely to say that their satisfaction had decreased 15 per cent (Table 4.8) and 27 per cent (Table 4.9), and those in the Central Estates were most polarised with 11 per cent (in Table 4.8), and 15 per cent (Table 4.9) saying they had increased. Age does not appear to be an important

factor in determining satisfaction with the home – see Table 4.3A in the Appendix. Within all estates satisfaction had remained on average ‘the same’ regardless of age.

Tenancy type also does not appear to be a major contributor to satisfaction levels. Regardless of tenure, over 70 per cent of respondents felt their satisfaction with their home had either stayed the same or increased. From this table, 25 per cent of Hodge Hill’s council tenants satisfaction had decreased, 60 per cent had increased. 17 per cent of Central Estates housing association tenants felt satisfaction had decreased, whilst 60 per cent thought it had stayed the same. Bow housing association tenants reported a steady satisfaction level of 71 per cent, whilst Poplar’s tenants both council and housing association, reported similar figures of 72 per cent steady satisfaction levels.

Referring to those who had seen an increase in satisfaction with their home, the most important factors related to renovation/refurbishment of the home (61 per cent overall), followed by feelings of security or safety in Central Estates and Poplar. Where satisfaction had decreased again the poor condition of buildings was referred to by the majority of people, (67 per cent), although in Poplar the need for a bigger home was also significant (40 per cent). Direct references to service delivery were evident in the Central Estates case and drugs and vandalism were referred to in Hodge Hill and Poplar. The number of references here is however very small and should be treated with caution.

*Table 4.8 – Has your satisfaction with your home increased/decreased in the past five years? (Includes those who have settled in current home within the last five years) (%)*

Satisfaction with home increase/ decrease	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Decreased	14.6	11.4	4.0	7.7
Same	31.7	44.3	40.3	52.9
Increased	3.4	10.9	2.0	10.1
Settled within last five years	46.3	25.9	43.3	27.4
Don’t know	3.9	7.5	10.4	1.9
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.9 – Has your satisfaction with your home increased/decreased in the past five years? (Refers only to those settled in current home over five years) (%)*

Satisfaction with home increase/ decrease	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Decreased	27.3	15.4	7.0	10.6
Same	59.1	59.7	71.1	72.8
Increased	13.0	14.8	3.5	13.9
Don’t know	16.7	10.1	18.4	2.6
Base	110	149	114	151

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

### 4.3 Satisfaction with the neighbourhood

As highlighted previously, residents were initially asked to identify their neighbourhood and there is a considerable difference in this identification (see Table 4.1). Respondents in Hodge Hill were most likely to refer to the street as their neighbourhood (34 per cent), while in Central Estates (57 per cent) and in Poplar (46 per cent) it was the block of flats that was most likely to be identified. In Bow it was the neighbouring streets and fewer than 20 per cent in each estate identified with the whole estate.

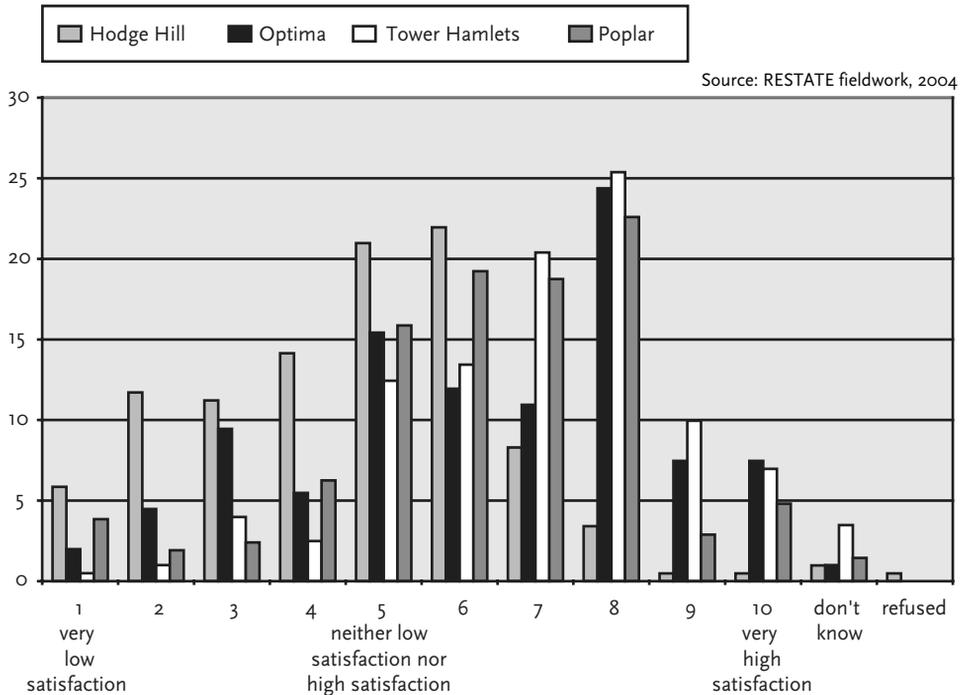


Figure 4.2 – Satisfaction with neighbourhood (%)

Residents were asked separately about satisfaction with the neighbourhood. Responses are illustrated in Figure 4.2. When asked how satisfied they are with their neighbourhood, Hodge Hill emerges as the area with the lowest satisfaction: 44 per cent of respondents said that they had low satisfaction, and only one respondent said that they had very high levels of satisfaction with the neighbourhood. The two London estates are at the opposite extreme. Only 8 per cent of respondents in Bow indicated low satisfaction, while 7 per cent had very high satisfaction. In Poplar 14 per cent had low satisfaction and 5 per cent very high satisfaction. Central Estates again emerges as most polarised with 22 per cent reporting low satisfaction and 8 per cent very high satisfaction. These patterns bear a close similarity to the satisfactions associated with the home.

Table 4.10 indicates the extent to which respondents felt that their satisfaction with their neighbourhood had increased or decreased in the last five years (by all respondents). Table 4.11 refers to only those who have lived in their home for five years or more. The pattern is a similar one to satisfaction levels with the home. Satisfaction had decreased most in Hodge Hill (23 per cent) followed by Central Estates (15 per cent), Poplar (12 per cent) and Bow (10 per cent). It had increased most in Central Estates (6 per cent), followed by Poplar (4 per cent), Bow (3 per cent) and Hodge Hill (1 per cent).

*Table 4.10 – Increase/decrease in satisfaction with neighbourhood in past five years (includes those who have settled in current home within the last five years) (%)*

Satisfaction with neighbourhood increase/decrease	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Decreased	22.9	14.9	9.5	12.0
Same	25.9	47.8	51.2	51.9
Increased	1.0	5.5	2.5	4.3
Settled within last five years	45.9	25.9	23.4	28.4
Don't know	4.4	6.0	13.4	3.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.11 – Increase/decrease in satisfaction with neighbourhood in past five years (refers only to those settled in current home over five years) (%)*

Satisfaction with neighbourhood increase/decrease	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Decreased	42.3	20.1	12.3	16.8
Same	47.7	64.4	66.9	72.5
Increased	1.8	7.4	3.2	6.0
Don't know	8.1	8.1	17.5	4.7
Base	111	149	154	149

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.4A in the Appendix relates satisfaction with the neighbourhood with age. There are above average levels of dissatisfaction with those aged between 31-54 on the Hodge Hill estate at 52 per cent of respondents, however, overall, regardless of age for the rest of the estates they all generally felt their levels of satisfaction had remained the same. Table 4.5A in the Appendix then relates satisfaction with neighbourhood with tenancy type. Again, regardless of tenancy, satisfaction levels have remained 'the same', however, there is some variation within the estates, in Hodge Hill 50 per cent of council tenants satisfaction levels stayed the same, but 43 per cent felt it had decreased. 70 per cent of those with housing association tenancies in the Central Estates felt satisfaction had stayed the same, but 15 per cent decreased, 68 per cent housing association tenancies in Bow stayed the same, with 13 per cent decreasing and 20 per cent of housing association tenants in Poplar thought satisfaction had stayed the same, but 20 per cent felt it had decreased.

For the small number who said that their satisfaction had increased, the most significant factor was new housing/urban regeneration. This was particularly striking in Central Estates

and Bow although the numbers of respondents are very small. The factors explaining why satisfaction with the neighbourhood had decreased included references to crime (30 per cent), vandalism and drugs, to people who had moved into the area, and, in the case of Hodge Hill, to the deterioration in the condition of buildings. There is a clearly emerging pattern from these results: those estates where there has been intervention in the form of regeneration initiatives have consistently higher levels of satisfaction with the neighbourhood.

In relating satisfaction with home to neighbourhood satisfaction, it would be assumed that the way in which residents conceptualise their neighbourhood would have a major bearing in wider neighbourhood satisfaction. Most residents conceptualise their neighbourhood as the street in which they live at the widest and therefore satisfaction with the home would be assumed to be of more importance.

#### 4.4 Personal experience of problems in the neighbourhood

Respondents were asked whether they personally experience serious problems within the neighbourhood and whether these had increased over recent years (Table 4.12). The main problems experienced across all estates are to do with cleanliness – graffiti, dirt on the streets and issues relating to drug abuse. Different values and racism are problems in Poplar where 58 per cent of respondents gave a positive multi response, whereas only 12 per cent of Bow’s residents did the same.

*Table 4.12 – Do you personally experience serious problems in the neighbourhood? Yes, only multiple responses*

Personal experience of problems - yes	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Dirt on the streets	64.9	42.9	39.3	71.7
Drug abuse	66.7	36.6	47.6	59.2
Burglary in households	57.9	37.3	32.1	49.2
Burglary in cars	61.4	28.6	28.6	51.7
Graffiti	78.4	44.7	45.2	65.0
Feelings of unsafety	64.9	35.4	33.3	48.3
Upkeep of public roads	47.4	29.8	11.9	45.0
Condition of roads	24.0	26.7	15.5	36.7
Playgrounds for children	40.9	36.0	32.1	34.2
Maintenance of buildings	55.6	26.7	15.5	39.2
Lack of employment	28.7	19.3	9.5	35.0
Quality of schools	17.5	18.6	6.0	24.2
Quality of commercial services	18.1	21.7	2.4	29.2
Quality of public services	20.5	14.9	6.0	34.2
Different values	12.9	9.3	2.4	30.0
Racism	14.0	12.4	9.5	28.3
Base multiple response	171	161	84	120

Source: RESTATE fieldwork 2004

Those who experience problems in the neighbourhood were then asked whether these problems had increased (Tables 4.13), or decreased or stayed the same over the last three years, (Tables 4.6A and 4.7A in the Appendix). Problems, which have increased, are very similar

Table 4.13 – Do you think these problems have increased, decreased or stayed the same over the last three years?

Increased	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Dirt on the streets	70.0	41.2	39.8	72.0
Drug abuse	71.8	41.2	49.5	63.4
Burglary in households	63.5	36.1	32.3	49.5
Burglary in cars	62.4	28.6	24.7	50.5
Graffiti	77.1	34.5	41.9	59.1
Feelings of unsafety	64.1	24.4	36.6	51.6
Upkeep of public roads	45.3	16.8	15.1	45.2
Condition of roads	15.9	11.8	12.9	31.2
Playgrounds for children	34.1	17.6	26.9	32.3
Maintenance of buildings	57.1	15.1	9.7	39.8
Lack of employment	24.7	5.9	6.5	37.6
Quality of schools	12.9	6.7	4.3	19.4
Quality of commercial services	14.7	6.7	4.3	30.1
Quality of public services	12.9	5.9	4.3	32.3
Different values	7.1	6.7	3.2	25.8
Racism	10.6	10.9	5.4	20.4
Base multiple response	170	119	93	93

Source: RESTATE fieldwork 2004

across all four estates, but to a less extent in the Central Estates and Bow – problems most likely to be referred to were, dirt on the streets, drug abuse and graffiti. Problems, which have stayed the same, are those related to differences in values, racism, quality of public services, quality of commercial services, quality of schools and the lack of employment opportunities. Problems, which have decreased were maintenance of buildings, especially in Bow, but not Hodge Hill and the condition of roads – especially in Hodge Hill.

When asked what aspect of the neighbourhood respondents liked most, the most common responses related to accessibility to public services and to green spaces and to the people who lived there, (Table 4.14) and when asked which aspects of the neighbourhood they liked least, respondents were most likely to refer to a variety of factors related to people who live in the area and their behaviour, facilities for young people and children, the quality of local schools, green spaces and access to public spaces, along with levels of crime and vandalism (Table 4.15).

Table 4.14 – Aspects of neighbourhood liked most (%)

Aspects of neighbourhood prefer	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Green spaces	8.3	18.9	21.4	11.5
Accessibility to public services	13.7	40.8	24.9	33.2
Playgrounds for children	2.4	2.0	9.5	3.8
Youth facilities	0.5	1.0	0.0	1.0
Proximity to work	1.5	3.5	0.5	1.9
Proximity to schools	2.0	1.5	4.5	3.4
Quality of local schools	3.4	0.0	1.5	0.5

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.14 – *Aspects of neighbourhood liked most (%) (continued)*

Aspects of neighbourhood prefer	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
People who live there	27.3	2.5	19.4	13.5
Other	2.0	7.5	1.0	1.0
None	4.4	1.0	2.0	4.3
Don't know	34.6	20.9	14.9	26.0
Base	205	200	200	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.15 – *Aspects of neighbourhood liked least (%)*

Aspects of neighbourhood dislike	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Green spaces	3.9	10.4	3.5	2.9
Accessibility to public services	5.4	6.0	2.0	3.8
Playgrounds for children	4.4	7.0	8.5	1.0
Youth facilities	15.6	2.5	3.5	5.8
Proximity to work	1.0	2.5	0.0	0.5
Quality of local schools	3.4	0.5	0.5	1.4
People who live there	16.1	7.5	9.5	20.7
Level of crime	3.9	3.0	1.0	1.9
Vandalism	3.4	0.5	0.0	0.5
Prostitution in the area	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0
Other	3.4	6.5	5.5	1.9
None	0.0	3.5	12.9	14.9
Don't know	39.5	48.8	53.2	44.2
Base	205	201	201	207

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

## 4.5 Neighbourhood issues

A series of questions were asked about the contacts people have in the neighbourhood, sense of isolation and about a variety of problems in the neighbourhood (Tables 4.8A – 4.12A in the Appendix). The responses to these issues vary from estate to estate. However, Bow generally emerges with the most consistently positive attitudes. There is more likelihood people have good contacts between themselves and others in their neighbourhood (54 per cent compared with 36 per cent overall), there is more likelihood that people have friends and relatives in the area (48 per cent compared to 33 per cent overall), less likelihood that they feel isolated (only 7 per cent compared to 18 per cent in Hodge Hill), and the level of property problems of different types is generally lower. It is perhaps ironic that this estate is situated so closely to Bethnal Green, the area studied by Wilmott and Young (1957) in their examination of 'family and kinship' in the 1950s in East London. The significant change from this time has been the household composition and the change in family structure.

At the opposite extreme, the Hodge Hill estate in Birmingham has the highest ranking in terms of problems, the greatest reference to isolation, and absence of friends and relatives. The Central Estates and Poplar areas lie between these two extremes – relatively few respondents in any of the areas thought that problems had decreased over the last three years, and a considerable

proportion thought that they had increased. This was especially true in Hodge Hill. The Central Estates area generally showed the highest proportion of respondents saying that problems had decreased over the last three years. This particularly applied to maintenance of buildings (23 per cent Central Estates), compared with 4 per cent in Hodge Hill, 17 per cent in Bow, and 14 per cent in Poplar.

Table 4.16 – Do you feel a strong or weak attachment to this neighbourhood?

Attachment to neighbourhood	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Weak	22.0	13.4	5.5	8.7
Neutral	60.5	61.7	65.2	65.4
Strong	15.1	22.4	26.9	22.1
Don't know	2.4	205	2.5	3.8
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

A fifth of respondents felt they had a strong attachment to their neighbourhood (Table 4.16) – over a quarter in Bow, but only 15 per cent in Hodge Hill. It is perhaps not surprising that only 5 per cent of Bow residents felt they had a weak attachment to their neighbourhood, bearing in mind the high level of contacts between resident and others (Table 4.8A in the Appendix) and the fact that many have relatives and friends living nearby (Table 4.9A in the Appendix).

Respondents were asked whether their estates were socially mixed in terms of incomes or not (Table 4.17). Overall, people thought their estates had some mix within them - 47 per cent overall, however both Central Estates and Bow had higher than average with Hodge Hill responding significantly lower at 31 per cent some mix. Whereas 22 per cent in the Central Estates thought their estate was very mixed compared with only 5 per cent in Hodge Hill, over half of Hodge Hill respondents thought their estates were mostly the same in terms of income compared with 13 per cent in Central Estates and a fifth and a quarter in Bow and Poplar respectively.

Table 4.17 – Do you think this estate is socially mixed with households with very different incomes or mostly households with similar incomes?

Social mix	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Very mixed	5.4	21.9	18.9	16.3
Some mix	31.7	58.7	56.2	42.3
Mostly the same	55.1	12.9	21.9	25.5
Don't know	7.8	6.5	3.0	15.9
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork 2004

Bow residents are generally far more likely to help each other out than any other estate; 38 per cent of residents thought people would mostly help each other in Bow compared to an average of 29 per cent overall, with just 15 per cent thinking this in Hodge Hill, where just under half of residents thought people were more likely to keep themselves to themselves and go their own way (Table 4.18).

*Table 4.18 – Would you say this is an area where people mostly help each other or where people mostly go their own way?*

<b>Helpfulness</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Help each other	14.6	33.8	37.8	29.3
Go their own way	45.4	28.4	21.4	25.0
Mixture	33.7	31.3	30.3	31.7
Don't know	6.3	6.5	10.4	13.9
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork 2004

Table 4.19 shows that just under half of respondents in Bow, think a high level of social mix is good on the estates, compared with an average of 29 per cent. 6 per cent of Hodge Hill and Poplar residents believe social mix to be a bad idea on the estates, this compares to only 2 per cent in the Central Estates and 4.5 per cent in Bow.

*Table 4.19 – In your opinion, is a high level of social mix on the estates good or bad when thinking about how well people get on?*

<b>Social mix</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Good	20.5	22.9	48.3	22.6
Neutral	69.8	69.7	43.8	63.0
Bad	6.3	2.0	4.5	6.3
Don't know	3.4	5.5	3.5	8.2
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

When asked about the reputation of the estate (Table 4.20), the majority felt their estates had a moderate reputation, however, over 30 per cent of Hodge Hill residents think it has a bad reputation, compared with only 12 per cent of Central Estates, 13 per cent of Poplar and 26 per cent of Bow. The Central Estates and Bow had the highest proportion of people thinking the estates had a good reputation at 23 per cent and 30 per cent respectively. Four-fifths of respondents agreed with the reputation other people might think of the estate (Table 4.21).

*Table 4.20 – What reputation does this estate/area have?*

<b>Reputation of estate</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Good	11.7	27.9	29.4	18.8
Moderate	52.7	53.2	34.3	64.9
Bad	30.2	12.4	25.9	13.0
Don't know	5.4	6.5	10.4	3.4
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork 2004

Residents were asked if they think that residents have any influence over the running and management of services in the area, and one in four of all respondents answered in the affirmative. Responses are illustrated in Table 4.22. The highest proportion answering yes was

Table 4.21 – Do you agree with this reputation?

Agree with reputation	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Yes	82.4	78.6	73.6	81.3
No	9.3	12.4	14.4	12.0
Don't know	8.3	9.0	11.9	6.7
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork 2004

in the Central Estates (36 per cent), followed by Poplar (24 per cent), Bow (22 per cent) and Hodge Hill (16 per cent). Again these figures are consistent with the earlier results, although it is evident that satisfaction with the area and the perception of problems in the area do not correlate directly with views about influence. While residents in the Central Estates area felt they had the most influence over the running and management of services, this did not mean that problems were perceived to be lower in that area. Equally Bow had a relatively low sense of residents' influence, but had the highest levels of satisfaction and the lowest perception of problems in the area.

Table 4.22 – Influence of residents over decision-making (%)

Influence	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Yes	15.6	35.8	21.4	23.6
No	73.2	50.2	66.7	63.9
Don't know	11.2	13.4	11.9	12.5
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Membership of tenants associations is low on all estates (Table 4.4), but of those who are members, they feel that the association generally represents their views. However, we do not know about those residents who are not members of an association. In several instances on the estates, membership of associations overall is low and many of the methods employed to seek tenants views are based around meetings. Studies elsewhere have indicated that innovative methods are required to engage local communities effectively (Mullins et al., 2004). In each of the areas a significant minority of residents said that they would like to have a bigger say in how the services in the area are managed. A number of different ways of participating were indicated by residents. However, it is perhaps not surprising that even when asked what other methods they would like to use to get involved, no respondents gave an answer. This raises a challenge for organisations to find effective methods of empowering their communities.

## 4.6 Conclusions

The responses of residents to this part of the survey bears some similarities to views expressed by professionals and key actors interviewed at earlier stages in this study. There is support for the view that resident' attitudes to their home and their neighbourhood are fundamentally affected by the condition and quality of property. Regeneration initiatives, which involve

demolition and new building and an improvement in accommodation, do have an impact on perceptions of the area. In the short term, as indicated through the interviews both with residents and key actors in the Central Estates area, there are negative reactions to the disruptions and noise associated with regeneration, and properties which are scheduled for demolition or refurbishment often appear to be neglected in the phase leading up to it. The survey revealed how a significant number of residents on the Central Estates were dissatisfied with the neighbourhood because of the removal of trees as part of the regeneration – an issue highlighted in interviews with the development staff of the association as being a likely contentious issue and one which has been covered in the local press. So in the middle of a regeneration process a more polarised view between those who have seen improvements in their circumstances and those who have seen none, and may even feel that things have got worse, is apparent. At the end of the regeneration process it might be expected that the proportion of people with negative views will decline as is indicated in the Bow case. However it is salutary to note that the highest proportions of residents expressing dissatisfaction are in Hodge Hill where no significant regeneration activity has been embarked upon.

It would be wrong to suggest that improvements of property and housing are the only factors that affect people. The survey evidence attests to the importance of crime and safety issues. These are referred to in different ways - from references to drugs and prostitution right through to concerns about the lack of facilities for young people and children.

In addition to these issues basic accessibility to services is fundamentally important. The Central Estates located close to the city centre of Birmingham have good accessibility, and the two London estates have much more developed local shopping and other facilities and benefit from the more developed transport infrastructure of London compared with Hodge Hill. Whether it is for this reason that Hodge Hill is relatively inward looking is difficult to assess, but it seems likely that there is a combination of circumstances and locational and access factors which contribute to the dynamics of the estate.

The challenges for regeneration relate to:

- the characteristics of the population and the properties in the area;
- the phasing and process of regeneration and the disturbance and delays perceived by different groups of residents.

However, underlying this are issues that relate to:

- the location of the estate within the city;
- its infrastructure in terms of services, transport and employment;
- the wider range of facilities provided on, or adjacent to, estates.

Regeneration and renewal policies which neglect housing and property issues are likely to miss issues that are of fundamental importance, but if they do not also engage with issues around other facilities they may not achieve the desired levels of satisfaction or sustainability.

This chapter reports respondents' perceptions of the different policies pursued in the estates. Specifically, it discusses what has been improved, to whom do the respondents attribute any improvements, and what are the 'spill-over' effects for other local estates.

The chapter begins with a short précis of the policy regimes that have operated in each of the estates. It is important to note that the case study estates in London and Birmingham have been selected specifically to explore the effects of different types of policy regime implemented nationally in the past decade (Table 5.1).

## **5.1 Overview of policies and actions in the estates**

### **5.1.1 Hodge Hill, Birmingham**

Hodge Hill, unlike the other case study estates, has not been the recipient of a major housing-led regeneration scheme. Much of the activity in this part of the city is the legacy of an unsuccessful citywide Large Scale Voluntary Transfer (LSVT) proposal formulated by Birmingham City Council and rejected by tenants in a ballot. Following the rejection of the LSVT proposal, an Independent Housing Commission was set up by Birmingham City Council in May 2002 to look at the future of Birmingham's council housing. The commission, headed by Anne Power, aimed to find out what tenants and other interested groups wanted and how the housing service could be improved. The commission's findings 'One Size Doesn't Fit All' were published in December 2002. Its title acknowledges that what may suit one neighbourhood may not suit another. It did however, outline the need for radical reform of the council's housing service and recommended the establishment of Community Based Housing Organisations (CBHOs) to deliver the landlord services within a citywide framework. The CBHOs would enable housing (and eventually other services) to be run at a local neighbourhood level with strong community participation. The CBHO would manage and maintain local council housing and work with other organisations and council departments to tackle wider issues such as the state of the neighbourhood, jobs, training, social issues and so on. Each CBHO would have a board of management, made up of local residents (council tenants, leaseholders and homeowners), council nominees and independent support. The Hodge Hill estate is the location of one of two pathfinder CBHOs.

The Hodge Hill estate forms parts of the East Birmingham and North Solihull Regeneration zone designated by Advantage West Midlands (AWM 2003), the Regional Development

Agency. The detailed programme for this is outlined in the Zone Implementation Plan (2003) with major initiatives grouped in four strategic pillars: creating a diverse and dynamic business base; promoting a learning and skilful region; creating the infrastructure for growth; regenerating communities. These reflect the main pillars of the Regional Economic Strategy. The plan sets out the priorities for AWM investment and a structure for coordinating these with the initiatives led by a range of partner organisations.

There are a number of non-housing initiatives operating in Hodge Hill. A Safer Neighbourhood Project was started in May 2002, run in partnership with Birmingham City Council, West Midlands Police and Crime Concern. It has included efforts at tackling street lighting, security gates and tree pruning in an attempt to improve the area. The Hodge Hill Ward Advisory Board has set its priorities after consultation with residents as being: improved street lighting; improving youth facilities; reducing crime and anti-social behaviour; dealing with traffic issues; improving service on streets such as litter, pavements and verges; using CCTV, and; installing security gates.

Hodge Hill is also the location of a Sure Start project, aimed at improving the quality of education for young children, based at the Mirfield Centre in Lea Village. It was a round 5 bid for the Birmingham East area. Nationally, the programme offers: free part time early education for three and four years olds; at least 250,000 new childcare places by 2006 (with start up grants for nurseries, child minders and after school activities); improving the quality of childcare provision (working with the Inspectors to approve early education and childcare; making childcare more affordable (an extra £325 million available per year to help with childcare costs through the Working Families Tax Credit); improving knowledge of service provision (local children's information services).

### **5.1.2 Central Estates, Birmingham**

Optima Community Association, like Poplar HARCA, is a housing association, established through the Estates Renewal Challenge Fund (ERCF). The five Central Estates, collectively now known as Attwood Green, comprising 2,800 units, were transferred from the previous ownership of Birmingham City Council to Optima in 1999.

Part of the area had been included in previous bids for funding, including Estate Action (for which part of the Benmore estate had received funds for physical improvement). Demands for greater action arose from residents because of the expectation that the Lee Bank estate was the next in line for Estate Action funding when the Estate Action Scheme was terminated. The city was obliged to look for new ways of achieving this once the Estate Action Programme had ceased to exist.

Protests by tenants led to the city including the estates in a bid for funds under the Estate Renewal Challenge Fund. The bid involved a very high level of investment in housing of some £50 million and a smaller amount for social and economic programmes to achieve a more balanced regeneration. The programme involved demolition (1,200 dwellings), refurbishment (1,500 dwellings) and new build housing (650 dwellings) and, in line with the requirements of ERCF, transfer of the city council housing to a housing association. The programme was developed with strong inputs from residents. The realisation of the regeneration of the estates also involved land disposals and new private sector residential and commercial development. This would produce a modern mixed tenure estate and the receipts from land sales were to be reinvested within the area and add to the resources for regeneration.

A ballot to approve or reject the transfer and the wider regeneration 'Offer' was carried out in July 1998 and the residents voted in favour. The stock as a whole was transferred to Optima Community Association in 1999 following a process of consultation and negotiation of over 12 months. Optima Community Association was charged to deliver the major programme of refurbishment and regeneration.

The approach adopted in the Central Estates reflects the nature of the area and the development of central government policy. The ERCF programme dominates the physical and property related investment activity, which will take place over some 10 years. In addition to this ERCF includes regeneration funding, which is being used for a variety of social and economic activities to supplement mainstream programmes.

The Central Estates in Birmingham are very close to the expanding city centre in which many developments were strongly supported by EU funding. The development potential of the area and the involvement of private developers is associated with the opportunities arising from the expansion of the city centre and successful city living strategies. While residents' involvement and the problems on the estates are one key driver of the strategy the opportunities associated with city centre location are another driver.

The funding for regeneration comes from ERCF but also from this wider city strategy and from private developers. One of the major elements involved is a development agreement between Optima Community Association, Birmingham City Council and Crest Nicholson PLC. Crest Nicholson successfully bid for the role of lead developer for a major part of the estate and the agreement involves their guaranteeing minimum and additional works within the area.

### **5.1.3 Bow HAT, London**

Bow HAT, one of six such agencies nationally, is a Non-Departmental Public Body (NDPB or *quango*) to which three estates, (Lefevre, Monteith, Tredegar), formerly belonging to the London Borough of Tower Hamlets (LBTH), were transferred in 1993, following a ballot of tenants. A government proposal to designate a HAT elsewhere in Tower Hamlets (the Ocean estate in Stepney, now the site of a New Deal for Communities programme) was rejected by tenants. Bow HAT's original stock numbered 1,575 units, comprising mainly high-rise units constructed in the 1960s and 1970s.

The objectives of the HAT are to bring about lasting regeneration of the area, empower residents to make informed decisions about their housing choices and give them a stake in the community, by: building new homes or improving existing homes for all residents, to the highest standards of quality, amenity, internal and external space standards that available resources will allow; ensuring the effective, sensitive and responsive management and maintenance of its homes; providing a wider choice of tenure and forms of homes ownership to its residents; improving the social, living and environmental conditions in its area, in part through improved job opportunities and youth and community facilities; providing the best possible value for money and most effective use of resources in all its work.

The majority of the HAT's efforts, in practice, have been devoted to housing renewal. This is reflected in the proportion (80 per cent) of its budget (£142 million between 1993 and 2003) devoted to housing development and management. By the end of the programme (2004/2005), almost all the pre-existing stock will have been demolished, approximately 1,000 new homes will have been built, in a low rise traditional 'neighbourhood' format, and a further 150 improved.

In 1995, the HAT estimated the lifetime cost of its development programme to be £175 million. However, in 1996, the government fixed the HAT's lifetime grant at £123 million. As an NDPB, the HAT could not borrow additional resources to make good the shortfall. It, therefore, entered into partnership with Circle 33 Housing Association and jointly established Old Ford Housing to complete the remainder of the physical regeneration programme and manage the new stock.

In 1998, the HAT established a Community Development Trust, Bow People's Trust (BPT), to undertake community and economic regeneration. The HAT committed to provide £4.4 million in grant in aid to BPT, over a seven-year period, to be supplemented by other sources (e.g. National Lottery, European Social Fund).

As a result of the establishment of Old Ford and BPT, the HAT has become a smaller organisation than originally envisaged. Indeed, its role changed from one of landlord to service purchaser and contract monitor.

The HAT has, more recently become engaged in a wider spectrum of activity in partnership with the local authority and other bodies, in the context of the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal.

#### **5.1.4 Poplar HARCA, London**

Poplar Housing and Regeneration Community Association (HARCA) was the first urban housing company to be established through the Estate Renewal Challenge Fund (ERCF). Seven diverse and widely dispersed estates, comprising 6,360 units formerly the property of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, were transferred to Poplar HARCA (PH) following three ballots: between 1997 and 2001.

PH has seven key objectives: encourage and development investment in Poplar; develop genuine partnerships; develop successful and effective neighbourhood and housing services; make Poplar safe; encourage a culture that promotes ideas from local people; fulfil people's potential through education and training; resource maximisation.

The physical regeneration programme (now complete) involved the demolition of some 10 per cent of the stock and the refurbishment of the remainder using a £53 million dowry from the ERCF plus £91 million of private finance. PH's economic and social regeneration budget is £1 million per annum, raised from rent income and other sources. Each estate has a HARCA centre which is a multi-purpose building used for youth activities, training, health education, childcare, care of the elderly, English language tuition, literacy and numeric training, sports and leisure activities, etc.

A key partner of PH is Leaside Regeneration, an urban regeneration company, set up in 1999 to promote the physical and economic regeneration of the north east of Tower Hamlets and west of the adjacent borough, Newham. It was funded via SRB round four resources and has, since designation, successfully bid for SRB round six monies to support a 'Communities in Business' programme.

Another key partner, the Bromley by Bow Centre (BBBC) is a community organisation which runs a variety of health, education and training, enterprise and family support projects, including a community care facility, arts projects, community café, employment and training courses, nursery, health centre, newly restored park area, and sports provision for local children.

PH is an active networker and has sought to develop a role in managing neighbourhoods in the Poplar area outside the estates for which it is the principal landlord. Accordingly, PH, in

partnership with Leaside Regeneration and BBBC, has established the Poplar Area Network (PAN), which sub-divides the Poplar area into five discrete neighbourhoods. Partners include the Metropolitan Police, SPLASH, Sure Start, Poplar Partnership Excellence in Cities, Poplar Education Action Zone, and Tower Hamlets College.

Table 5.1 provides a summary of the different regeneration schemes operating in each estate.

## 5.2 What has been improved?

Residents were asked whether they have had their homes renovated or refurbished during the past five years. The responses are illustrated in Table 5.2. Only a minority of respondents reported any recent improvement work to their homes. The highest proportion of positive responses were found on the Birmingham Central Estates (39 per cent) and Poplar (29 per cent) whereas only 11 per cent of respondents in Hodge Hill and 9 per cent of those in Bow indicated any recent improvements to their property. These responses are curious given the large housing-led regeneration programmes in operation in all estates except Hodge Hill. These figures did not differ significantly according to age, gender or employment status.

Those residents that had reported improvements to their homes were asked what types of work had taken place. The responses are illustrated in Table 5.3. Overall, internal works, especially improvements to the bathroom, kitchen and layout of the premises were the most important, followed by external works such as re-cladding of the walls and replacement windows or double-glazing. Differences between the estates were relatively limited.

Respondents were asked whether they knew about any actions taken by local authorities or other organisation to improve the area. The responses are illustrated in Table 5.4. Only a minority of respondents, in each case, were familiar with such programmes. In general the two Birmingham estates appeared to score higher in terms of improvements associated with the local authority or other organisations.

The highest proportion answering positively was in Central Estates (17 per cent) however, less than one in ten respondents were familiar with local regeneration programmes elsewhere – Bow (8 per cent), Hodge Hill and Poplar (nearly 7 per cent each). The numbers of respondents are too small to give a clear picture of the areas where improvements are being made. Table 5.1A in the Appendix relates knowledge of actions taken by the local authority with renovation of the home. 30 per cent of Central Estates and 25 per cent of poplar residents are not aware of any actions taken by the local authority or housing association to improve the area, and yet have had their home improved. Overall, this raises the question of whether residents understand if, when and how regeneration is undertaken on the estates in which they live. The results raise questions about the nature and effectiveness of resident information provided by those responsible for the implementation of these policies in addition to the inclusivity of participation mechanisms. These figures did not differ significantly according to age, gender or employment status.

Respondents were asked what aspects of the neighbourhood the local authority or other organisation had improved. The responses are illustrated in Table 5.5. Overall, the most commonly cited improvements were physical ones such as reduction of dirt on the streets, upkeep of buildings, condition of roads and upkeep of public places but, even in these instances, little more than one in five people considered that improvements were being made. In Hodge Hill improvements related to the condition of the roads, dirt on the streets and play area facilities

Table 5.1 – Regeneration actions in the four estates

Regeneration actions	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Primary landlord (date of construction)	Birmingham City Council	Birmingham City Council	London Borough of Tower Hamlets	London County Council, Polar Metropolitan Council, Greater London Council
Primary landlord (Summer 2004)	Birmingham City Council	Optima Community Association	Old Ford Housing Association (subsidiary of Circle 33)	Poplar HARCA
Primary regeneration programme	-	Estates Renewal Challenge Fund	Housing Action Trust	Estates Renewal Challenge Fund
Government grant in aid	-	£34.4 million (ERCF)	£123 million (HAT)	£69 million (ERCF)
Private loans	-		£50 million +	£95 million
Programmed demolition (% of stock)	-	43	89	10
Programmed refurbishment (% of stock)	-	54	11	90
Programmed new build (no. of dwellings)	-	650	1,097	?
Supporting regeneration programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Safer Cities</li> <li>• Sure Start</li> <li>• East Birmingham and North Solihull Regeneration Zone</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bow People's Trust, economic and social regeneration</li> <li>• Fish Islands Regeneration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poplar HARCA Community and Economic Regeneration Team, economic and social regeneration</li> <li>• Bromley by Bow Centre, economic and social regeneration</li> <li>• Miscellaneous Neighbourhood Renewal Fund projects</li> <li>• Excellence in Cities Education Action Zone</li> <li>• SRB4 'Leaside, Tower Hamlets', £7.4 million, economic and social regeneration</li> <li>• SRB6 'Communities in Business Poplar and Leaside', £20.7 million, economic and social regeneration</li> </ul>

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 5.2 – Has your home been refurbished/renovated in the past five years? (%)

Renovation works completed	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Yes	10.7	38.8	8.5	28.8
No	84.9	53.2	90.0	66.8
Don't know	4.4	8.0	1.5	4.3
Base	205	200	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 5.3 – What improvements have been made to your home? (%)

Improvements	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Renovation of kitchen	36.8	64.9	35.7	75.0
Renovation of bathroom	10.5	22.1	28.6	45.0
Changed layout	15.8	19.5	21.4	28.3
Renovation of roof	5.3	7.8	0.0	5.0
Renovation of floor	10.5	6.5	7.1	8.3
Renovation of entrance	5.3	10.4	28.6	3.3
Renovation of outside walls	5.3	15.6	21.4	10.0
New windows/double glazing	26.3	10.4	0.0	6.7
Other	5.3	11.7	14.3	3.3
Don't know	5.3	2.6	0.0	0.0
Multiple response	19	77	14	60

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004 (based on respondents)

Table 5.4 – Do you know about actions taken by the local authority aimed at improving the area (%)?

Knowledge of actions	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Yes	6.5	17.3	8.4	6.7
No	93.5	82.7	91.6	93.3
Base	200	179	166	195

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

for children, in Poplar – to maintenance of buildings and better housing, in Bow to a cleaner environment, and in the Central Estates to better housing, reduction in crime and unspecified area improvement as well as reference to housing association and increases in security and safety. Items not improved include burglaries, graffiti, feelings of safety, values and quality of schools/commercial and public services (see Table 5.2A in the Appendix).

Respondents were asked which organisations they considered to have played a key role in these actions. The responses are illustrated in Table 5.6. Respondents were most likely to attribute improvements to local rather than national actions. In the two Birmingham estates, residents were most likely to cite the role of the local authority as important (54 per cent in Hodge Hill; 36 per cent for the Central Estates), although only marginally so in the case of the Central Estates (32 per cent of respondents cited housing companies). In the case of the London estates, a majority of residents, in each case (57 per cent in Bow; 54 per cent in Poplar), cited the role of housing organisations as the key driver. In general, young people (16 to 24 years of age) attributed a far higher degree of importance to action by the local authority (67 per cent) and local people (18 per cent) than the population as a whole.

*Table 5.5 – Which of these aspects have been improved by the local authority or another organisation in the area (%)?*

Improved - yes	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Dirt on the streets	49.2	35.1	53.2	38.7
Drug abuse	21.1	44.3	16.9	18.7
Burglary in households	15.6	26.0	11.7	16.0
Burglary in cars	21.1	20.6	15.6	20.0
Graffiti	27.3	38.2	31.2	18.1
Feelings of unsafety	30.5	31.3	26.0	28.0
Upkeep of public roads	31.3	39.7	40.3	44.0
Condition of roads	52.3	42.0	31.2	32.0
Playgrounds for children	39.1	28.2	20.8	34.7
Maintenance of buildings	18.0	55.0	50.6	53.3
Lack of employment	7.0	21.4	10.4	14.7
Quality of schools	14.1	22.1	19.5	38.7
Quality of commercial services	11.7	29.0	11.7	28.0
Quality of public services	27.3	26.7	16.9	26.7
Different values	14.8	18.3	9.1	28.0
Racism	11.7	16.0	10.4	30.7
Base multiple response	128	131	77	75

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 5.6 – Which of the following organisations was the most important in these actions? (%)*

Organisation	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
National government	7.7	12.9	7.1	0.0
Local authority	53.8	35.5	21.4	30.8
Housing companies	7.7	32.3	57.1	53.8
Local people	7.7	3.2	0.0	7.7
Don't know	23.1	16.1	14.3	7.7
Base	13	31	14	13

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

### 5.3 Spill-over effects

The social survey carried out as part of this research provides us with some insights into who benefits and who loses from the process of regeneration and the policies carried out in these four estates. Even this presents some problems:

- Some tenants have moved into their homes since modernisation, or their homes are newly built. Their awareness of any change in circumstances is therefore limited. They have no experience of the estate before policy interventions were carried out.
- Other tenants are in estates or parts of estates, which have not yet benefited significantly from policy interventions. Policies that are planned may not yet have reached them. In some cases where the intention is to improve or replace properties, this may even mean that the tenants involved have seen deterioration in their immediate environment. There will have been less money spent on maintenance and repair of properties that are going to be demolished, and

the environment on these estates (where a major new build and improvement works are being carried out) may mean that it has got worse before it gets better.

The data also indicates different kinds of effects. The most direct and tangible benefits relate to improvement in peoples' homes – the renewal of kitchens or bathrooms or the provision of new housing. These direct benefits are associated with improved estate management, environmental works, measures to improve the maintenance and repair of properties and to address crime and safety concerns. It is not so easy to identify who benefits from these improvements. At one level, people living on the whole estate and even beyond the estate benefit from a general uplifting in the neighbourhood. If there is change in the reputation and the attractiveness of the neighbourhood this benefits a wider population and may spill over beyond the boundaries of the estate. Logically there are spill-over effects to adjacent neighbourhoods.

The discussion of these kinds of effects however introduces a more complex set of issues, which relate to migration and residential mobility. The beneficiaries from improvement include people who move into the estate to better quality housing than would have otherwise been the case. These may be new tenants or new owners in mixed tenure estates.

There are also key issues about people who move away from the estate and there are two opposite extremes, which can be identified here.

- Firstly there are people who are able to leave the estate and escape from unattractive environments. It is apparent that for some households living in a run down estate, the opportunities created by plans to demolish the blocks are opportunities to move away from unsatisfactory environments. Some tenants have positive views about the demolition of blocks because it provides the basis for them to start their lives somewhere else and to exercise some choice of housing rather than being trapped in the existing environment.
- However, at the opposite extreme from this, there are issues about displacement of population and gentrification. Where the policies pursued on estates have reduced the amount of housing or the amount of housing that is accessible to lower income groups (say social rented housing), then there may be households which would have preferred to stay in these estates, or to have moved back to them, or are unable to do so. The evidence about the extent of this is not forthcoming. In the Central Estates in Birmingham households whose properties are being demolished are able to register on a returnees list and the number of households on the returnees lists are less than the number of new properties being provided. Superficially this means that there is no direct displacement. However, it is difficult to know the considerations that people make in decisions about registering to return or returning. It is also difficult to know the extent to which there is a latent demand for housing – demand that is impossible to meet because of reductions in the numbers of properties.

In this context it is possible to identify a number of groups and cohorts affected in different ways: long-term residents who benefit from an improvement in their housing and other circumstances;

- long-term residents who only benefit from an improvement in their housing circumstances;
- movers into the estate who move into much more attractive properties and a better-managed environment than previously;
- movers out from the estate who moved to areas that they are more comfortable in;

- people who move out because of demolition and who decide to return to the housing on the estate at a later stage. These households experience disruption and the effects of two moves of property but in the long run see an improvement in their circumstances;
- households which move away because their houses are being demolished and who reluctantly decide not to move back because of the disruptions involved in relocating twice or other factors;
- households that would have liked to move into the estate for the first time but who find the opportunities too limited.

The evidence from the present study does not really enable us to calculate the overall effects of estate regeneration. What is evident from the kind of discussion in this section is that the evaluation of spill-over and other effects is complex. It seems likely that in most cases, where positive policies are being pursued, there will be some beneficial spill-over effects at some later stage – not necessarily while the policy is being implemented but most likely immediately afterwards. Whether this is sustained will depend on the continuing quality of management and the policies adopted more generally in relation to the estates. Beyond this the judgement about who benefits has to relate to decisions about residential mobility. There are potential issues about displacement but it would be wrong to assume that all displacement has a negative effect. When people are being displaced from unattractive estates they may see it as a real opportunity.

Finally, the discussion of gentrification while it a real one also presents some complexities for these kinds of estates. If the ambition of the policy is to change the income and employment profile of the people living on the estates, it could be argued that the policies will inevitably involve some degree of gentrification. If there is no gentrification then the neighbourhoods have not seen any shift away from the disadvantaged and poverty status that existed before. However, if the process of change involves a complete gentrification or if there are no identifiable benefits to long term residents and lower income households either in terms of increased access to improved quality housing or other ways then there are reasonable questions about the balance between benefits to different groups over different timescales and in different places.

## 5.4 Conclusions

The case study estates in London and Birmingham have been selected specifically to explore the effects of different types of policy regime implemented nationally in the past decade. Residents' perceptions of those policies have been examined in this chapter. Questions should be asked as to the effectiveness of promotional and marketing material to residents about the changes to their environment including their homes. Only a minority of respondents reported any recent improvement work to their homes and only a minority were familiar with local authority or other organisations acting within the estates. This is strange given the large housing-led regeneration programmes in operation in all estates except Hodge Hill.

Therefore, overall, this raises the question of whether residents understand if, when and how regeneration is undertaken on the estates in which they live. The results raise questions about the nature and effectiveness of resident information provided by those responsible for the implementation of these policies in addition to the inclusivity of participation mechanisms.

## 6 The future of the estates

This chapter reports on residents' perceptions of the future of their neighbourhood. Questions were asked which examined the potential views of the neighbourhood in five years time. Residents were asked how their perceptions could be made better, or what they thought would be the major factor in decreasing the desirability of their neighbourhood. Residents were also asked whether they were considering moving within the next two years, and if so where would they move to and what would be the reasons for that move, all to give an indication of the likely trajectory of the estate.

In analysing these aspects of the survey it is important to bear in mind two factors. Firstly, the estates themselves are at different stages in the implementation of regeneration programmes. Bow HAT has now completed its programme; the Central Estates and Poplar Harca are in the middle of ambitious renewal programmes whilst Hodge Hill has yet to see any significant regeneration activity. It is anticipated that this will have a bearing on the results. Secondly, we have only considered a number of contributory characteristics of households in the analysis of the results. The following questions have been cross tabulated to look at the impact of age of respondents, their length of residence in the area, household composition and tenure.

### 6.1 The future of the neighbourhood

Residents were asked whether they envisaged the neighbourhood would be worse than it is today in five years time, and the majority of responses were non-committal. Those responding 'don't know' were 67 per cent in Poplar, 66 per cent in Hodge Hill, 60 per cent in Central Estates and 53 per cent in Bow (Table 6.1). It is interesting to note that such a large proportion of residents are non-committal or had not considered the future of the area. The pattern of this does not vary by age, length of residence or household composition. Only housing tenure differs overall. The lowest proportion of people thinking that the area would be better was in Hodge Hill (5.4 per cent) followed by Poplar (7 per cent), Bow (17 per cent) and Central Estates (22 per cent). In part this would be expected owing to the stage in redevelopment that each of the estates is at. However, with significant rebuilding in both the Central Estates and Bow there is perhaps a more significant visual component to perceptions of estate trajectory and visible change. These figures did not differ significantly according to age, gender tenure or employment status.

The respondents who envisaged a change for the worst were asked 'how can that be turned into a brighter future – what should have the highest priority?' Table 6.2 illustrates the different

Table 6.1 – In five years time, do you envisage that the neighbourhood will be better or worse than it is today? (%)

Future of neighbourhood	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Better	5.4	22.4	16.9	6.7
The same	9.8	10.9	17.9	12.0
Worse	18.5	7.0	12.4	13.9
Don't know	66.3	59.7	52.7	67.3
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

factors that were considered most important. Overall, the most important issues were reducing crime, policing, reducing rubbish and reducing drug abuse. However, the balance of priorities differed between the estates. The key priorities were, apart from more policing and reducing crime: better housing maintenance in Hodge Hill (24 per cent); better quality housing in the Central Estates (17 per cent); tackling drug abuse in Bow (13 per cent); and, reducing rubbish, drug abuse and antisocial behaviour in Poplar (31, 28 and 17 per cent). There were no significant variations by employment status, tenure, household composition or ethnicity. Gender bias was not noted, with the same priorities of decreasing crime and increasing policing expressed by both genders, however, they were of a slightly higher priority for females.

Table 6.2 – If you envisage a change for the worst, how can that be turned into a brighter future – what should have the highest priority?

Priority action areas	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
More/better policing	26.3	16.7	9.7	0.0
Reduce crime	10.5	8.3	32.3	25.0
Deal with drug crime	2.6	0.0	12.9	27.8
Cleaning/removing rubbish	5.3	0.0	9.7	30.6
Reduce anti-social behaviour	2.6	0.0	6.5	16.7
Better quality housing	0.0	16.7	9.7	2.8
Better local facilities	13.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Better housing maintenance	23.7	8.3	0.0	0.0
Better facilities for young people	10.5	0.0	6.5	2.8
Better security (e.g. CCTV)	2.6	8.3	6.5	0.0
Get rid of bad neighbours	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6
Burglary	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6
Other	10.5	41.7	12.9	16.7
Base multiple response	38	12	31	36

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

The respondents who envisaged a change for the better were asked why they thought the neighbourhood's future would be brighter. Table 6.3 illustrates the different factors that were considered most important. Overall, the most important factors were general improvements in the area, provision of new housing, and demolition of tower blocks. In all the estates, except Poplar, the reasons for citing a better future were predominantly housing related. In Hodge Hill and the Central Estates, the most important factors were, apart from general improvements to the area, the demolition of tower blocks (20 per cent in Hodge Hill and 17 per cent in the

Central Estates) and the provision of new houses (16 per cent for the Central Estates). In Bow, the key improvements were the provision of new housing (30 per cent) and improvements to the housing stock (17 per cent). However, in Poplar, the key factors were not housing related: general improvements to the area (42 per cent) and closer community (33 per cent). Again, age, employment status, and ethnicity did not make a significant difference to the results.

*Table 6.3 – What is the main reason why you think the neighbourhood's future will be brighter?*

Brighter future	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Area is improving	20.0	26.2	10.0	41.7
Building new houses	10.0	16.7	30.0	0.0
High rise blocks demolished	20.0	16.7	3.3	0.0
Improved housing	0.0	4.8	16.7	0.0
Reduction in crime	10.0	2.4	3.3	0.0
Cleaner environment	0.0	4.8	3.3	0.0
Better security (e.g. CCTV)	0.0	0.0	6.7	0.0
More investment in area	10.0	0.0	6.7	0.0
New people moving in	10.0	4.8	0.0	0.0
Closer/good community spirit	0.0	0.0	6.7	33.3
Greener environment	0.0	2.4	6.7	0.0
New development	0.0	11.9	0.0	0.0
Derelict buildings demolished	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0
Other	20.0	14.3	6.7	25.0
Base multiple responses	10	42	30	12

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

## 6.2 Staying or leaving?

An indication of residents' assessment of the future of their homes and estates is also provided by responses to questions about their moving intentions. Table 6.4 indicates that a significant minority of residents – approximately one-third in Hodge Hill, one-quarter in the Central Estates, one-fifth in Poplar and just over a tenth in Bow – said that they intend to move house within two years.

*Table 6.4 – Does your household have plans to move within 2 years (%)?*

Plans to move	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Yes	32.2	24.4	12.9	19.2
No	52.7	63.7	81.1	71.6
Don't know	15.1	11.9	6.0	9.1
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Unsurprisingly, residents' moving intentions were closely correlated to their age. Respondents aged 55 and above were twice as likely to indicate a desire to move within two years as the total sample (11.4 per cent compared to 22.2 per cent). Tenure, gender, household composition and employment status were far less important factors (Table 6.5).

The reason for moving are not all associated with factors which are likely to be changed through policy. The most important reason for wishing to move was related to the small size of residents' current home. This was particularly important in Poplar (50 per cent of those planning to move within two years, reflecting the local levels of over-crowding cited in previous RESTATE reports. The size of the present dwelling was the second most important factor in Hodge Hill (24 per cent) and the Central Estates (14 per cent). However, respondents' expectation that their current dwelling will be demolished is the most important issue for both Birmingham estates (26 per cent in Hodge Hill and 19 per cent in the Central Estates). The third most important factor overall was a desire to move to a quieter neighbourhood. This was cited by more than 10 per cent of respondents in all estates, except for Bow. Income, age and gender were not important factors when giving reasons for move.

*Table 6.5 – What is the main reason for considering moving?*

Reasons for move	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Current dwelling too small	24.2	14.3	11.5	50.0
Current dwelling to be demolished	25.8	18.4	7.7	0.0
Move to quieter area	18.2	12.2	3.8	17.5
Move to safer area	10.6	6.1	11.5	10.0
Move closer to friends, family	6.0	6.1	0.0	5.0
Don't like area	7.6	4.1	3.8	0.0
Want to buy house	0.0	6.1	3.8	0.0
Currently in temporary accommodation	0.0	4.1	7.7	0.0
Don't know	0.0	4.1	34.6	7.5
Other	6.0	20.2	15.2	7.5
Base	66	49	26	40

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

When asked where they would like to move, the majority in each of the estates referred to short distance moves (Table 6.6). Overall, almost 60 per cent of respondents said that they would move elsewhere within the same city, the same neighbourhood or the same small area. In Hodge Hill, a majority of respondents (53 per cent) would move elsewhere within the same city while in the Central Estates the most common response was to move within the same neighbourhood (28.6 per cent). In both London estates, the most common response was 'don't know' although in Bow a move within the same street would be equally popular. There was no difference in responses between tenure, employment status, and gender or household composition. Age plays a minor role – moving somewhere else in the city was stated by 30 per cent of 18-30 year olds, 49 per cent of 3-44 year olds, 39 per cent of 45-54 years olds and 25 per cent of those aged 65 and over. The role income plays in the location of the next home move, is of course of relative importance. The higher income groups would prefer to move elsewhere in the city, the middle-income groups would move within the same small area or a close district, whilst those at the lowest end of the income categories would move within the same street or neighbourhood.

Table 6.6 – Where would you like to move to (%)?

Location of next move	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Same street	0.0	2.0	23.1	2.5
Same small area	16.7	6.1	15.4	10.0
Same neighbourhood	4.5	28.6	7.7	12.5
A close district	18.2	8.2	0.0	7.5
Close to present neighbourhood	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.0
Elsewhere in the city	53.0	26.5	15.4	25.0
Elsewhere	3.0	14.3	15.4	17.5
Don't know	4.5	8.2	23.1	22.5
Refused	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5
Base	69	49	26	40

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

### 6.3 Effects on other areas

The effects of regeneration of these estates on their surrounding areas is not made any clearer from the result of the survey. Clearly we can observe that where regeneration has taken place, fewer residents are considering moving away from the area. However, it should be remembered that in some of the estates there is a high level of residents for whom moving is a necessity because of the demolition of existing stock, for example Bow HAT and the Central Estates. Without specific data, we can only speculate about what the impact of this movement may be for other areas.

### 6.4 Conclusions

From the results of the survey it is possible to suggest that the success of regeneration has less to do with individual characteristics of residents, such as age and ethnicity, and more about the quality of housing, the surrounding environment and importantly a network of family and friends in the local area. The results do demonstrate that in estates where regeneration policies have been enacted, residents are more inclined to envisage a better future for the area and are less likely to want to move. Bow consistently demonstrated the highest level of satisfaction, followed by Poplar and the Central Estates. This is indicative of the regeneration process and demonstrates that where there is visible action, residents are more likely to be positive about the future of their area.

However, the picture is not all positive. Despite the increasing positivism that is attached to visible change, there remain a significant number of residents who feel that the area will either be worse or see no change across all four estates. This would suggest that there remains a considerable challenge in winning over the hearts and minds of the majority of residents in regeneration projects.



# 7 Conclusions

## 7.1 Conclusions from the household survey

The survey data presented for the four estates in Birmingham and London highlight continuities as well as differences between the estates. All of these are estates with considerable levels of deprivation, high levels of unemployment, elderly persons on low income, and others with high levels of benefit dependency and low incomes. The areas have considerable problems of crime and residents are concerned about this and other problems in the estates. At the same time residents' general views of the estates and the way that they are changing is overwhelmingly pessimistic. Residents are more likely to think that things are getting worse than that they are getting better, and the vast majority do not expect to see any significant improvement in the neighbourhoods.

Low expectations and high levels of concern about local problems dominate, but there are differences in the degree to which areas are seen to be problematic and there is a variation in perceptions of change. There is considerable consistency in this. The Hodge Hill estate in Birmingham consistently emerges as the most pessimistic area of the four considered in this study. This is partly explained by its location and relatively poor access to a variety of amenities. However, it is also likely to be associated with the lack of an active regeneration or property led policy in the area. Except for perceptions of improved facilities for children, residents do not see evidence of policy change and intervention.

In contrast to this the other three areas all suggest that the changes being carried out by local government and others do have an impact on resident perceptions. The impacts are not simple and uncomplicated. For example, in the Central Estates area it would seem likely that the stage reached by regeneration activity has some effect in polarising perceptions of residents. For some there have been positive changes, which have improved their circumstances, but for others the early stages of regeneration activity create disruption and a decline in the environment.

The more positive view of the future expressed by Central Estates residents suggests that as the regeneration programme proceeds and comes to an end it will have achieved a significant change. In the two London estates, Poplar and Bow, interventions are further advanced and there is a more consistent picture, especially in Bow of relatively high levels of satisfaction, and this again suggests that policy interventions in these estates do have an impact on perceptions. In the Bow case however, this has not resulted in high levels of participation in the management of the area and residents' views of their influence of what happens in the area remain relatively low. While the legacy of regeneration activity may be a more positive one in terms of perceptions of services, it has not left a more participative system of governance.

The overall implications of this study suggest a framework for understanding the development and regeneration of large-scale post-war housing areas, which relate to a number of layered influences.

- Initially the location and physical legacy of the area is important – the extent to which the estate is well served by access to the city centre or to local shopping and other facilities, or to transport networks. In this respect the Hodge Hill estate is least well served.
- Secondly there are issues about the nature and type of housing in the area. The high proportion of non-traditional housing, high rise flats, medium rise flats and maisonettes has been a significant factor in each area, and it does appear that as this legacy is moderated through demolition and physical improvement, there is a change in the situation. The interviews carried out in this study reflect the position in 2004 when some of the areas, (Bow most notably) have already been significantly affected by changes in housing. Again the Hodge Hill area is the one with the least change to the housing stock and this adds to the disadvantage associated with location and infrastructure. It is easier to improve the quality of the housing stock through refurbishment, demolition and new building, than it is to change the disadvantages associated with location and connectivity to a range of other services. Nevertheless, some improvements can be made in the latter, and regeneration schemes that go beyond housing on their own can begin to have some impact on this and are doing so.
- The characteristics of the population, their attachment to the area, and the internal linkages within the area are a further significant factor. Where there is high turnover of population and low attachment to the area and to neighbours, the tasks for regeneration are arguably more difficult. It is important however to recognise that residents have very different views of the quality of local service, or issues to do with crime, schools and the quality of public services generally. There is also a perception among residents that local authorities and other organisations do contribute to changes in these things. Against a background with a high fatalism and low expectations there are responses that indicate that activities to improve services are recognised by residents.
- These observations do suggest that policy interventions have an impact on these areas, but it is important to recognise that the impact may be more strongly perceived at different points in time. Other research suggests that regeneration initiatives may be perceived in different ways at different stages. There may be an impatience to see results at an early stage and a dissatisfaction that more is not achieved quickly; and by the end of regeneration schemes expectations may be higher and levels of satisfaction do not reflect the improvement in the quality of services measured in other ways. Improvements in estates may have been considerably assisted by pressure by residents and the participation of residents in processes, but once improvements have been achieved and regeneration programmes are nearing an end, resident participation may fall away.

All of this raises questions about the sustainability of estate improvements. If at the end of the regeneration initiative, the underlying processes of governance have not changed, and levels of deprivation remain high with limited participation, then are the estates likely to revert back to the early state after a relatively short period of time? The research reported here does not enable us to answer that question. However, it would suggest that we need to examine the proposals for continuing management and activity to sustain any improvements that are achieved in these estates.

## 7.2 Transferable lessons

The transferable lessons from the British experience would be both about processes of regeneration and real improvements in circumstances. This emphasises the need to see improvements not just in housing conditions or property, but also in other aspects of the neighbourhood, albeit that improvements in property are a crucial element, which cannot be neglected. However, a wider set of questions remains about whether there are transferable lessons in terms of sustainability. It is not sufficient to be able to provide examples of successful regeneration or initiatives which do significantly change the quality of life and perceptions and satisfactions on estates, but which cannot demonstrate sustainability in the long term. Evidence other than that provided in this report is required to indicate how improvements in these estates can be effectively sustained.

The underlying agenda for this study is about the transferability of experience and how far we can learn from the case studies that have been carried out to advise on what works most effectively. Because the success of policies is so dependent upon the context in which they are operating, this is more than an assessment of what policies work most effectively per se. We therefore, need to set out a framework, which refers both to the policy and the context and discusses the factors, which contribute to success and failure.

It is important to recognise that policy interventions related to estates impact on a dynamic situation. Not only do the policies we are analysing affect the estates but they are also being changed as a result of other processes at the same time. Furthermore it is essential to acknowledge the different situations and legacies associated with different estates rather than assuming that they all are the same at some imagined starting point when policy is introduced.

These perspectives are important because they suggest that the effectiveness of policy may depend very much on the starting positions of the estates and the catalysts for change as well as the policy initiatives introduced. It is the combination of a series of contingent factors, which determines the circumstances on estates and the ways that they change. There are a number of different factors, which form a sequential process and the key stages are:

- The context of the estate: It is important to understand what the problems of the estate are, but also to make an assessment of the social, economic and environmental conditions, which exist, within its immediate vicinity. This will outline the potential causes of problems and the prospects for positive change.
- The catalyst of change:
  - What was the event(s), which triggered the policy intervention?
  - When did this occur?
  - Who was involved?

These will have a bearing on major issues about the intervention and the active engagement of local residents.

- Policy agenda: What issues have been identified to be addressed? In addition, what is the organisational response to this?
- Finance available to deliver change?
  - How much?
  - From whom? Public? Private?
- Partnerships: Is partnership central to the delivery of policy? Who is part of this partnership? In addition, what is the distribution of power within the partnership?

- Participation of residents: Do residents of the estates have an opportunity to participate in the development and deliver of the policy? Are they afforded real power or merely a consultative role?
- Outcomes: What are the outcomes? Who do they benefit (e.g. existing residents? Newcomers? The public sector? The Private Sector?). Moreover, on whose criteria are they judged?

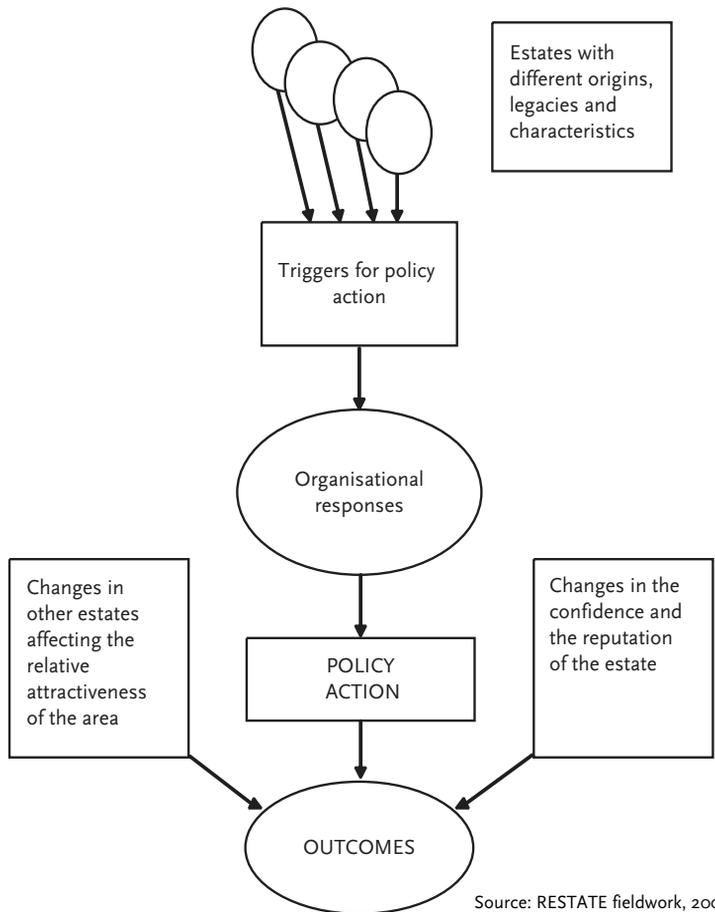


Figure 7.1 – Policy stages for estate regeneration

Figure 7.1 illustrates these stages further. This suggests that a combination of different factors combine to change large estates. There is no single factor which will mean that there is increased stability and affluence on estates, that the policies being pursued are consistent and sustained over a long period of time, that there are substantial resources put into estate renewal and regeneration and that there is a clear lead in policy. A combination of circumstances that seems likely to enhance these positive features relates to starting points or legacies, pre-conditions, triggers for action, organisational arrangements and the process and activities carried out through policy. It also seems likely that the combination of circumstances leads to a tipping

point at which the estate is more likely to move along a positive trajectory and that the key issue is to achieve this tipping point in which trust and confidence begins to enhance the other elements identified as having a positive influence. Where the combination of circumstances is insufficient to reach this tipping point and to build confidence and trust, the likelihood is that policy interventions will not achieve as much.

Table 7.1 sets out the different elements referred to above and identifies factors, which are more likely to enhance or inhibit success.

In terms of policy transfer within the UK or between the UK and other countries, it is important to fully recognise the impact of the legacy from earlier phases of policy and the different starting points of estates. There are greater difficulties where estates are remote or isolated, where the symptoms of decline are more severe, where there is a higher turnover of population and greater community divisions and where there is a shortage of neighbourhood facilities.

Whether the pre-conditions are favourable or not, there is a key set of factors which will influence the nature of the policy action which emerges. These relate both to the triggers for action and the organisational and financial approaches that are put in place. The significance of this perspective is in recognising that what works in one estate will not necessarily work in another. The resources and pre-conditions will be different. However, it is possible to learn from the experience of different estates. Partly it is important to recognise that the approach to regeneration or revalorisation of estates needs to be multi-faceted and to involve a process of learning and adjustment. If the pre-conditions or starting points are less favourable then the imperatives about organisational and financial elements are arguably even stronger. Where the task is more difficult the importance of getting these organisational and resource factors right is even greater. If they do not work quickly and there are not quick wins, the build up of trust of confidence is likely to be more limited.

At the same time the British experience identifies the importance of not just what happens within the estate itself but of what is happening in the wider urban economy. It may be the case, for example, that a positive policy approach to an estate will be undermined by changes in the local and regional economy and the continuing function of the neighbourhood in providing an area of high turnover and transition. This will make it more difficult to reach the point when regeneration sees any significant take-off.

Finally, the British experience draws attention to the importance of being clear about patterns of benefit and overall effects. Where estate regeneration is effective it is likely to result in a measurable level of gentrification. Successful regeneration means changing the internal and external perception of the area and making it more attractive to others. The consequence will be that it attracts a higher proportion of people who are in employment or who have higher incomes or it retains a higher proportion of residents who have choice and could move on as their circumstances improve. It would be contradictory to regard these changes as evidence of the failure of policy. On this basis the only success for neighbourhoods would be if they continue to be poverty neighbourhoods. However, there is an important issue about the balance between gentrification and population change and the experience of existing residents in sharing in an improvement in circumstances. If the regeneration and renewal of estates means that there is a total turnover of population and the new improved estate is occupied by a totally different group, while neighbourhood problems are moved around and become more evident elsewhere, it is then difficult to demonstrate that the regeneration programme has directly benefited existing residents. The test for success would then not relate to the absence of any gentrification but

Table 7.1 – Estate regeneration: enhancing and inhibiting factors

Factor	Enhancing likelihood of positive change	Reducing likelihood of positive change
<b>Preconditions</b>		
The reputation of the estate		Damaged
The history of development		Neglect
The degree of cohesion and stability within the estate		Low
The role of the estate within the urban structure	Good location	Poor location
The economy and residential structure of the estates	Stability and consensus	High turnover and division
Neighbourhood facilities (schools etc.)	Present	Absent
The social capital within the estates		Weak
The physical capital within the estates		Obsolete
<b>Triggers for action</b>		
Development of government policy framework	Well developed	Poorly developed
Political alignment central and local government	In agreement	Conflict
Residents' demands/cohesion	Strong and clear	Weak
<b>Organisational and financial responses</b>		
The speed of the response	Rapid	Slow
Extent to which response is tailored to the estates	High	Low
Actions to address issues to do with land	High	Low
Actions to address issues to do with finance	High	Low
Political responses	Consensus	Conflict
<b>Policy actions</b>		
Housing maintenance	Improved	
Housing management (by whom?)	Improved	
Crime/safety	Improved	
Management of whole estates and public places	Improved	
Holistic approaches	Developed	
Social and economic activities	Developed	
Transport	Improved	
Schools	Improved	
Changes to housing stock, size, type and tenure	Improved	
Public space	Improved/created	
Resident participation	Improved	
<b>Other influences</b>		
Tipping points	Reached	Not reached
Trust	Strengthened	
Cohesion	Strengthened	
Confidence	Strengthened	
Reputation	Improved	
External changes	Assist	De-stabilise

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

would refer to a level of gentrification which still left a substantial part of the population established in the area seeing an improvement in their housing, the environment in which they live, the services that are available to them, and ultimately in their employment and other circumstances.

# Appendix

## RESTATE survey

First some basic information to be provided by the interviewer/local coordinator

City of interview: ..... (to be coded later)  
Neighbourhood: ..... (to be coded later)  
Date of interview: .....  
Name of interviewer: .....  
Number of survey: .....

### Introduction

*Interviewer:* register the kind of dwelling in which the respondent lives

- 1 apartment/flat
- 2 single-family house
- 3 other: .....
- 9 unknown

*Interviewer:* register the number of floors of the building

- ..... floors
- 99 unknown

*Interviewer:* register the floor of the dwelling under consideration (including ground floor)

- 1 ground floor (i.e. accessible without stairs)
- 2 first floor
- 3 second floor
- 4 third-fifth floor
- 5 sixth-tenth floor
- 6 eleventh floor or higher
- 9 unknown

Good morning/afternoon/night. My name is ..... I am working at the University of ...

*We are carrying out a large international comparative research project in cities in 10 European countries. The European Commission subsidises this project. The focus is on housing and neighbourhoods and this area has been included in the study. Therefore we would like to ask you a series of questions and hope you will be prepared to answer these. All information will remain anonymous and confidential. I would like to start with some questions about your current housing situation.*

- 1 When did you first move to this address?
  - 1 before 1960
  - 2 1961-1970
  - 3 1971-1980
  - 4 1981-1990
  - 5 1991-1995
  - 6 1996-2000
  - 7 2001-2004
  - 9 unknown
  
- 2 What was the tenure of the place you lived at before this address?
  - 1 rented from local council
  - 2 rented from housing association/registered social landlord
  - 3 rented from a private landlord
  - 4 owned with mortgage
  - 5 owned outright
  - 9 unknown
  
- 3 With whom did you live at your previous address?
  - 1 alone
  - 2 partner and/or children
  - 3 family (parents and siblings)
  - 4 friends
  - 9 no answer/unknown
  
- 4 Do you rent or own your present dwelling?
  - 1 social rent (from municipality, housing corporation, housing company, etc.)
  - 2 rent from private person
  - 3 rent from private company
  - 4 own with mortgage
  - 5 outright owner
  - 6 other:.....
  - 9 unknown
  
- 5 What is the approximate size of your dwelling in square metres?
  - 1 below 30 m<sup>2</sup>
  - 2 between 31 and 40 m<sup>2</sup>
  - 3 between 41 and 50 m<sup>2</sup>
  - 4 between 51 and 60 m<sup>2</sup>
  - 5 between 61 and 80 m<sup>2</sup>
  - 6 between 81 and 100 m<sup>2</sup>
  - 7 over 100 m<sup>2</sup>
  - 9 unknown/no answer

- 6 How many bedrooms does your dwelling have?
- 1 one bedroom
  - 2 two bedrooms
  - 3 three bedrooms
  - 4 four bedrooms
  - 5 five or more bedrooms
  - 9 unknown/no answer
- 7 What share of your income is needed to cover your total housing costs (rent or mortgage, electricity, water, etc.)?
- 1 less than 10 per cent
  - 2 11-30 per cent
  - 3 31-50 per cent
  - 4 more than 50 per cent
  - 9 unknown
- 8 When was your present dwelling built?
- 1 between 1945 and 1960
  - 2 between 1961 and 1970
  - 3 between 1971 and 1980
  - 4 between 1981 and 1990
  - 5 between 1991 and 2000
  - 6 between 2001 and 2004
  - 9 unknown
- 9 What was the most important reason for moving to this neighbourhood?  
(one answer only: only the most important reason)
- 1 low rent/housing costs
  - 2 nearness to relatives and friends
  - 3 nearness to work
  - 4 good connections (e.g. public transport)
  - 5 good schools
  - 6 presence of other services
  - 7 there were no other dwellings available
  - 8 other .....
  - 99 unknown
- 10 Where was your previous dwelling located?
- 1 in the same neighbourhood
  - 2 somewhere else in the city
  - 3 elsewhere in the country
  - 4 elsewhere, abroad
  - 9 unknown

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the satisfaction with your present dwelling and the neighbourhood.

11 How satisfied are you with your **home**? Please indicate on a scale between 1 (very low) and 10 (very high).

...

99 unknown

12 Has your satisfaction with your **home** increased or decreased in the last 5 years?

1 lower

2 same

3 higher

8 not applicable (settled less than five years ago)

9 unknown

13 Has your dwelling been renovated/refurbished in the last five years?

1 no (go to question 15)

2 yes

9 unknown

14 What has been improved? (circle all answers that apply)

1 renovation of the kitchen

2 renovation of the bathroom

3 change of layout

4 renovation of the roof

5 renovation of the floor

6 renovation of the entrances

7 renovation of the outside walls

8 complete renewal (after demolition)

9 other: .....

99 no answer/unknown

15 How satisfied are you with your **neighbourhood**? Please indicate on a scale between 1 (very low) and 10 (very high).

...

99 unknown

16 Has your satisfaction with the **neighbourhood** increased or decreased in the last five years?

1 lower

2 same

3 higher

8 not applicable (settled less than five years ago)

9 unknown

17 Which aspect of the neighbourhood do you like most?

- 1 green spaces
- 2 accessibility to public services
- 3 playgrounds for children
- 4 youth facilities
- 5 proximity to work
- 6 proximity to schools
- 7 quality of local schools
- 8 people who live there
- 9 other: .....
- 99 unknown

18 Which aspect of the neighbourhood do you like least?

- 1 green spaces
- 2 accessibility to public services
- 3 playgrounds for children
- 4 youth facilities
- 5 proximity to work
- 6 proximity to schools
- 7 quality of local schools
- 8 people who live there
- 9 other: .....
- 99 unknown

19 How do you rate the contacts you have between yourself and other residents in your neighbourhood?

- 1 good
- 2 moderate
- 3 bad
- 9 unknown

20 Do many of your close friends or relatives live in the neighbourhood?

- 1 yes, both relatives and friends
- 2 yes, but only friends
- 3 yes, but only relatives
- 4 no
- 9 unknown

21 Do you feel weakly or strongly attached to the neighbourhood?

- 1 weak
- 2 neutral
- 3 strong
- 9 unknown

22 Do you regard the estate you are living in to be socially mixed (households with very different incomes) or socially homogenous (mostly households with approximately similar incomes)?

- 1 socially mixed
- 2 moderately mixed
- 3 socially homogenous
- 9 unknown

23 In some areas people mix together and try to help each other, while in other areas people mostly go their own way. Is this an area where people mostly help each other or where people mostly go their own way?

- 1 help each other
- 2 go their own way
- 3 mixture
- 9 unknown

24 In your opinion, is a high level of social mix in the estate good or bad for the interaction between residents?

- 1 good
- 2 neutral
- 3 bad
- 9 unknown

25 What is the reputation of the estate in the rest of the city?

- 1 good
- 2 moderate
- 3 bad
- 9 unknown

26 Do you agree with this reputation?

- 1 yes
- 2 no
- 9 unknown

27 Do you personally experience serious problems in the neighbourhood with respect to:

- 1 = yes
- 2 = no
- 8 = not applicable (has lived here not longer than a year)
- 9 = unknown

- dirt on the streets	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- drug abuse	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- burglary in dwellings	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- burglary in cars	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- graffiti/vandalism	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- feelings of unsafety	1 yes	2 no	8	9

- upkeep of public places	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- condition of roads	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- playgrounds for children	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- maintenance of buildings	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- lack of employment	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of schools	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of commercial services	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of public services	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- different values/norms/lifestyles	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- racism/racist harassment	1 yes	2 no	8	9

28 Which of the mentioned aspects have been improved by any policy or action?

- dirt on the streets	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- drug abuse	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- burglary in dwellings	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- burglary in cars	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- graffiti/vandalism	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- feelings of unsafety	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- upkeep of public places	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- condition of roads	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- playgrounds for children	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- maintenance of buildings	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- lack of employment	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of schools	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of commercial services	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- quality of public services	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- different values/norms/lifestyles	1 yes	2 no	8	9
- racism/racist harassment	1 yes	2 no	8	9

In the next block I would like to ask a few questions regarding the policies of the local government or other institutions with regard to the neighbourhood you are living in.

29 Do you know about any policies or actions aiming at improvement of living in your neighbourhood?

- 1 yes
- 2 no (go to question 32)
- 9 unknown

30 If yes, what are, in your opinion, the most important positive effects of these policies in recent years?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

- 99 unknown

31 Who were the principal actors in these policies or actions?

- 1 national government
- 2 local government
- 3 housing companies/housing corporations
- 4 local population
- 5 other: .....
- 9 no answer, unknown

I would like to ask you a few questions about your activities in and use of the neighbourhood.

32 Do you or one of the members of the household actively participate in an association that aims to improve the neighbourhood?

- 1 yes
- 2 no (go to question 34)
- 10 unknown

33 What kind of participation is that?

- .....
- unknown

34 Do you participate in a sports club, cultural association or another organised social activity in the neighbourhood?

- 1 yes
- 2 no
- 9 unknown

35 Can you reach the following facilities within 10 minutes from your home?

- |                                 |       |      |           |
|---------------------------------|-------|------|-----------|
| - a grocery shop                | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - your bank                     | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - a post office                 | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - a general practioner (doctor) | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - public park                   | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - bus stop                      | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - primary school                | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - a dentist                     | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |
| - your place of work            | 1 yes | 2 no | 9 unknown |

36 How many hours per day – on average – do you spend outside your neighbourhood on normal weekdays?

- 1 10 hours or more
- 2 5-9 hours
- 3 3-4 hours
- 4 1-3 hours
- 5 less than 1 hour
- 9 unknown

I have a few questions regarding the future.

- 37 Does your household have plans to move house within 2 years?
  - 1 yes
  - 2 no (go to question 40)
  - 9 unknown (go to question 40)
  
- 38 What is the main reason for considering moving?
  - 1 present home is too small
  - 2 present home is too expensive
  - 3 want to buy a dwelling
  - 4 want to be closer to relatives/friends
  - 5 want to live in a more quiet environment
  - 6 want to live in a more safe environment
  - 7 want to live closer to work
  - 8 other: .....
  - 99 unknown
  
- 39 Where would you like to move to?
  - 1 in the same neighbourhood
  - 2 close to the present neighbourhood (less than 5 km from present home)
  - 3 somewhere else in the city
  - 4 elsewhere
  - 9 unknown
  
- 40 Do you think the future of your present neighbourhood will be better or worse than today?
  - 1 better (go to question 42)
  - 2 neutral (go to question 41)
  - 3 worse (go to question 41)
  - 9 unknown (go to question 43)
  
- 41 If you envisage no change or change for the worse for the neighbourhood, how can that be turned into a brighter future? What should have highest priority?
  - .....
  - .....
  - .....
  - 99 unknown (go to question 43)
  
- 42 What is the main reason why you think the neighbourhood's future will be brighter?
  - .....

Finally I would like to ask you some short questions about the household.

43 *Interviewer:* register gender of respondent

- 1 male
- 2 female

44 May I ask you in which year you were born?

....

45 How is the composition of your household?

- 1 living alone (go to question 48)
- 2 living with a partner, no children (go to question 48)
- 3 living with a partner and .... children (how many children?)
- 4 single-parent household, with .... children (how many children?)
- 5 living alone with ... others (no partner, no children) (to question 48)
- 6 living with partner and ... others (to question 48)
- 7 living with partner and ... others and .... children
- 8 other: .....
- 9 no answer

46 What is the age of the oldest child still living at home?

- 88 ... age
- not applicable

47 What is the age of the youngest child living at home?

- 88 ... age
- not applicable

48 How many years did you follow school education since you were 6 years of age?

- 1 none
- 2 1-6 years
- 3 6-10 years
- 4 11-12 years
- 5 13-14 years
- 6 15 years or more
- 9 unknown

49 Do you have a paid job?

- 1 yes, for .... hours per week
- 2 no
- 9 no answer

- 50 Does your partner have a paid job?
- 1 yes, for .... hours per week
  - 2 no
  - 8 not applicable
  - 9 no answer
- 51 How many people in your household are income earners?  
.....
- 52 Would you classify the monthly household income as high, medium high, average, medium low, or low, compared to national levels?
- 1 high (top 10%)
  - 2 medium high (between top 10%-30%)
  - 3 average (between top 30% and bottom 30%)
  - 4 medium low (between bottom 30% and lowest 10%)
  - 5 low (poorest 10%)
  - 9 unknown
- 53 What is the main source of your household income?
- 1 work
  - 2 unemployment or social benefit
  - 3 pension
  - 4 other:.....
  - 9 no answer
- 54 In terms of ethnicity, how would you call yourself (for example: native UK, Moroccan, Dutch Moroccan, American, Hungarian, French, Algerian, etc.)?  
.....
- 55 And your partner?  
.....
- 56 Is there anything you would like to add related to this interview?  
.....



# Tables

## Appendix to Chapter 3: The survey: methodological issues and some characteristics of respondents and dwellings

*Table 3.1A – Location of previous address and reasons for moving here by present address (%)*

	Same neigh- bourhood	Somewhere else in the city	Somewhere else in the country	Abroad	Don't know
<b>Hodge Hill</b>					
Low rent/housing costs	41.6	27.7	20.0	33.3	57.1
Close to relatives and friends	3.9	6.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Being close to work	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Good connections (e.g. public transport)	2.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Good schools	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0
Presence of other services	1.3	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
No other dwellings available	29.9	35.7	40.0	33.3	14.3
Other	5.2	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
None/not applicable	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	14.3	17.0	40.0	33.3	28.6
Base	77	112	5	3	7
<b>Central Estates</b>					
Low rent/housing costs	31.2	27.0	27.3	50.0	23.1
Close to relatives and friends	2.6	5.6	0.0	0.0	7.7
Being close to work	2.6	1.1	18.2	12.5	0.0
Good connections (e.g. public transport)	6.5	12.4	18.2	0.0	0.0
Good schools	2.6	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Presence of other services	1.3	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
No other dwellings available	14.3	20.2	18.2	12.5	38.5
Opportunity to move to a newly-built accommodation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Old home was demolished	5.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transferred by housing association	1.3	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	19.5	13.5	18.2	0.0	7.7
None/not applicable	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	13.0	14.6	0.0	25.0	23.1
Base	77	112	5	3	7

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 3.1A – Location of previous address and reasons for moving here by present address (%) (continued)

	Same neigh- bourhood	Somewhere else in the city	Somewhere else in the country	Abroad	Don't know
<b>Bow</b>					
Low rent/housing costs	11.8	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Close to relatives and friends	8.2	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Being close to work	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Good connections (e.g. public transport)	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Good schools	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Presence of other services	0.6	7.4	0.0	0.0	33.3
No other dwellings available	10.0	18.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Opportunity to move to a newly-built accommodation	4.7	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Old home was demolished	24.7	18.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transferred by housing association	3.5	11.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	4.7	7.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
None/not applicable	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	20.6	18.5	100	0.0	66.7
Base	170	27	1	0	3
<b>Poplar</b>					
Low rent/housing costs	11.4	14.8	25.0	20.0	30.0
Close to relatives and friends	18.7	16.4	0.0	10.0	10.0
Being close to work	0.8	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Good connections (e.g. public transport)	4.9	4.9	0.0	20.0	0.0
Good schools	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0
Presence of other services	4.9	3.3	0.0	20.0	0.0
No other dwellings available	30.1	18.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
Opportunity to move to a newly built accommodation	0.8	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transferred by housing association	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	2.4	13.1	25.0	10.0	10.0
Don't know	21.1	24.6	0.0	20.0	40.0
Base	123	61	4	10	10

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

## Appendix to Chapter 4: Positive and negative aspects of the estates

Table 4.1A – Time spent outside neighbourhood per weekday by whether in paid employment or not by area (%)

	In work	10 hours +	5-9 hours	3-4 hours	1-3 hours	Less than 1 hour
<b>Hodge Hill</b>						
Yes		50.0	33.3	18.8	23.1	27.6
No		50.0	66.7	81.3	76.9	72.4
Refused		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Base		8	18	32	104	29
<b>Central Estates</b>						
Yes		68.9	59.2	12.2	12.0	0.0
No		26.7	36.7	87.8	88.0	100.0
Refused		4.4	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Base		45	49	41	25	14
<b>Bow</b>						
Yes		52.8	54.8	18.2	10.6	13.6
No		47.2	41.9	81.8	87.2	86.4
Refused		0.0	3.2	0.0	2.1	0.0
Base		53	31	33	47	22
<b>Poplar</b>						
Yes		50.0	25.0	25.8	9.4	10.0
No		41.7	60.0	72.6	87.5	90.0
Refused		8.3	15.0	1.6	3.1	0.0
Base		36	40	62	32	10

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.2A – Awareness of tenants and residents associations by area by tenancy type

	Knowledge of tenants groups	Owners	Rented from local council	Rented from housing association	Rented from private landlord	Other
<b>Hodge Hill</b>						
Yes		0	11.9	0	20.0	0
No		100.0	86.1	100	80.0	0
Don't know		0	2.1	0	0.0	0
Base		4	194	2	5	0
<b>Central Estates</b>						
Yes		50.0	50.0	50.6	0.0	0.0
No		50.0	50.0	45.0	100	100
Don't know		0.0	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.0
Base		18	14	160	3	2

Source: RESTATE fieldwork 2004

Table 4.2A – Awareness of tenants and residents associations by area by tenancy type (continued)

Knowledge of tenants groups	Owners	Rented from local council	Rented from housing association	Rented from private landlord	Other
<b>Bow</b>					
Yes	20.0	36.4	28.4	0.0	0.0
No	80.0	54.5	64.8	100	100
Don't know	0.0	9.1	6.8	0.0	0.0
Base	10	11	176	1	2
<b>Poplar</b>					
Yes	12.0	7.5	23.8	0.0	25.0
No	88.0	88.1	73.3	75.0	50.0
Don't know	0.0	4.5	2.9	25.0	25.0
Base	25	67	105	4	4

Source: RESTATE fieldwork 2004

Table 4.3A – Has your satisfaction with your home increased or decreased in the last five years? (by age and area)

	18-30	31-44	45-54	55-64	65+
<b>Hodge Hill</b>					
Decreased	45.5	34.3	37.5	20.0	16.7
Same	36.4	51.4	56.3	70.0	66.7
Increased	0.0	8.6	0.0	10.0	12.5
Don't know	18.2	5.7	6.3	0.0	4.2
Base	11	35	16	10	24
<b>Central Estates</b>					
Decreased	10.5	22.9	20.8	22.2	12.9
Same	52.6	62.9	54.2	55.6	58.1
Increased	21.1	8.6	20.8	11.1	16.1
Don't know	15.8	5.7	4.2	11.1	12.9
Base	19	35	24	18	31
<b>Bow</b>					
Decreased	0.0	20.0	7.1	0.0	3.4
Same	87.5	70.0	57.1	81.3	72.4
Increased	6.3	0.0	0.0	12.5	3.4
Don't know	6.3	10.0	35.7	6.3	20.7
Base	16	30	14	16	29
<b>Poplar</b>					
Decreased	10.0	15.2	26.7	0.0	11.5
Same	70.0	63.6	53.3	100.0	76.9
Increased	20.0	15.2	20.0	0.0	3.8
Don't know	0.0	6.1	0.0	0.0	7.7
Base	30	33	15	12	26

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.4A – Has your satisfaction with your neighbourhood increased or decreased in the last five years? (by age and area)

	18-30	31-44	45-54	55-64	65+
<b>Hodge Hill</b>					
Decreased	9.1	51.4	52.9	20.0	54.2
Same	54.5	45.7	41.2	70.0	37.5
Increased	9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	27.3	2.9	5.9	10.0	8.3
Base	11	35	16	10	24
<b>Central Estates</b>					
Decreased	22.2	27.8	8.3	22.2	19.4
Same	55.6	63.9	70.8	61.1	71.0
Increased	16.7	5.6	8.3	5.6	6.5
Don't know	5.6	2.8	12.5	11.1	3.2
Base	18	36	24	18	31
<b>Bow</b>					
Decreased	10.5	20.5	6.3	10.0	5.0
Same	78.9	56.8	62.5	85.0	70.0
Increased	0.0	2.3	12.5	5.0	2.5
Don't know	10.5	20.5	18.8	0.0	22.5
Base	19	44	16	20	40
<b>Poplar</b>					
Decreased	17.9	22.9	26.7	0.0	19.2
Same	64.3	65.7	73.3	83.3	76.9
Increased	10.7	8.6	0.0	8.3	0.0
Don't know	7.1	2.9	0.0	8.3	3.8
Base	28	35	15	12	26

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

Table 4.5A – Has your satisfaction with your neighbourhood increased or decreased in the last five years? (by tenancy type and area)

	Owner	Rented from local council	Rented from housing association	Rented from private landlord
<b>Hodge Hill</b>				
Decreased	33.3	43.3	0.0	33.3
Same	0.0	49.0	100.0	33.3
Increased	33.3	1.0	0.0	0.0
Don't know	33.3	6.7	0.0	33.3
Base	3	104	1	3
<b>Central Estates</b>				
Decreased	46.7	50.0	14.6	0.0
Same	40.0	37.5	69.1	100.0
Increased	6.7	0.0	8.1	0.0
Don't know	6.7	12.5	8.1	0.0
Base	15	8	123	1

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.5A – Has your satisfaction with your neighbourhood increased or decreased in the last five years? (by tenancy type and area) (continued)*

	Owner	Rented from local council	Rented from housing association	Rented from private landlord
<b>Bow</b>				
Decreased	0.0	11.1	12.8	0.0
Same	70.0	55.6	67.7	0.0
Increased	10.0	0.0	3.1	0.0
Don't know	20.0	33.3	16.5	0.0
Base	10	9	133	0
<b>Poplar</b>				
Decreased	15.0	10.9	20.6	50.0
Same	75.0	74.5	70.6	50.0
Increased	5.0	7.3	5.9	0.0
Don't know	5.0	7.3	2.9	0.0
Base	20	55	68	2

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.6A – Do you think these problems have increased, decreased or stayed the same over the last three years?*

Stayed same	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Dirt on the streets	31.8	64.6	65.4	50.9
Drug abuse	26.3	56.4	59.6	55.2
Burglary in households	36.3	59.1	71.3	65.5
Burglary in cars	36.3	63.0	72.8	62.9
Graffiti	23.5	62.4	64.7	56.0
Feelings of unsafety	35.8	64.1	69.1	62.1
Upkeep of public roads	52.5	69.1	72.8	60.3
Condition of roads	53.1	69.6	75.7	68.1
Playgrounds for children	40.8	64.1	80.1	67.2
Maintenance of buildings	41.3	63.0	71.3	53.4
Lack of employment	55.9	72.4	91.2	63.8
Quality of schools	63.7	64.6	89.7	78.4
Quality of commercial services	71.5	73.5	76.5	67.2
Quality of public services	74.5	79.0	89.7	74.1
Different values	83.8	76.2	91.2	76.7
Racism	76.5	66.9	86.8	78.4
Base multiple response	179	181	136	116

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.7A – Do you think these problems have increased, decreased or stayed the same over the last three years?*

<b>Decreased</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Dirt on the streets	4.8	9.4	30.2	21.8
Drug abuse	3.6	16.7	13.2	29.1
Burglary in households	3.6	20.8	18.9	25.5
Burglary in cars	4.8	20.8	20.8	27.3
Graffiti	6.0	21.9	26.4	23.6
Feelings of unsafety	7.1	32.3	26.4	25.5
Upkeep of public roads	8.3	33.3	49.1	36.4
Condition of roads	67.9	34.4	47.2	38.2
Playgrounds for children	50.0	19.8	13.2	29.1
Maintenance of buildings	10.7	47.9	66.0	54.5
Lack of employment	9.5	12.5	15.1	21.8
Quality of schools	20.2	18.8	18.9	23.6
Quality of commercial services	7.1	34.4	22.6	36.4
Quality of public services	23.8	28.1	18.9	23.6
Different values	4.8	27.1	15.1	18.2
Racism	3.6	37.5	11.3	25.5
Base multiple response	84	96	53	55

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.8A – How do respondents rate their contacts between themselves and others in the neighbourhood?*

<b>Contacts</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Good	30.2	27.9	53.7	32.7
Moderate	53.2	63.7	42.3	59.6
Bad	14.1	5.5	3.5	7.2
Don't know	2.4	3.0	0.5	0.5
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.9A – Do many of your close friends or relatives live in the area around here?*

<b>Relatives/family in close proximity</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Yes, both relatives and friends	25.9	16.4	48.3	42.3
Yes, only friends	17.1	40.3	16.4	19.7
Yes, only relatives	0.5	5.0	3.0	1.4
No	54.1	37.3	31.8	36.5
Don't know	2.4	1.0	0.5	0.0
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.10A – Do other members of your family live in the estate or in the immediate surrounding area?*

<b>Family close by</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Yes	25.4	18.9	33.3	37.0
No	74.6	80.6	66.7	63.0
Base	205	200	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.11A – Thinking about your neighbours, how many of them do you know well enough to have a chat with?*

<b>Contact – chat</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
None	12.7	8.5	2.0	3.8
One or two	38.0	28.9	13.9	18.8
A few	33.2	50.2	55.7	51.0
Quite a lot	16.1	9.5	20.4	21.2
Almost all	0.0	3.0	8.0	5.3
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 4.12A – Do you feel lonely or isolated from other people living here?*

<b>Lonely/isolated</b>	<b>Hodge Hill</b>	<b>Central Estates</b>	<b>Bow</b>	<b>Poplar</b>
Yes	18.0	12.4	7.0	7.2
No	79.5	87.1	92	90.9
Don't know	2.4	0.5	1.0	1.9
Base	205	201	201	208

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

## Appendix to Chapter 5: Effects of policies

*Table 5.1A – Do you know of any actions taken by the local authority or other organisations in the improvement of your area whether your house has been renovated, by area?*

Knowledge of actions	Renovated home	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
<b>Yes</b>	Yes	23.1	58.1	21.4	69.2
	No	76.9	29.0	78.6	30.8
	Don't know	0.0	12.9	0.0	0.0
	Base	13	31	14	13
<b>No</b>	Yes	10.2	29.7	7.2	25.3
	No	85.6	63.5	90.8	69.8
	Don't know	4.3	6.8	2.0	4.9
	Base	187	148	152	182
<b>Don't know</b>	Yes	0.0	72.7	8.6	38.5
	No	80.0	18.2	91.4	61.5
	Don't know	20.0	9.1	0.0	0.0
	Base	5	22	35	13

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004

*Table 5.2A – Which of these aspects have been improved by the LA or another organisation?*

Improved - No	Hodge Hill	Central Estates	Bow	Poplar
Dirt on the streets	62.7	70.1	76.8	82.2
Drug abuse	83.6	58.0	82.1	91.5
Burglary in households	88.7	73.9	84.8	93.0
Burglary in cars	84.2	77.7	83.4	91.5
Graffiti	80.2	60.5	82.1	89.9
Feelings of unsafety	77.4	68.8	83.4	85.3
Upkeep of public roads	75.7	65.0	76.8	74.4
Condition of roads	60.5	62.4	82.8	83.7
Playgrounds for children	68.9	54.8	82.8	77.5
Maintenance of buildings	85.3	56.7	71.5	69.0
Lack of employment	87.6	61.8	88.1	83.7
Quality of schools	82.5	57.3	84.8	73.6
Quality of commercial services	85.3	69.4	78.8	79.8
Quality of public services	79.1	69.4	86.1	83.7
Different values	85.9	70.7	88.7	81.4
Racism	86.4	65.6	85.4	76.0
Base multiple response	177	157	151	129

Source: RESTATE fieldwork, 2004



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