



# Six Neighbourhoods: Contexts, Contrasts and Histories

September 2010



*Living Through Change in Challenging Neighbourhoods:  
A Research Project funded by the Joseph Rowntree  
Foundation*

## **Six Neighbourhoods: Contexts, Contrasts and Histories**

**Research Paper No. 11**

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# 1. Overview of the Case Study Neighbourhoods

## 1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this background report is to provide information about the six case study neighbourhoods in the Living through Change project undertaken by CRESR for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation between 2007 and 2010. The distinctive characteristics of this programme of research on the dynamics of poverty and place are that:

- it is based on large-scale predominantly qualitative research in six locations;
- its geographical focus has been at the neighbourhood level, covering areas in England, Scotland and Wales;
- it has involved the use of audio-visual techniques as a core component of the project;
- it has been undertaken over a three year period, with interviews undertaken on an iterative basis with some respondents on an annual basis; and
- members of the communities have been involved in aspects of research design, feedback and dissemination.

The research is not an evaluation of a specific policy measure or set of policies (although it elicits messages for policy development as it examines the circumstances of households on low incomes living in relatively deprived neighbourhoods). Nor is it an analysis of a particular aspect or dimension of poverty. Indeed, it is not a study of 'the poor' – a process which by defining the research focus in such a way can contribute to the very process of 'othering' by implicitly emphasising the potential differences in behaviour or outlook between this group and the 'rest of us' (Flaherty, 2008).

The initial research task was therefore to identify a sample of relatively deprived neighbourhoods according to certain social and economic indices. The process of neighbourhood selection is discussed below. Thereafter, residents were asked brief questions about their household, age, ethnicity and length of residence, in order to ensure some spread of these characteristics in the eventual sample. While the vast majority of households in the sample were on below average incomes, they were not selected according to any explicit measurement of income and outgoings. They qualified as potential respondents by dint of living in the case study area, not because they possessed a particular attribute. As shown later, in one area (West Kensington), a small minority of respondents was relatively affluent, and the severity of household poverty varied between areas, though all six were relatively deprived according to the relevant Index of Multiple Deprivation. The characteristics of the places, not the residents living in them, were sifted in order to select the case studies for the research.

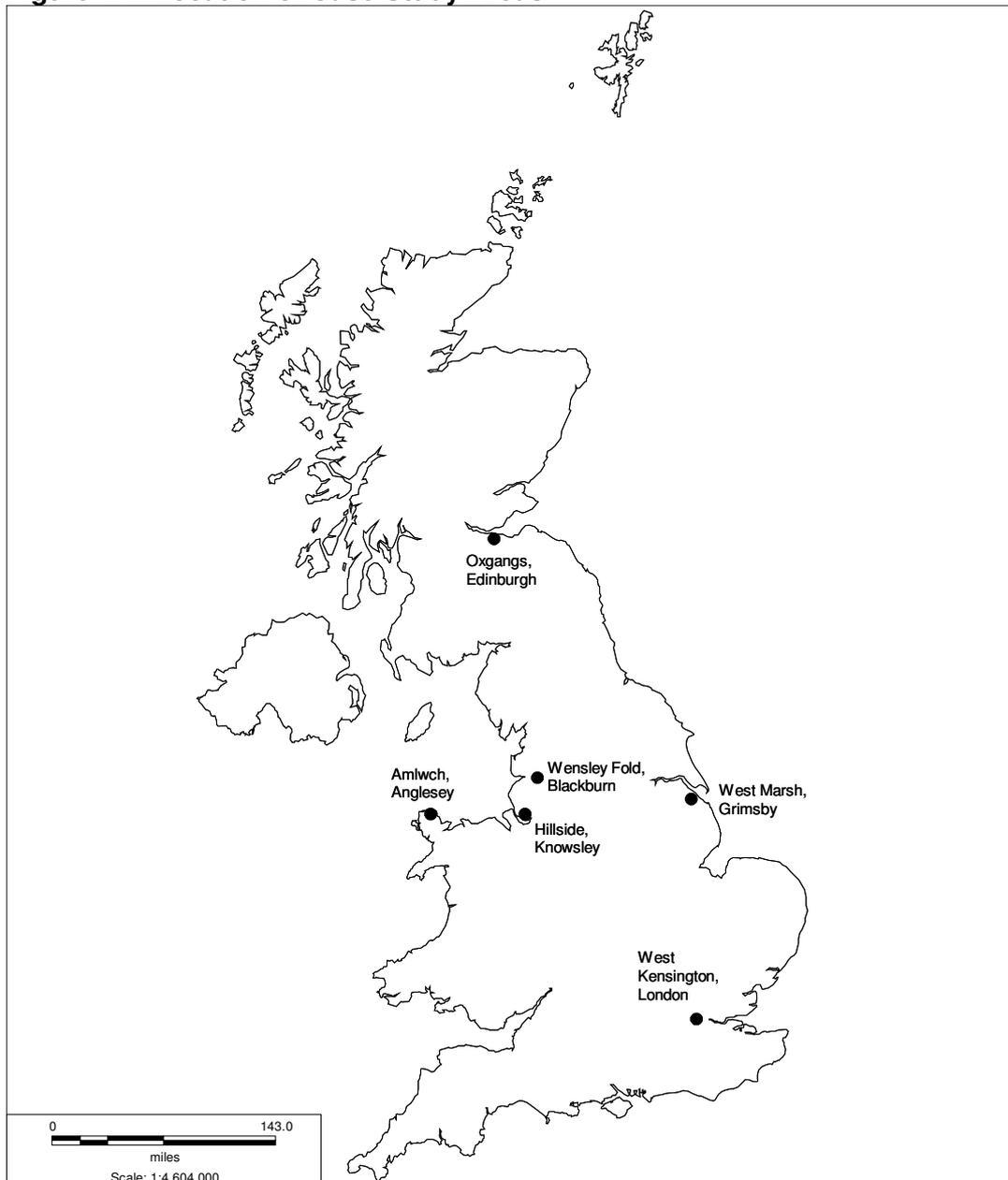
## 1.2 Case Study Selection

There is the perennial question of striking an appropriate balance between specificity and generalisation in case study neighbourhood research. We were interested to assess in this research programme how far certain factors that distinguished the six neighbourhoods articulated with the different perceptions, experiences and outlooks of the residents we interviewed over the three-year period. Are certain selected 'objective' correlates of place reflected in distinctive worldviews about how locality affects the decisions, priorities and expectations of those who live there? If not, what are the disjunctures, similarities or neglected issues that might be revealed through depth interviews that escaped the original scoping of place differences in case study selection? And how might this read across to questions about neighbourhood-centred policies and interventions?

The research focus was therefore based on area selection – on identifying a few relatively deprived neighbourhoods according to widely accepted social and economic indices - not household selection. Six areas were selected (see Figure 1.1):

- *Amlwch*: a small town on the northern tip of Anglesey, which has suffered rapid economic decline in recent years;
- *West Kensington*: an ethnically mixed area comprising two social housing estates in inner west London;
- *Oxgangs*: a social housing estate located next to one of the most affluent suburbs in Edinburgh;
- *West Marsh*: an area of predominantly private housing located close to the centre of Grimsby;
- *Wensley Fold*: an ethnically and tenure mixed area in Blackburn; and
- *Hillside*: a social housing area in North Huyton, Knowsley.

**Figure 1.1: Location of Case Study Areas**



Source: OS OpenData

When wave 1 interviews were undertaken (2008), respondents were initially contacted and asked various brief questions about their household, age, ethnicity and length of residence, in order to ensure some spread of these characteristics in the eventual sample. However, they were not stratified samples. Also, respondents were not chosen according to household income, and whether that fell between a predetermined threshold to 'qualify' as living in poverty. They qualified as potential respondents by dint of living in the case study area, not because they possessed a particular attribute. Indeed, as seen later, in one area (West Kensington) a small minority of respondents was relatively affluent, and the severity of household poverty varied between areas, though all six were relatively deprived according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (see Table 1.1 below). This was one way of dealing with the potential problem of the 'ecological fallacy' in which the dominant characteristics of place are assumed to apply to all individuals or household slicing in them. This is also why many of the accounts of life in the neighbourhoods are contradictory or inconsistent. It makes for a messier narrative, but we were as interested to reflect differences of perception within areas as to point to broad areas of agreement.

**Table 1.1: The case study areas on their respective national indices of multiple deprivation**

	Rank	Decile
<b>Wensley Fold</b>	628 <sup>(a)</sup>	1
<b>West Marsh</b>	2,247 <sup>(a)</sup>	1
<b>Hillside</b>	1,443 <sup>(a)</sup>	1
<b>West Kensington</b>	4,281 <sup>(a)</sup>	2
<b>Oxgangs</b>	1,335 <sup>(b)</sup>	3
<b>Amlwch</b>	432 <sup>(c)</sup>	3

Source: English Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2007, Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2009 and Welsh Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2008(a) out of 32,428 LSOA's; (b) out of 6,505 data zones; (c) out of 1,896 LSOA's. Lower rank and decile implies greater deprivation

The characteristics of places, not the residents living in them, were therefore sifted in order to select the case studies for the research. In the first wave of interviews, the six case studies were selected as three 'paired opposites' according to underpinning themes designed to shape and structure the preliminary analysis. Three basic criteria were used to select the neighbourhoods:

- i) *geographical spread.* Four of the case studies were based in England, one in Scotland and one in Wales. The sample also included a rural town (Amlwch), two neighbourhoods in larger towns (West Marsh and Wensley Fold) and three neighbourhoods in cities or within larger urban conurbations (West Kensington, Oxgangs and Hillside). The study thereby avoided the tendency for analysis of poverty to privilege concentrated forms of poverty within the spaces of the inner city and as such respond to Milbourne's (2010b) call to move beyond narrow concerns with places of poverty to engage with broader poverties of place.
- ii) *thematic links.* Three key analytical and policy-related themes framed the analysis at the primary research stage: poverty, place and diversity; poverty, cohesion and connectivity; poverty and mobility. Two case studies were selected to represent contrasting facets of each theme to explore how the different experiences of households might vary according to neighbourhood context and to identify common features that seemed to transcend neighbourhood differences.
- iii) *impact of special policies and initiatives.* The case studies included some neighbourhoods that were currently undergoing, or had been the recent focus of, regeneration programmes and others which were, in relative terms, more 'policy-off'. Of the four English case studies, two were within New Deal for Communities (NDC) regeneration areas, which allowed links to be made between this qualitative analysis and the more quantitative tracking of change through longitudinal surveys being undertaken as part of the national evaluation of the NDC programme (Beatty *et al*, 2008). This made possible some comparison of how attempts to improve neighbourhoods through specific policy measures could affect the perceptions and aspirations of the assumed beneficiaries of these interventions (see Cole and Green, 2010).

The six neighbourhoods were initially selected for this research according to one of three themes identified as having important theoretical and analytical relevance to the discussion of policy development and neighbourhood impacts and change: population diversity; cohesion and connectivity; and residential mobility. These themes were then given statistical expression, as it were, through the development of specific indices to guide the selection of two areas at opposite ends of the spectrum on each characteristic. A review of the use of area (not specifically

neighbourhood) typologies, points to a distinction between generic and bespoke classifications and those that are data-driven or theory-driven. On that basis, the selection of the case studies in this project was bespoke and initially theory-driven but then shaped by subsequent data analysis.

As stated, three themes were selected to organise the analysis and the case study selection. The first concerned the response of residents living on low incomes to issues of *'connectivity' and social cohesion*, the second contrasted places with *different degrees of social and cultural diversity*, and the third explored whether there were neighbourhood characteristics that might encourage or inhibit aspirations or intentions over *future residential mobility*. These themes were established *a priori* as potential points of contrast in place-based experiences, and guided by an acceptance that *commonalities* of perceptions or experiences across the six areas might be as strong as any differences between them. Two case studies were therefore selected to represent contrasting facets of each theme, to explore how the different experiences of households might vary according to local context, and to identify any common features that seemed to transcend neighbourhood differences.

The initial emphasis in two case studies (Hillside and Oxfangs) was on the nature of *'connectivity'* between different social and economic groups: whether between lower income households and more affluent households *within* a neighbourhood or in the wider connections between low income areas and more affluent neighbourhoods elsewhere. The research was interested to explore the views of lower income residents themselves towards more affluent households, whether they lived close by or further afield. The research team wanted to assess whether living in a more mixed neighbourhood seemed to lead to the development of shared values, informal socialising and similarity of perceptions with more affluent households and, if so, whether this mitigated some of the exclusionary aspects of deprivation compared to the experiences of residents living in a more socially and economically homogenous neighbourhood (see Flint and Casey, 2008).

The distinctive element of the approach taken in a second case study pairing was the notion of diversity: how poverty might be experienced differently by distinct groups in a neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods can provide the focus for social organisation and identity and represent a repository of difference, with the nature of places reflecting internal cultural variations. Understanding the complex relationship between individual identities and the nature of places where they live was seen as a critical component in understanding the distinct experiences of poverty *within* and *between* diverse groups. Two case studies were therefore selected to support this comparison (West Marsh and Wensley Fold), allowing the experiences of diverse groups in distinct places to be explored (members of minority ethnic communities resident in a multi-ethnic neighbourhood, as opposed to those where ethnicity was more sharply divided). This also facilitated the comparative analysis of the experiences of people with shared identities living in different kinds of neighbourhood, and enabled an assessment to be made whether greater diversity in the locality frustrated, or stimulated, the development of closer social and support networks (see CRESR Research Team, 2009: Chapter 4 for a fuller account of these findings).

The distinctive element of the research approach taken to the third case study pairing (Amlwch and West Kensington) was how residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods responded to their situation in terms of their attitudes and intentions over future residential mobility. A household's decision to move (or to decline to move) often stems from a highly complex blend of financial, emotional, tactical, instinctive, and cultural motives. The qualitative and iterative research approach adopted in this project provided an opportunity for respondents to reflect back on their own patterns of mobility, to assess whether initial intentions were realised,

thwarted or discarded, and to consider how changing individual experiences of poverty, and changing perceptions of their neighbourhood, might reshape their aspirations to move or to stay put. The research was also an opportunity to explore the different salience of material, emotional, cultural, place-related or life stage factors behind households' mobility decisions (see CRESR Research Team, 2009: Chapter 5 for a fuller account of these findings).

The six case studies were also selected on different points of a continuum in terms of their relative *geographical isolation*. It was felt that decisions about mobility, for example, might be affected if the opportunities to gain employment required a relatively long distance move. The research was set up to explore whether the 'sense of place' was less evident in those ostensibly more 'porous' neighbourhoods more closely linked to other communities of a similar social economic and ethnic composition than in more isolated self-contained settlements, and whether different degrees of isolation and connectivity had a marked effect on the outlooks and aspirations of residents.

A variety of methods was then used to sift statistically through local authorities that had relevant characteristics in accordance with the three themes and the extent of geographical isolation, and then smaller areas were chosen as neighbourhoods within the local authorities. The process is described in detail in Appendix 1 of this report.

In terms of the 'cohesion and connectivity' theme, a number of physical and social dimensions of disconnection and exclusion were examined, and the Hillside area, which was part of a larger housing estate in North Huyton in Knowsley, was selected to exemplify 'poverty in the midst of wider social and economic deprivation'. Oxfangs, Edinburgh, was selected to represent 'poverty in the midst of affluence'. In terms of the 'place diversity' theme an 'index of difference' was used to select a relatively ethnically homogenous area (West Marsh, Grimsby) and a neighbourhood with a relatively large white community and a minority ethnic community which were not, as far as could be established beforehand, territorially separated (Wensley Fold, Blackburn). In terms of the third theme, covering mobility, a contrast was sought between a relatively 'accessible' urban area with higher rates of population churn (West Kensington, London) and a town in a semi-rural setting, with low rates of residential turnover (Amlwch, Anglesey). In terms of geographical isolation, Amlwch was the most isolated settlement. West Marsh is fairly close to the town centre of Grimsby but a considerable distance from larger towns or cities. Hillside is in the outer ring of the Liverpool conurbation. The town centre of Blackburn is quite accessible from Wensley Fold, and Oxfangs and West Kensington are both suburbs within large and prosperous cities.

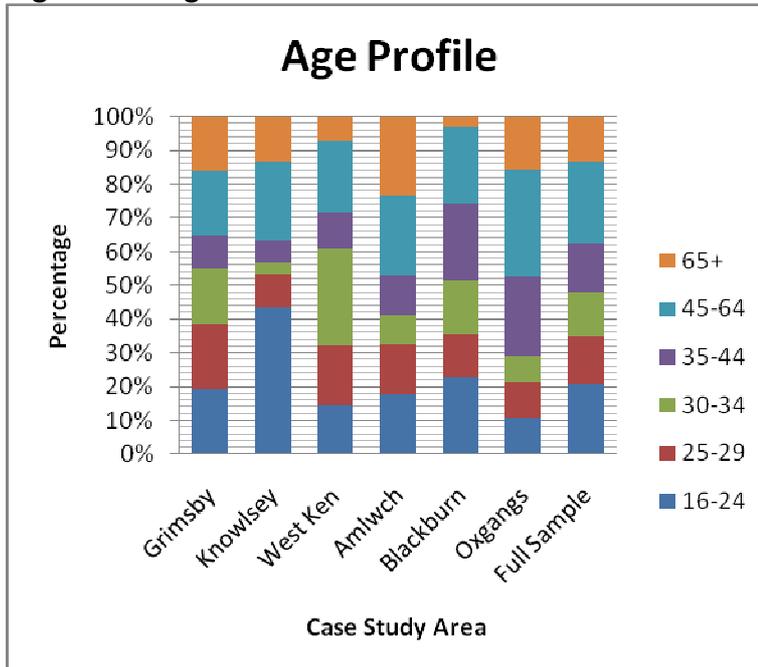
Having initially selected the six neighbourhoods through quantitative analysis on the basis of three themes, the subsequent research programme was then designed to use intensive qualitative research with a sample of residents in each neighbourhood to assess how far the assumed place attributes affected their perceptions and experiences - or whether the patterning of individual responses bore little relationship to the attributes that had been presumed to be significant in the original selection of the case studies.

### 1.3 The Research Sample

This section provides an overview of the characteristics of the research sample. The data are provided in full in Appendix A, broken down by case study. Overall, 192 individuals were interviewed across six case study areas, of whom 63.5 per cent were women, 36.5 per cent men. There was a reasonably balanced age profile in

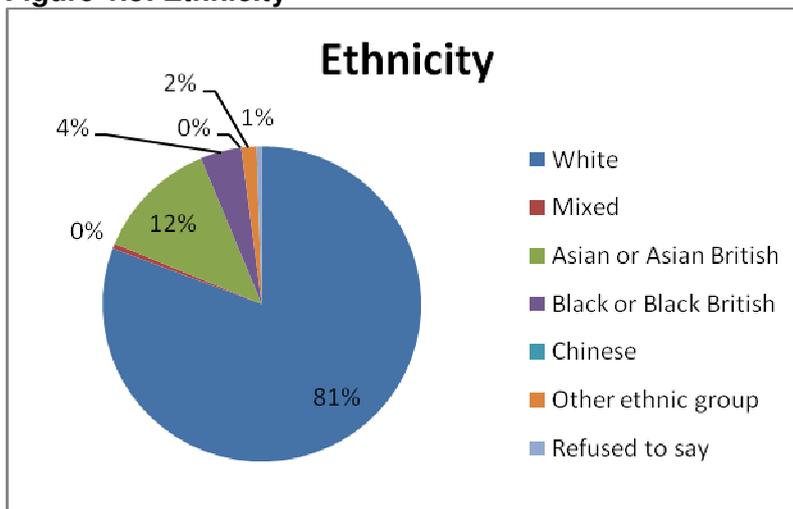
the total sample (Figure 1.2). However, there were significant variations by case study. In Hillside, the age profile was skewed towards 16-24 year olds (43 per cent). In Wensley Fold, just one participant was over the age of 65.

**Figure 1.2: Age Profile**



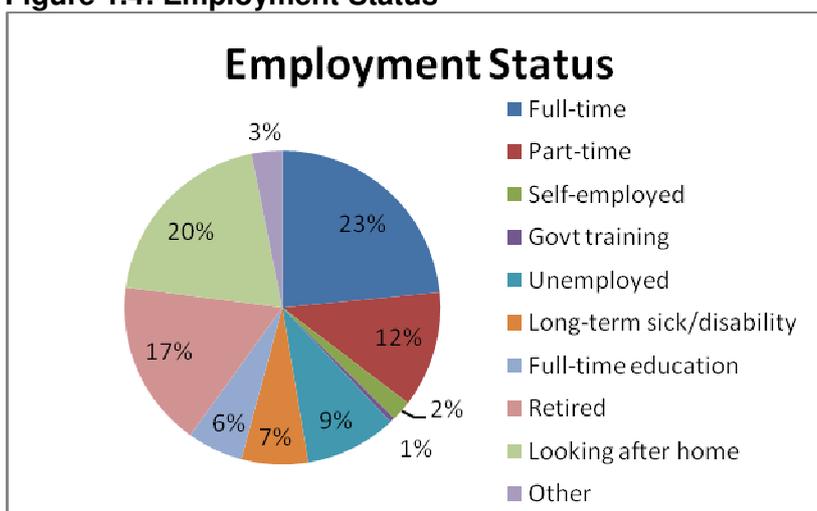
Just over 80 per cent participants identified themselves as White British (Figure 1.3), though this varied considerably between the case study areas. West Kensington and Wensley Fold have ethnically diverse profiles, while participants from the other four case studies were almost exclusively White British.

**Figure 1.3: Ethnicity**



Participants had varied economic circumstances. Figure 1.4 shows that 37 per cent were in paid employment, 20 per cent were looking after the home and family and 17 per cent were retired from paid work.

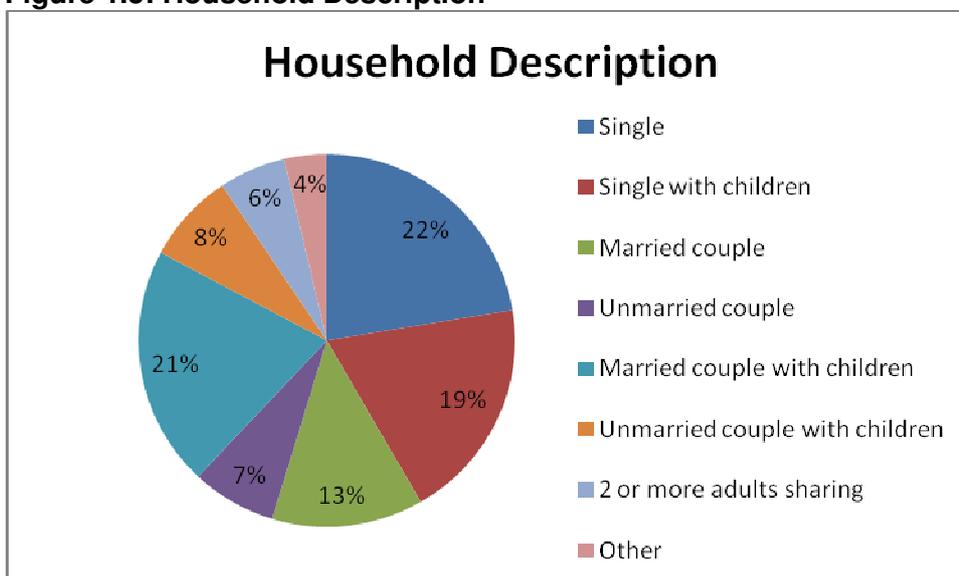
**Figure 1.4: Employment Status**



Participants were from a broad range of household types (Figure 1.5). Overall, 48 per cent were from households with children. There are important variations by case study. For example:

- in West Kensington, 43 per cent were single parents
- in Wensley Fold, 48 per cent were married with children still living at home
- West Marsh had a relatively higher proportion of participants who formed unmarried couples with dependent children (23 per cent).

**Figure 1.5: Household Description**

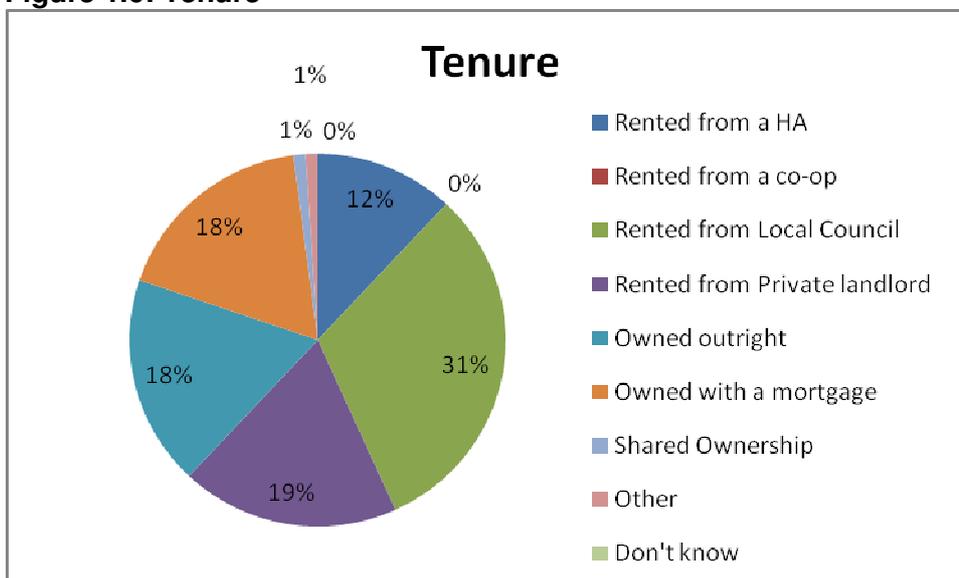


In terms of housing tenure status (Figure 1.6), just under a third of the research sample was living in council accommodation and 30 percent of households were home owners.

- the largest proportion of participants living in council rented accommodation was Hillside (77 per cent) and West Kensington (61 per cent); the samples in Oxfords (26 per cent) and Amlwch (21 per cent) also contained a relatively large proportion of council tenants
- overall, 19 per cent participants rented privately. The proportion was particularly high in West Marsh (55 per cent) and Amlwch (32 per cent)

- in four of the case studies, there were relatively high rates of owner occupation: Wensley Fold (58), Amlwch (47), Oxfgangs (44) and West Marsh (39). In Wensley Fold, a higher proportion of participants owned their home outright (39 per cent).

**Figure 1.6: Tenure**



The interviews with respondents did not examine in any detail the financial position of the household in terms of regular sources of income, outgoings, savings, levels of debt and so on. Our concern was less with this arithmetic of poverty than with people's own assessments of their standard of living, how they felt they managed on their budgets and how living in their neighbourhood reinforced or mitigated any social and economic difficulties they faced. Nevertheless, we did attempt to provide a general picture of the financial circumstances of households in our overall sample. By extrapolating information from the interviews, concerning employment status, debt, day to day budgeting and everyday activities, we attempted to arrive at a comparative subjective assessment of the financial situation of residents and how they are getting on or getting by in managing what resources they have. We acknowledge that this far from a robust or independently verifiable assessment of individual situations but we thought it could shed some light on the everyday experiences of those living in the case study areas.

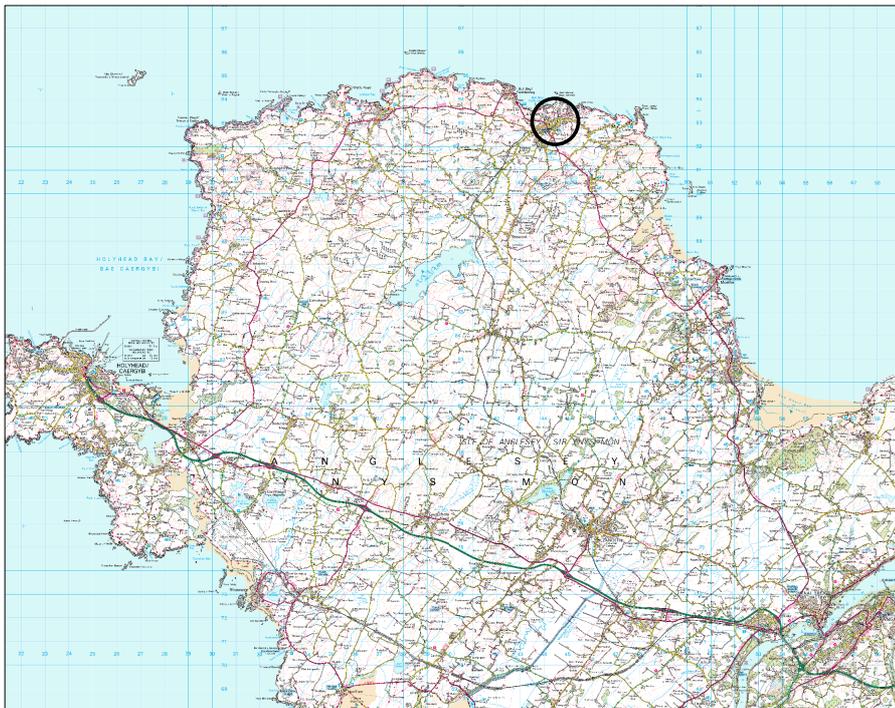
Overall, the assessments suggested that around a quarter of residents were judged to be living in poverty and just over half the remaining residents were judged to be living on the margins of poverty - precarious household circumstances that could be easily upset when resilience is challenged. Around two thirds were judged to be 'managing' in difficult circumstances. However, a quarter of respondents were not so resilient and were struggling to make ends meet. It should also be borne in mind that some of the effects of the recession were felt to be only just emerging in these areas, and prospects were expected to deteriorate further once public sector spending cuts began to have a deeper impact (Batty and Cole, 2010). The following chapters consider each of the six neighbourhoods in turn.

## 2. Amlwch, Anglesey

### 2.1. The History of Amlwch

Amlwch is a small town located on the northern tip of the Isle of Anglesey (Ynys Mon). It is the fourth biggest settlement on the island and has a population of 1,400. It is relatively isolated geographically and the nearest towns to it are Llangefni (13 miles away) and Holyhead (20 miles). Amlwch comprises three distinct neighbourhoods, including Amlwch Port, which was once a thriving source of trade, Amlwch town itself, where most shops and services are based, and Craig-y-don, a small local authority housing estate located between Amlwch and Amlwch Port. The residential areas contain a mixture of property types, although most of the stock consists of houses of traditional construction built in the late nineteenth century and in the inter-war period of the last century.

**Figure 2.1: Amlwch's Location on Anglesey**



Source: ©Crown Copyright/database right 2010. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service

The two enduring elements of Amlwch's history are copper and the sea. Amlwch developed as a town in the eighteenth century with the advent of large scale copper mining. Copper has been mined in the area since the Bronze Age but in 1768, a rich seam of ore was found on Parys Mountain near Amlwch in the area, known as the Golden Venture. Thomas Williams developed the mine and over 2000 miners were living in Amlwch by 1800, when it was the largest copper mine in the world. Parys Mountain still dominates the skyline to the south of the town, and its unusual quasi-lunar landscape has attracted considerable heritage and tourist interest over the years (not just by virtue of its setting for Mortal Kombat II).

The growth of copper mining in the nineteenth century led to the development what had been a small harbour in Amlwch Bay into a larger port capable of

accommodating ships to export the copper. The hazardous nature of negotiating access to the port led to the ancillary development of a ship repair business that then grew into a prosperous, if small scale, ship building industry. The resources from the mine were then used in local chemicals plants by the middle of the century, producing Alum (aluminium sulphate) and sulphuric acid in the mid nineteenth century, and providing materials for local fertiliser factories from 1860 onwards.

Copper mining steadily declined from its zenith in the nineteenth century, though there have been recent plans to revive it as a commercial proposition. Anglesey Mining, which also has interests in Canada, opened a new shaft on Parys mountain in 1980 to explore for 'metallic ore', and entered negotiations with Western Metals in Australia to develop it commercially after an exploratory drilling programme from 2005 – 2008. The company received planning permission and strong local support to recommence mining but at present, the world prices for metals were judged to be too low to make it viable. It remains a possibility for the future.

In terms of its location by the sea, Amlwch Port was a centre of commercial fishing before the decline of the industry generally from the mid 1970s. Commercial fishing is now confined to whelk and lobster fishing. Pilot boats from Amlwch have guided ships through the strong tidal flows and shifting sand banks along the North Wales coast to Liverpool since the 18<sup>th</sup> century and a few diesel crafts are still performing this task now. On the site of the old shipyard at Amlwch Port, a floating oil receiving station was developed in 1974, with oil then being pumped through pipes to the Shell Stanlow oil refinery eighty miles away, but the decline in this usage of crude oil tankers badly affected demand and the site was closed in 1990.

Amlwch's location was also instrumental in the decision to open a plant producing dibromoethane (EDB), an additive to improve performance in leaded petrol in 1953. The decision to locate at Amlwch was taken because bromine could be more readily produced if the seawater was relatively clean (it takes 22,000 tons of seawater to produce one ton of bromine), it could be replenished by seawater relatively quickly and because the sea is warmed by the Gulf Stream. A conglomerate of oil companies then took over the Amlwch plant (and two others in England), acquiring the name of the Associated Octel Company in 1961. The introduction of unleaded petrol in 1980 gradually reduced the demand for DBE. In the late 1990s, the Amlwch plant was taken over by the Great Lakes Company and the products diversified to include a wide range of goods requiring bromine and bromine intermediaries. However, the increasing costs of raw materials and the transport costs of getting the products to growing markets in China meant that it could not remain competitive and the plant closed in 2005.

The exploitation of natural resources at Amlwch may yet have a future, however. In 2008, Anglesey County Council gave planning permission for the redevelopment of the site for as a liquid gas unloading and re-gasification plant owned by a US company Canatxx. Canatxx had hoped to start work on the site in 2009 and start operating in 2012, thereby creating 60 new local jobs. However, planning agreement has not been reached at the destination of the gas pipeline, Presall in West Lancashire, due to safety and environmental concerns. The plans for the plant are therefore currently stalled, but negotiations are continuing.

Amlwch manufacturing industry has suffered in the past few years as the advantages of its location by the sea and close to copper deposits waned. The relative inaccessibility of the town has made it difficult to attract new industry, despite the development of under-occupied industrial parks on the edge of the town. The largest company to have invested in Amlwch recent years is Rehau - a German company specialising in plastic extrusion and moulded parts for cars, furniture and domestic appliances. Rehau employs around 150 people and invested £3million in the plant in

2007/8, although some staff were made redundant in 2008. Reha's status locally is reflected in its sponsorship of the football kit worn by the reasonably successful Amlwch Town FC. Other companies (such as Budenberg, specialists in pressure gauges,) came and went. Budenberg opened its Amlwch plant in 1962 but closed in 1991, causing forty people to be made redundant,

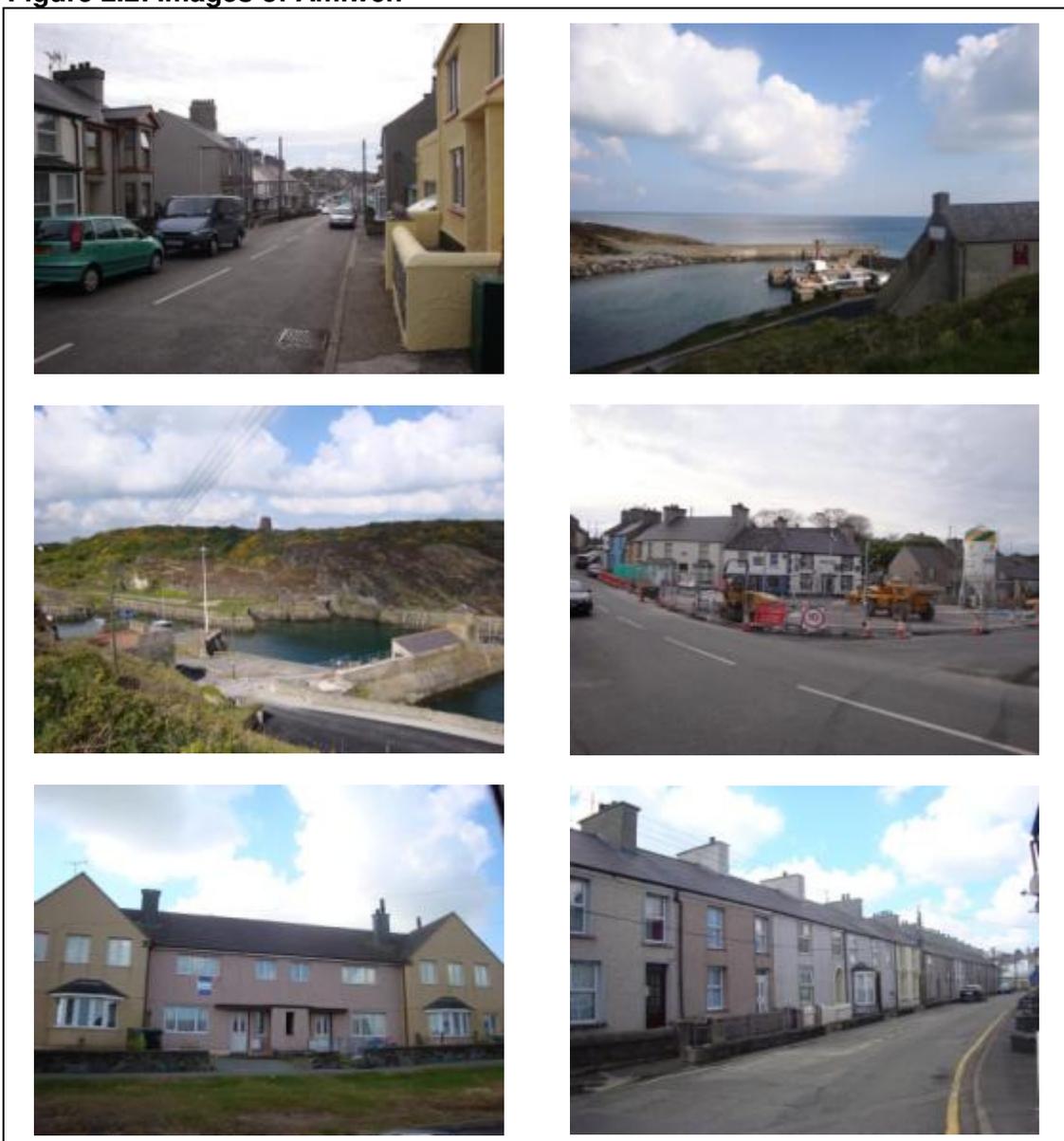
Given the fragility of the local employment base, it is not surprising that the majority of local people travel outside the town for work – especially to the Wylfa nuclear power station near Cemaes. The key to Amlwch's (and indeed Anglesey's) economic future lies in the plan to commission a new nuclear reactor plant (Wylfa B) from the partnership Horizon Nuclear Power by 2020. This would create 3,000 during the employment phase and up to 800 permanent jobs (predominantly skilled labour), rising to 1,000 during maintenance periods. They would not be entirely new jobs however, as it is likely that many currently working on Wylfa A will be redeployed on the new plant. One participant who had lived in the town for most of his life referred to a 'desperate reliance' on Wylfa (where a planning application is expected in 2012), with the hope that other renewable sources of energy could also be attracted to a newly branded 'Energy Island'. Another major employer on the island was the Anglesey Aluminium Metal (RTZ) foundry near Holyhead, opened in 1971 and employed around 100 full-time staff. However, this was closed in November 2009.

Amlwch has tried to develop a tourist heritage interest, building on the annual Copperfest, and to open up the port to extend its function but it is likely to be an uphill struggle. As one local resident put it, the closure of shops on the high street, now being replaced by pound shops, does not augur well *'if you want to draw the tourists in, it hasn't got the quaint Welsh village feel to it'*.

Amlwch is a relatively deprived area, and there has been some limited regeneration activity through the *Communities First* programme. The Amlwch Skills 16+ Project funded by the European Objective 1 ESF option along with Match Funding from Communities First and The Anglesey Charitable Trust falls under the umbrella of Hyfforddiant Parys Training Ltd and Amlwch Regeneration Partnership. The project aims to tackle the issues of young people who have low levels of self-esteem and in turn aid them with their personal development and career objectives. The programme can be classified as pre- skill build and pre-preparatory scheme. In order to progress into mainstream training or into employment individuals must have a base level that will allow them to engage with a mainstream programme. This project aims to give the selected individuals this base so that they can then engage into further or higher education opportunities through FE colleges, attending full time or linked to work based schemes that will allow them to achieve vocationally related qualifications (NVQs). Over a hundred local young people benefited from the scheme during the programme and more than fifty found employment since. However, the relative isolation of the town has meant that it has missed out on the type of sustained re-investment and regeneration that has been directed to many settlements in the South Wales Valleys.

Overall, Amlwch is marked by long standing problems of economic vulnerability and isolation and heavy dependence on a single industry. Despite this, and the steady exodus of young people from the town over the past twenty or thirty years, there remains a strong sense of community loyalty.

**Figure 2.2: Images of Amlwch**



## 2.2. Deprivation Indices

The LSOAs selected do not match exactly the study area but they nevertheless provide reliable estimates of Amlwch's socio-economic position. In terms of the Welsh IMD, Amlwch is in the second most deprived decile in terms of community safety, environment, access to services and housing, and in the third most deprived in terms of income and its overall ranking. It is in the fourth most deprived decile for employment, health and education. It does not have as high a WIMD score as other communities, but the reason for selecting the area was due to its greater geographical isolation and relative immobility, signified by a population turnover rate for 2005 to 2006 of 44 per 1,000 population (compared to a median of 78 per 1,000 for England and Wales).

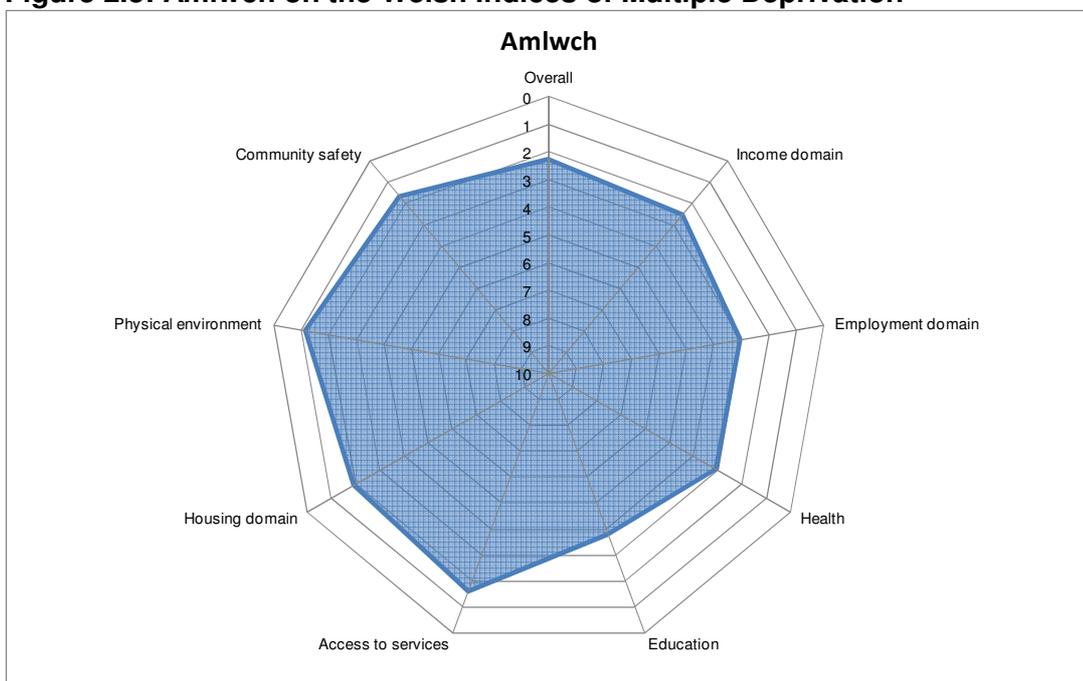
In the 2006 estimates, the age profile was broadly similar to district and national averages with a slightly higher proportion of those under 16 (20 per cent compared to 18 per cent for Anglesey and 19 per cent for Wales). Slightly higher proportions of the population were lone parent (13 per cent) or single person (35 per cent) households than in Anglesey (11 per cent and 29 per cent) and in Wales (12 per cent and 29 per cent). 98 per cent of the population is of 'White British/Irish' population

ethnic origin (the same as for the district and one per cent higher than the national average).

In the 2001 Census, just over two-thirds (67 per cent) of households in Amlwch owned their homes (68 per cent in Anglesey and 71 per cent in Wales) and 18 per cent were in the social housing sector (compared to 17 per cent and 18 per cent respectively). In February 2008, 5.1 per cent of the working age population were JSA claimants (compared 3.1 per cent in Anglesey and 6.6 per cent in Wales) and 12.3 per cent were JSA/SDA claimants (compared to 9.5 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively).

Many residents speak Welsh and it is the first language for some, and therefore residents were asked which language they would like carry out the interview. Most did not have a preference, but two of the in-depth interviews undertaken by the research team were conducted in Welsh.

**Figure 2.3: Amlwch on the Welsh Indices of Multiple Deprivation**



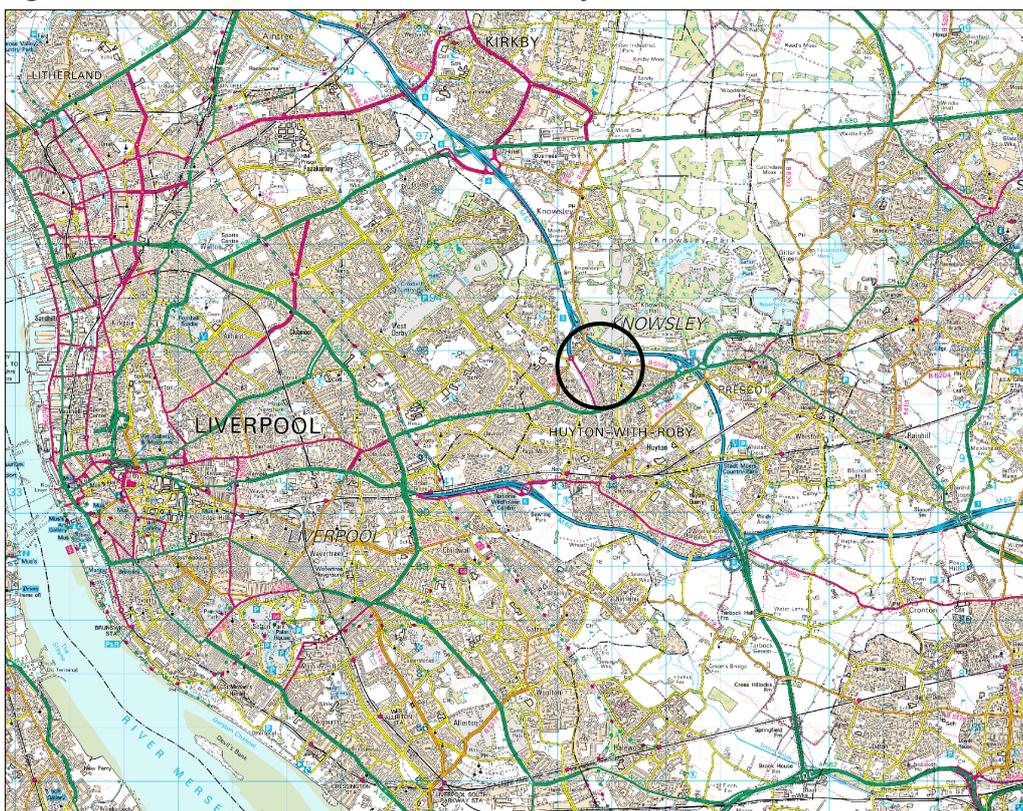
Source: Welsh Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2008

## 3. Hillside, Knowsley

### 3.1 The History of Hillside

The research area in North Huyton is known for planning purposes as Hillside and Primalt, but the area as a whole is generally known by residents as Hillside, and this is as the term used for the case study area in this report, and throughout the research project. Hillside is bounded by the M57, a dual carriageway (Seth Powell Way) and a park (Alt Park) and is one of the more isolated areas in the wider North Huyton neighbourhood. The neighbourhoods of Hillside and Primalt make up one-third of North Huyton NDC intervention area (the other areas are Finch House, Fincham, Woolfall North and Woolfall South). These two neighbourhoods, and the wider NDC area, form a part of the collection of inter-war and post-war municipal housing estates that were developed in and around North Huyton as ‘overspill’ from the City of Liverpool slum clearance programmes and the expansion of the Liverpool Docks in the 1930s.

**Figure 3.1: Hillside’s Location in Knowsley**



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Formerly a thriving community, concomitant with the development of engineering and manufacturing firms such as *Marconi* nearby, Hillside declined in the economic recessions of the 1970s and 1980s that led locally to a reduction in job opportunities and a decline in the level of economic activity of its residents. Lack of investment in the estate’s housing stock and housing allocation policies that tended to lead to concentrations of households in severe need in the area were also factors in its decline. In fact, one housing officer with long-standing knowledge of the area

reported that Hillside's poor reputation stretched back to the early 1960s. By the early 2000s a range of problems were manifest including:

- housing market collapse, characterised by high void levels (with over 300 empty properties in the North Huyton estate), abandonment and low take-up of right-to-buy
- a high number of 'blighted' properties which fell below the Decent Homes Standard introduced in 2002 (400 in the NDC area - 56% with no central heating, and 76% no double glazing)
- increasing problems associated with ASB and crime, including vandalism and arson attacks on empty properties. Drug use and drug dealing were also becoming more prevalent
- poor standards of housing management and a lack of investment that prevailed for a long periods before stock was transferred to Knowsley Housing Trust in 2002. Some parts of the estate had apparently become 'almost impossible to let'
- inadequate choice in type and tenure of housing (with a concentration of 2 and 3 bedroom social rented properties)
- increasing isolation of some existing communities as a result of poorly implemented traffic-calming measures.

The decline in community facilities, including local shops, was a marked feature of changes in the estate. During the course of the research project, the closure of the local post office was seen as a particularly bitter blow. Although there are shops in neighbouring localities (approximately 10 minutes walk), they are rarely used by Hillside residents, who are reluctant to 'cross boundaries'. Beechwood Primary School, one of three primary schools in the North Huyton area, has also recently closed down. One community facility - the Hillywood Centre - that provides a space for various community activities, especially youth work, has continued through support from the NDC. In July 2010, work began on a new community facility in Hillside that will eventually accommodate the Hillywood Centre and support other community groups and activities.

The majority of dwellings are two-storey semi-detached and terraced family houses arranged in traditional street patterns, although there are also two tower blocks (one has been renovated and the other is now empty). Households in the case study area are predominantly White, with just one per cent of residents from a minority ethnic background, according to the 2001 Census. In August 2009, 9 per cent of the working age population in Hillside was on Job Seekers' Allowance (compared to 7 per cent in Knowsley and 4 per cent nationally), 19 per cent were on Employment Support Allowance/Incapacity Benefit/Severe Disability Allowance (compared to 13 per cent and 7 per cent) and 6 per cent were on lone parent Income Support (4 per cent and 2 per cent).

In general, participants in our research represented a close-knit community struggling to keep a foothold in the neighbourhood. It was common for several generations of the same family to have lived in the same area. One housing officer interviewed referred to Hillside as a 'closed', rather than a 'close-knit' community:

*The majority of people didn't work and still don't work. There were generations of that and I think they lived in that community and didn't even look at what was on offer outside of that. I think it was a very closed community in that sense. Coming in as a new person, if your face doesn't fit you will come under some form of attack which we don't have as much in other areas [of Knowsley].*

Regeneration plans for the North Huyton estate have been managed by a local partnership between Knowsley Metropolitan Borough Council (KMBC), Knowsley Housing Trust (KHT) and North Huyton New Deal for Communities (which is to terminate in 2011). The transfer of housing stock to Knowsley Housing Trust in 2002 provided an injection of additional resources, and led to the production of a Masterplan which proposed a remodelling of the neighbourhood, extensive demolition (much of it in Hillside), and new mixed-tenure housing development predominantly consisting of housing for sale. North Huyton was also subsequently declared a Mixed Communities Initiative demonstration area. Tenure diversity has thus been at the heart of the Partnership's plans for the area, as a regeneration officer explained:

*We're often accused of gentrification, which is fine because we are changing the tenure and the income. But also we've done a filtering process on the tenants that have remained in the area which has happened through market selection. Those [tenants] who really weren't that connected to the community or just wanted a place to operate from went fairly quickly. What we've been left with is the real hard core of genuine Hillsideers, so they've moved and integrated with new people.*

The scale of demolition was much greater than had been suggested by an earlier 'visioning' exercise undertaken with residents prior to transfer and the change in priorities caused considerable discontent and protest locally. During the period when the masterplan was being prepared, demolition of properties, many of them void and declared structurally unstable, continued in various streets in the estate. While this cleared 'blighted' properties, it also reinforced the sense of physical isolation in certain parts of the estate with many unused open spaces that had yet to be developed for any purpose.

A prolonged period of consultation and revision to the original masterplan led to the production of an agreed plan by January 2006 and the commission of a consortium of three developers (Keepmoat plc, Gleeson plc and Lowry Homes). The Developer Consortium was re-branded as *Revive*, as a way of raising the profile of North Huyton redevelopment plan. Overall, the masterplan proposed that across the whole NDC area 1,200 homes should be demolished (of which 700 had already been cleared) and replaced by 1,523 new properties. Of these, 85 per cent (1,292 units) were to be homes for private sale, 12 per cent (181 units) for social renting and 3 per cent (50 units) for low cost home ownership. This was intended to create an overall tenure balance of 54.5 per cent social housing and 45.5 per cent private housing.

During this period of flux, many households continued to move out of Hillside, but other stayed put until the option of a new property in the neighbourhood was made available to them. All residents in properties to be cleared were eventually rehoused, elsewhere on the estate, outside the area or in the new developments, by the beginning of 2010, although in some cases this took several years.

The impact of the recession and the housing market downturn has had a detrimental effect on the development plan. The development of 400 properties in the Hillside part of the estate was suspended in late 2008, as a result of the recession and the consequent difficulties faced by some of the *Revive* developers. It recommenced in early 2010, though the delay has caused disquiet, both in terms of delays in rehousing and in terms of the 'hollowed-out' visual and social aspect of the neighbourhood.

Currently, private properties for the open market and LCHO are proving difficult to sell. This is largely attributed to the economic downturn, but other factors have also played a part, including, it is suggested, poor marketing by developers. North

Huyton's new housing has to compete with similar new housing developments in other areas of Knowsley which customers often perceive to have better 'reputation' as a residential location. A number of new build private properties have recently been transferred to KHT for social rent in order to rehouse some of the existing Hillside community. In addition, low cost home ownership units are proving to be very difficult to sell to the existing local community. This is despite a 50 per cent equity share being offered by KHT (i.e. the purchaser receives, in-effect a 50 per cent interest-free discount on the property, redeemable by KHT on sale). Low wages, poor credit status and lack of any savings amongst the target customers makes gaining even a relatively small mortgage out-of reach for the majority of local residents.

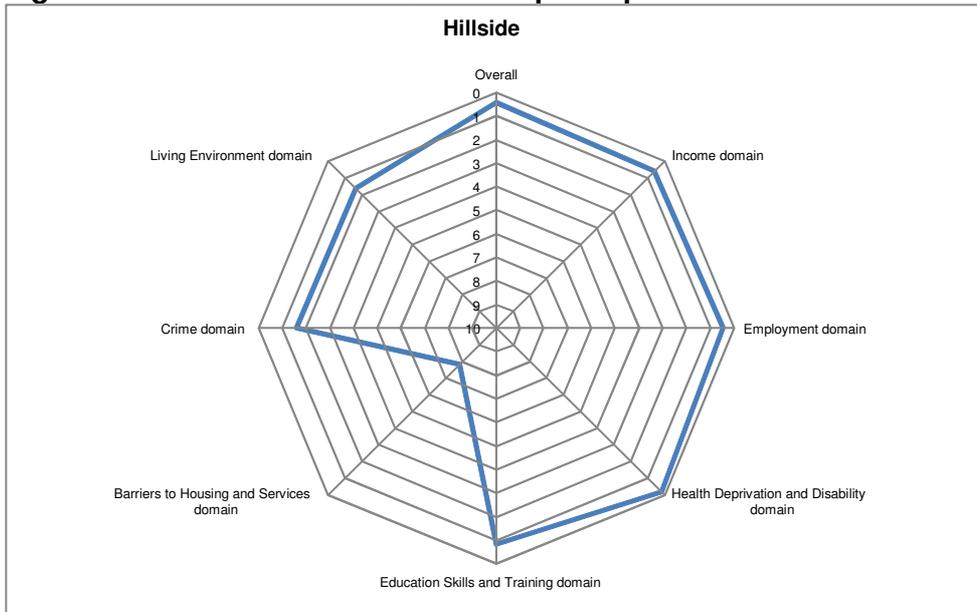
**Figure 3.2: Images of Hillside**



### 3.2 Deprivation Indices

Analysis from the 2007 Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) for the two lower super output areas (LSOAs) that approximate most closely to Hillside show that the area is in the most deprived decile on four of the seven domains: income, employment, health, and education, skills and training; it is in the second most deprived decile on 'crime' and 'living environment', and the third lowest decile on 'barriers to housing and services'. The ONS statistics on population turnover for 2005/6 showed a turnover rate of 50 per 1,000 (compared to a median turnover rate for Medium SOAs in England and Wales of 78 per 1,000). The age profile of the area according to 2006 mid year estimates broadly matched the wider local authority and national picture, with a slightly higher proportion of young people under the age of 16. In the 2001 census, 25 per cent of households were classified as lone parent (compared to 19 per cent in Knowsley and 10 per cent in England) and 53 per cent lived in social housing (compared to 32 per cent and 19 per cent respectively). In February 2008, 6.4 per cent of the working age population in the area was claiming Job Seekers' Allowance (JSA) (compared to 4.2 per cent in Knowsley and 2.2 per cent in England) and 19 per cent were claiming Incapacity Benefit (IB)/Severe Disability Allowance (SDA) (compared to 13.6 per cent and 6.8 per cent respectively).

**Figure 3.3: Hillside on Indices of Multiple Deprivation**



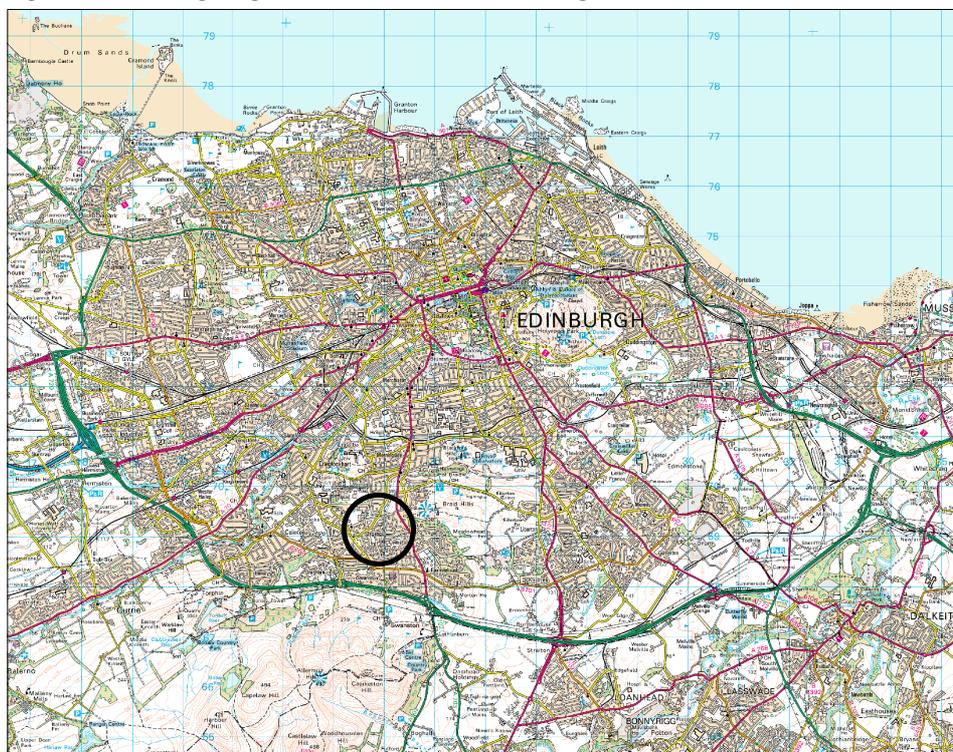
Source: English Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2007

## 4. Oxgangs, Edinburgh

### 4.1 The History and Development of Oxgangs

Oxgangs is a residential suburb of Edinburgh, located in the south-west of the City and falls within the Ward of Colinton/Fairmilehead. Its name derives from 'oxgang' or 'oxengait', meaning the extent of land that an ox could plough in a year, that being thirteen acres. The neighbourhood is well served by a variety of shops, amenities and public facilities. It has two small shopping areas at each end of Oxgangs known to the locals as the 'top' and 'bottom' shops. The top shops (Oxgangs Broadway) are the larger and feature a small convenient store known as 'Denis's', named after the owner of the shop. Other shops in the top area include a newsagent, a hairdresser, and three takeaways. There is also a post office and a pharmacy. The local library is a popular and well-resourced hub of the community, and is used regularly for meetings and classes as well as for its wide range of books and IT facilities. Oxgangs has three primary schools, as well as a nearby high school with a very good reputation locally and further afield. Two neighbouring primary schools situated on Oxgangs Green (Comiston and Hunters Tryst) were recently merged and renamed Pentland Primary. Local churches in the area include Church of Scotland, Scottish Episcopal Church, a Roman Catholic Church and a recently built Kingdom Hall of Jehovah's Witnesses.

**Figure 4.1: Oxgangs' Location in Edinburgh**



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Oxgangs, in its present form, was developed in the early 1950s to provide predominantly council housing for skilled workers in the city and to attract incomers to an economically buoyant area. It also provided housing for people displaced by redevelopment in other parts of the city. A variety of housing types were constructed

in Oxgangs including low rise blocks of flats, semi-detached houses, bungalows and (most striking) high-rise flats. Completed in the early 1960s, Oxgangs' three high-rise flats (Caerketton, Allermuir and Capelaw) were modern and innovative for their time. Known locally as the 'village in the sky', they were all-electric with under-floor heating, inside toilets, communal laundry facilities, lifts and balconies providing views of the Pentland Hills, the Forth and the City. Each block consisted of 60 flats and 20 two-storey maisonettes.

Oxgangs became a lively and popular residential area, and a close-knit community developed. The *Oxgangs and Comiston Residents Association*, formed in 1963, provided organised activities and events to help foster social relations and assist those moving into Oxgangs to settle. It also provided the means for ongoing dialogue between residents and the local authority.

While the community was flourishing, serious defects were emerged quickly after the development was completed. As early as 1962, residents complained to the local authority about cracks in the plasterwork and dampness in some properties. Various efforts were made to rectify these problems over the next three decades. While solutions could be found for the houses and low-rise blocks, the high-rise flats suffered from inherent structural problems that could not be suitably rectified. They suffered from damp; windows were draughty; night storage heaters were expensive and inefficient; lifts would often break down; and insufficient insulation between floors and flats led to noise disturbance.

From the 1970s onwards, Oxgangs began to experience a number of social problems. In some areas of the estate, there were problems associated with alcohol, drugs, vandalism and crime. Despite this, Oxgangs remained a popular residential location and from the 1980s, a significant proportion of Council housing was bought by tenants under the Right-to-Buy scheme. This is reflected in the increased of both owner occupation and private renting in the neighbourhood in the past thirty years. The biggest change to the fabric of Oxgangs was the demolition of the high-rise flats in 2003 to make way for redevelopment and regeneration. In 2000, the *Oxgangs High Rise Tenants Association* had been formed in response to physical and social deterioration of the high-rise flats. The Association lobbied Edinburgh City Council, MPs and MSPs for refurbishment but the council prepared a detailed survey of stock condition that concluded that refurbishment was not a viable financial or long-term solution.

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In 2003, Edinburgh City Council took the decision to demolish the high-rise flats and redevelop the area, securing £10 million to do so. Capelaw Court was razed in April 2005, followed by Caerketton and Allermuir in November 2006. Where possible, tenants were housed in empty properties within Oxgangs and given a right to return to the new development. However, many tenants moved away from the area. The High Rise Tenants Association played an active role in shaping the redevelopment plan, being members of the *Oxgangs High Rise Regeneration Group* along with Dunedin Canmore Housing Association, Edinburgh Housing and Development staff, Firrhill Community Council, Oxgangs Central Tenants and Residents Association and Firrhill Drive Tenants Association.

Work began in 2006 on a mixed tenure scheme of low-rise flats and houses. The new homes provide a range of dwelling types, including provision for the elderly and people with disabilities. The scheme was responsive to a local desire for 'low rise' housing, balanced against the practical requirement to achieve relatively high dwelling densities to meet high housing demand and make it financially viable. Phase one of the scheme (91 units) was completed at the end of 2007, and has accommodated former tenants of the high-rise block who were given the right of return and priority allocation. Phase two (initiated August 2007) included 85

residential units along with a community centre and some commercial units. Phase 3a begin in 2010 (34 residential units) and Phase 3b will begin once further land has been acquired.

In 2009/10, a major refurbishment programme of council housing in Oxgangs was undertaken, providing new kitchens and bathrooms in existing properties, as well as other improvements to fixtures and fittings.

**Figure 4.2: Images of Oxgangs**



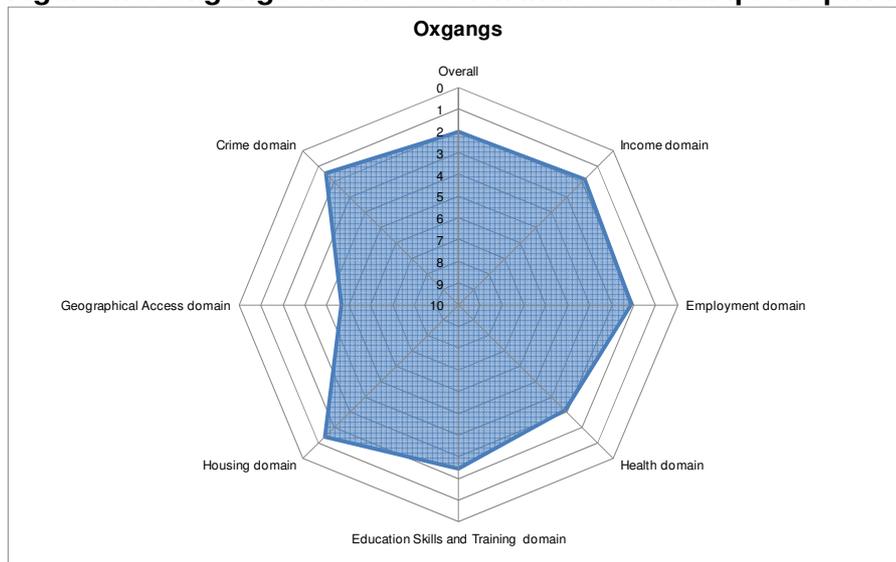
## 4.2 Deprivation Indices

An analysis of the LSOAs for Oxgangs in the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) for 2007 shows that the area is in the third most deprived decile overall, and is classed in this decile for income, health and crime. It is in the second most deprived decile in terms of education, skills and training and housing, in the fourth most deprived decile for employment, and the fifth for geographic access. The age profile of the area in the 2006 mid-year estimates is broadly similar to the city and national picture, with a slightly higher proportion of older residents (21 per cent, compared to 17 per cent for Edinburgh and 19 per cent for Scotland). There was a relatively high proportion of lone parent households in the areas (14 per cent compared to 8 per cent in Edinburgh and 11 per cent in Scotland) and of households

in the social housing sector (46 per cent compared to 18 per cent and 29 per cent respectively).

As of November 2007, 2.6 per cent of the working age population in Oxfords was claiming JSA (compared to 1.6 per cent in Edinburgh and 2.1 in Scotland) and 14.7 per cent were claiming IB/SDA (compared to 7.2 per cent and 9.4 per cent respectively).

**Figure 4.3: Oxfords on the Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation**



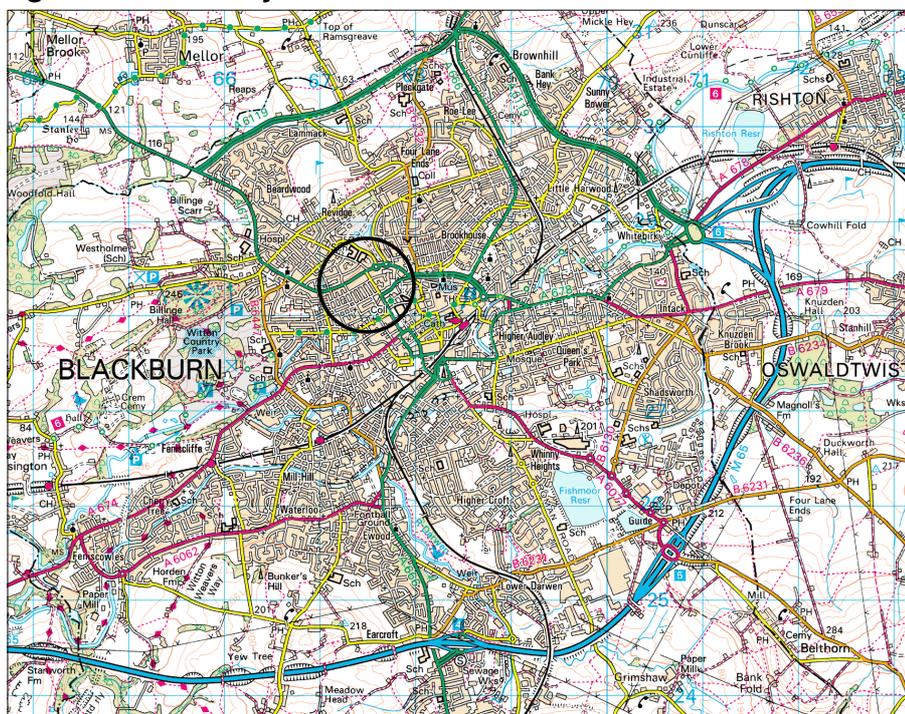
Source: Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2009

## 5. Wensley Fold, Blackburn

### 5.1 The History of Wensley Fold

Wensley Fold is a neighbourhood of Blackburn, a Lancashire town with a population of some 100,000 in 2001, and the administrative centre of the unitary authority of Blackburn and Darwen (population 137,000 in 2001). The neighbourhood is located immediately west of Blackburn town centre. It is bounded to the north by the A677 Preston New Road, to the south by a mixed-use retail and industrial area and to the west by a large park. The area has a population of approximately 3,000, occupies a hillside situation and is characterised by rows of parallel terraced houses organised in a compressed grid pattern. Recently, the area has been subject to redevelopment, as part of the Pennine Lancashire Housing Market Renewal programme, with a number of terraces being demolished and replaced by new-build terrace properties, with more space between each row allowing for gardens and back yards to be developed. The area has a vibrant local shopping centre, with local shops specialising in South Asian produce. There are also a number of major supermarket stores on the edge of the area and the town centre is within walking distance. Local community resources include a community centre that runs various training, educational and social activities targeted at the whole population, as well as places of worship and parks.

**Figure 5.1: Wensley Fold's Location in Blackburn**



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Wensley Fold has an important symbolic role in Blackburn's economic history as it was the site of the earliest powered spinning mill in the town, developed in 1778. However, industrialised textile weaving was slow to develop thereafter, and the town expanded through the development of hand weavers' colonies in the newly formed streets on the edge of town. Hand weavers were displaced by power-looms in the

trade upturn of the 1840s and growth was further stimulated by the arrival of the first railway line into the town in 1846. In the 1840s, the Wensley Fold mill alone had a workforce of around 1,400.

The fate of the town since then has reflected the changing fortunes of other cotton towns in the area. By 1911, textile trades formed more than half of the workforce in Blackburn, with a predominance of women in the industry. The town itself had witnessed a six-fold increase in its population between 1821 and 1911, when it reached a peak of 133,000. Prior to the first world war 90 per cent of cloth production from Blackburn was sent to the far east, but the development of indigenous markets in India in coarse cloths severely affected exports and the 150 mills in the town in 1911 fell to 79 by 1936, 50 by 1950 and a mere five by 1986. There was some diversification of the town's economic base in the inter-war and post-war era, through engineering and manufacturing companies moving into sites on the outskirts of the town. The largest local private employer is BAE systems at Balderstone, Blackburn. The two other major employers are the local authority and the recently built Blackburn Royal Hospital. Rates of employment have remained relatively low and the lack of economic investment was exemplified by the poor quality of the housing stock in areas like Wensley Fold, where little had changed since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1973, 15 per cent of the housing stock in Blackburn was deemed unfit, the second highest of any Lancashire town.

As with other textile towns in the area, Blackburn became the focus for Asian migration from the late 1960s onwards. The census records that the numbers of Asian or east Asian birth in the town grew from 652 in 1961 to 5,355 in 1971 to 15,237 in 1981 and 19,700 by 1991. The largest proportions of immigrants to the town were rural Indian Gujarati Muslims and Rural Pakistani Punjabi Muslims (Robinson, 1986). Many settled close to the town centre. Gujarati Hindus and Punjabi Sikh families tended to settle in the Preston New Road areas in the northern and eastern parts of Wensley Fold. The largest ethnic group, Gujarati Sunni Muslims, tended to move into the Brookhouse area in the north east of Blackburn, Gujarati Surtis in the Daisyfield and Audley Range areas in the east and Pakistani Sunnis on Brookhouse, Audley Range, Queens Park and Greenbank (to the east of the town centre).

Most of the original settlers from south Asia worked in the textile industry (in 1977 this sector accounted for 54 per cent of the adult workforce from immigrant communities, compared to only 10.3 per cent of the town's workforce as a whole). In the past thirty years, the unemployment rate has been considerably higher among the Asian communities in Blackburn than for the population as whole. In 1990, for example, the unemployment rate in Bank Top/Wensley Fold was over 15 percent, compared to 8 percent in the town overall (Beattie, 2007: p327).

The quality of dwellings in those neighbourhoods in Blackburn with higher proportions of council housing began to be improved from an ongoing programme of refurbishment once the stock was transferred to a housing association, Twin Valley Homes, in 2001. At the time, there were 9,624 properties but this has since reduced as a result of demolition and right to buy activity. Given the capacity to borrow more money, Twin Valley Homes launched a £130 million investment programme over a five-year period and as a result, all remaining 8,000 properties are expected to achieve the government's Decent Homes Standard by the target date of December 2010. Improvements in neighbourhoods with higher levels of private housing, like Wensley Fold, have unfolded over a longer period.

A major turning point in the process of regeneration in Blackburn was the local authority's success in the City Challenge competition of 1992. Over the following five years, a range of City Challenge schemes brought in £223 million, including £134

million of private investment into the town. This was directed to three programmes - the economic infrastructure of Blackburn town centre, the redevelopment of a business park in Greenbank area and the housing renewal area at Brookhouse/Bastwell to the north east of the town. This was the major area of south Asian settlement in Blackburn, with acute problems of poor housing quality and overcrowding. City Challenge was followed in 1999 by the Single Regeneration Budget programme, which lasted for eight years and eventually brought in £160 million of public and private sector investment. In addition to the development of new industrial sites, two housing areas, BankTop/Wensley Fold and Shadsworth, were earmarked for renewal, upgrading and enhancement.

The decision to prioritise Wensley Fold was described by one officer as a 'mixture of politics and statistics'. There were several candidates for inclusion in the programme, due to the extent of poor quality pre-1919 stock in the town (accounting for 24,000 of the 55,000 properties). Local authority officers had some concerns at the time that the community was not sustainable and that a more fundamental programme of remodelling was required. Some local housing associations were expressing concern about difficulties in letting properties, relatively high levels of household turnover and impact of a growing private rented sector. One officer described the dilemma as follows; *'on the one hand you don't want to assume in that situation all the housing is sustainable; on the other, if you designate too much clearance you might actually set something going which results in things getting out of control and people moving out'*

In practice, limited redevelopment was carried out. Most of the investment was directed towards group repair programmes and improvements to the external fabric of the properties to ensure basic wind and weatherproofing. A range of complementary initiatives was also introduced, such as a community safety programme, a home zone and additional youth provision. The selection of properties for clearance within the tightly clustered area was not as controversial as in other neighbourhoods, although the voluntary acquisition of the properties took place over several years. Back-to-back properties were demolished and replaced with larger properties with gardens to front and back, which also reduced the density of the built environment. A masterplanning exercise carried out between 2003 and 2004 revealed a high level of local support amongst both the Asian and white communities for the development of larger properties with gardens nested within the neighbourhood.

The new development of larger properties using designs and materials sympathetic to the existing dwellings was subsequently supported by the Elevate East Lancashire (since renamed Pennine Lancashire), one of the nine Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders set up by the government in 2003. The development of larger properties was seen as a particular need for the south Asian households in order to extend the range of properties on offer and to reduce overcrowding, but the social composition of the first group of households proved to be more ethnically mixed than had been anticipated. HMR investment was required for specific reasons. In the words of one officer, it's *'not low demand at all, it's the housing offer...you haven't got the housing ladder in the same way you have for the general community'*.

The mixed tenure development was delivered by a partnership involving the local authority, the HMR Pathfinder, Places for People housing association and Circa Homes (the housebuilding division of Southdale Homes based in Halifax). It had taken considerable effort and reassurance to bring the private developer on board, due to concerns about the large size of the new properties, low values and poor neighbourhood amenity, but in the event demand for the houses was very strong and this has remained the case despite the recession.

There was some growth in speculative activity from private landlords in Wensley Fold once it was earmarked for HMR funding, although the neighbourhood is not seen as suffering from unduly high rates of turnover, or other problems such as antisocial behaviour or poor let-ability of social rented stock.

The holistic nature of the overall package of refurbishment is seen as crucially important to its longer-term sustainability. This has included investment from European Regional Development Funding and the HMR programme in shop frontages and residential units above the shops in the main street, Johnson Street, as well as investment in the local primary school, a community centre, a health centre and an all weather pitch. The retention of local amenities was seen as critical in maintaining a strong sense of local identity for a neighbourhood close to the town centre, and Wensley Fold has a vibrant shopping area and has not suffered from the loss of amenities as much as other case study areas (Hickman, 2010). A lot of the land in back alleys running between the terraced properties was adopted as gardens or designated parking spaces. The refurbishment of the private housing in the north of the Wensley Fold/Bank Top area was also accompanied by major redevelopment in an adjacent social housing estate owned by Twin Valley Homes, with a reconfiguration of maisonettes and flats and removal of garages to provide three and four bedroomed houses with gardens instead.

Wensley Fold is now seen as a stable area, with lower levels of recorded crime than in the early 2000s, a private rented sector that has stabilised, and very strong demand for both the rented and open sale properties in the new development. The local primary school is also one of the most popular in the town.

**Figure 5.2: Images of Wensley Fold**



## 5.2 Deprivation Indices

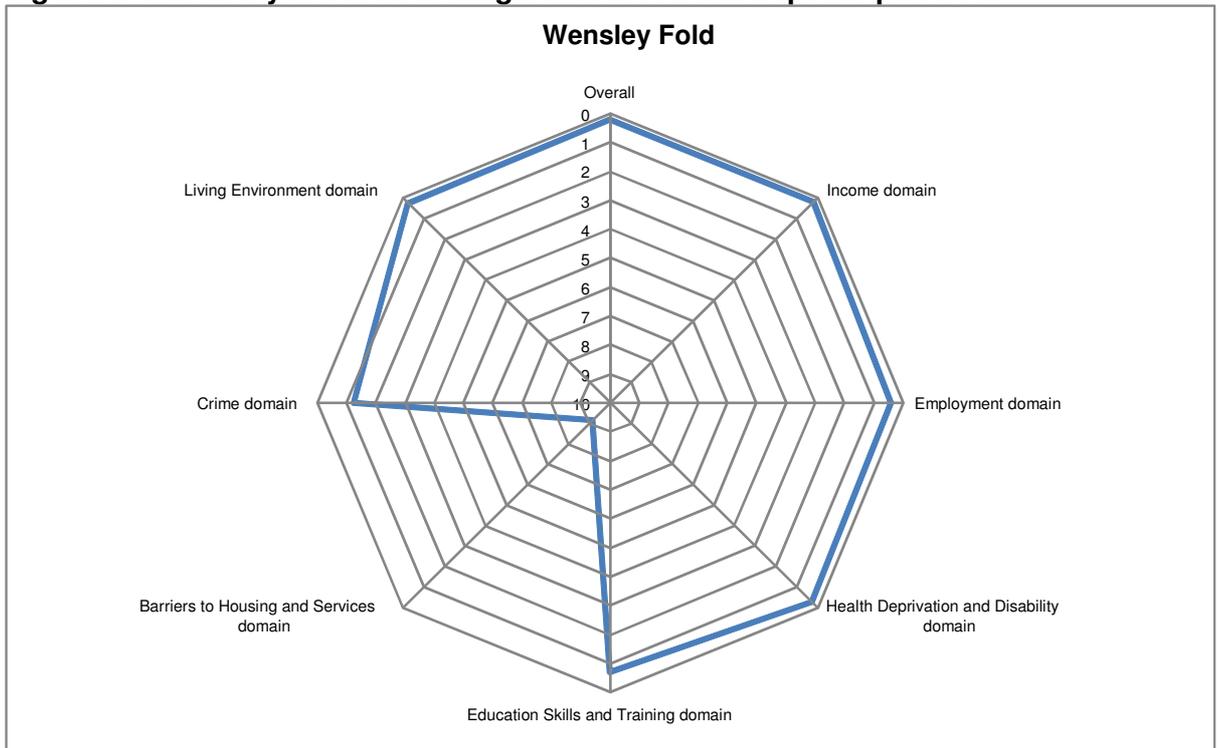
As described earlier, Blackburn has a long history of immigration, particularly from India and Pakistan, and one in five (21 per cent) of the population in the town were recorded as of South Asian ethnic origin by the 2001 Census. In the study area itself, more than half of the local population were recorded as having a non-White ethnic origin by the 2001 Census, and 51 per cent were recorded as of South Asian ethnic origin. The LSOAs that were combined to create an area almost equivalent to the case-study neighbourhood were in the most deprived decile on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2007. The area was in the most deprived decile on six of the seven domains measured by the IMD: income, employment, health and disability, education, skills and training, and living environment. In contrast, the area was in the least deprived decile in the 'barriers to housing and services' domain, reflecting its proximity to the town centre.

According to the 2006 mid year population estimates, the neighbourhood has a young age profile, itself characteristic of an area with a high proportion of south Asian households. A relatively large proportion of the population were children less than 16 years old (29 per cent, compared to 24 per cent in the local authority district

and 19 per cent in England) and only 11 per cent were men over 65 years old or women over 60 years old (compared to 19 per cent nationally). The 2001 Census recorded a relatively large proportion of single person households (41 per cent) and households containing dependent children (39 per cent). The neighbourhood has relatively large social rented (30 per cent) and private rented (16 per cent) sectors, according to the 2001 Census. Only half (50 per cent) of the households live in owner occupied accommodation, compared to 71 per cent of households in the district and 69 per cent of all households in England.

A relatively high proportion of the local population were in receipt of Job Seekers Allowance or Incapacity Benefit/Severe Disability Allowance in February 2008. The proportion of people in receipt of the latter was almost treble the national level (18.8 per cent in the case study neighbourhood, compared to 11.6 per cent across the district and 6.8 per cent across England).

**Figure 5.3: Wensley Fold on the English Indices of Multiple Deprivation**



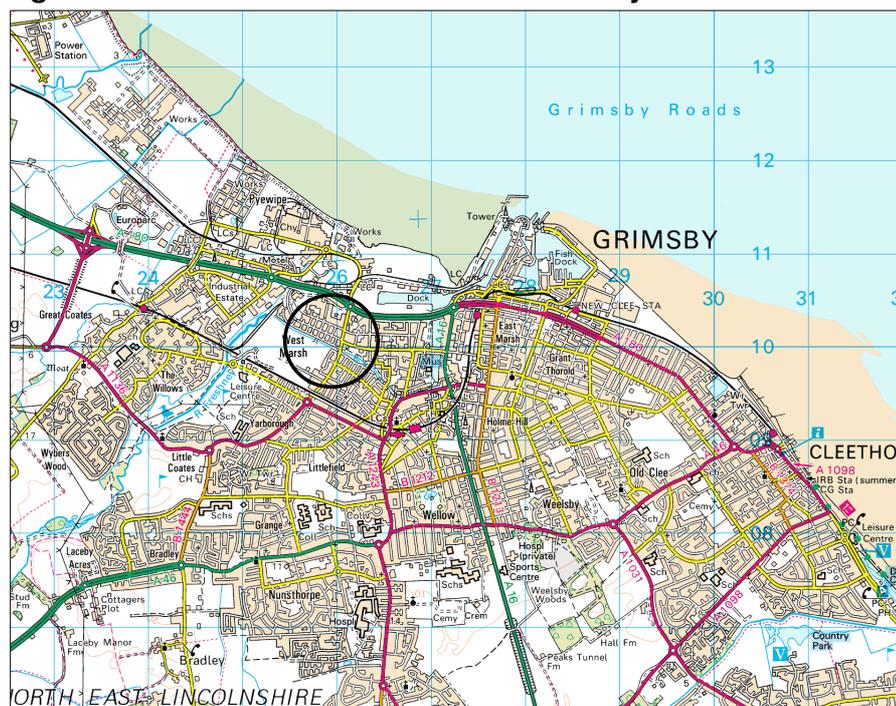
Source: English Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2007. This figure displays the case studies position on the 2007 English Indices of Multiple Deprivation: in terms of Overall deprivation and by Domain. The 0 to 10 axes refers to the decile position; 0 is the most deprived and 10 the least deprived on that indicator. A position between 0 and 1 for example means that the case study is in the most deprived decile.

## 6. West Marsh, Grimsby

### 6.1. The History of West Marsh

West Marsh is an area adjacent to the north western part of the town centre of Grimsby, the largest town in North East Lincolnshire, which has a population of around 90,000. West Marsh is located immediately adjacent to the town centre and is close to the A180 the main arterial route westwards out of the town. Its northern and eastern boundaries are formed by Alexandra Dock, to the west is the Pyewipe industrial estate and to the south the railway line and the main thoroughfare of Cromwell Road. It is divided north and south by the River Freshney and east and west by Boulevard Avenue. The area to the south is also known as the Macaulay Street area, and the western part known as Gilbey Road or Littlecoates, which was brought belatedly within the borough boundaries in the 1920s.

**Figure 6.1: West Marsh's Location in Grimsby**



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The area is a mix of residential and small business developments, a business and retail park and considerable green space. On the banks of the River Freshney is the extensive Littlecoates allotments site, and the Duke of York Park, which has recently been refurbished. The area is predominantly private rented and owner-occupied, and largely composed of street fronting rendered terraced housing built to a grid pattern in the period between 1875 and 1913, with a few more recent infill developments.

Grimsby originally developed as a port in the 12<sup>th</sup> century at the point where the river Haven flows into the Humber. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Haven began to silt up and the town declined. The economic renaissance of the area lay in the twin development of the fish docks and the connection to the rail services by the Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire railway company. The first small dock had

been opened in 1800, but the development of the town really took off with the formation of the Grimsby Dock Company in 1846, the completion of the railway link to industrial centres of the North in 1848 and, in the following year, the building of the 309 ft Dock Tower that still dominates the Grimsby skyline. The Royal Dock, at the time the most modern commercial fish dock in England, was then opened in 1852. The passing of the West Marsh Act of 1856 enabled the acquisition of 105 acres of land in the West Marsh area for the further development of the railway system and three fish docks between 1857 and 1878. During this period, the sailing smacks that had been used for trawling were gradually replaced by steam trawlers of far greater capacity (Clapham, 2007).

The Union Dock and Alexandra Dock on the edge of West Marsh were opened in 1879 and 1880 respectively, with modern facilities for exporting hundreds of wagonloads of coal arriving from the West Yorkshire coalfields that was then sorted in the West Marsh sidings adjacent to the new dock complex. The Alexandra Dock also became the focal point for the import of timber from Europe (Drury, 1987)

Ancillary industrialisation followed on from the development of the docks. The Peter Dixon group of paper mills (originating from Manchester) opened its plant in West Marsh in 1906 and provided employment for many local families. It imported wood from its plantations in Finland to use for the local newspaper, the *Grimsby Evening Telegraph*, tissues and making wet wrap for the fish industry. It was opened by no less a media luminary than Lord Northcliffe, expanded further in 1912 and employed 1,000 people at its peak. It had its own cargo vessels that brought in the wood pulp and diesel engines to shunt the material around the sawmills and storage warehouses (Kaye 1981). The mills struggled in an increasingly globalised market and closed in 1973 with the loss of 800 jobs. The large site was cleared and part of it was redeveloped two years later by Armstrong House, which is now a semi vacant office block for local businesses (Beedham, 2007).

There was also direct access for workers in West Marsh to the port and chemical plants of Immingham, as a tramway system ran directly through the centre of West Marsh on Corporation Street and Gilbey Street from 1912 until its closure in the mid 1950s.

The population of Grimsby grew rapidly from 4,000 in 1841 to 11,000 in 1861 and 35,000 by 1901. The population of the town peaked at 92,000 in the mid 1930s, when a third large dock was opened. The population has stabilised around that figure since then. By the 1950s Grimsby was the largest fishing port in the world but trade declined sharply thereafter, especially following the 'Cod Wars' of the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, Grimsby and Immingham remains by some margin the UK's largest port by tonnage, though overall activity has declined steadily in recent years (DfT, 2010)

In the post war period the decline of the fishing, timber and coal exporting industries were only partly compensated by the development of the frozen food processing industry and ancillary engineering and manufacturing industries. An ice factory was built in Grimsby as long ago as 1900 and Birds Eye opened its plant in 1935, followed in the 1950s and 1960s by Findus, Ross and Young. Young's (now part of the Findus group) is still the largest private employer in the area, with 2,000 employees. The Icelandic owned Coldwater Seafood group also employs more than 700 people across its sites in the town. The shift from fishing to food processing altered the character of employment as well - from the distinctive occupational culture of trawlermen to the more female dominated shift work patterns involved in the food processing sector.

A new post-war industrial estate was developed at Pyewipe (in the Littlecoates area) and a Dunlop factory opened in 1955, Courtaulds in 1957 for the production of fibres and yarn, followed by a titanium works and other chemical companies such as CIBA. All have now closed. The recently constructed 110-acre Europarc to the north of the industrial has witnessed a rapid turnover of occupants and is currently the site for a range of smaller businesses involved in packaging, warehousing and fabric manufacturing.

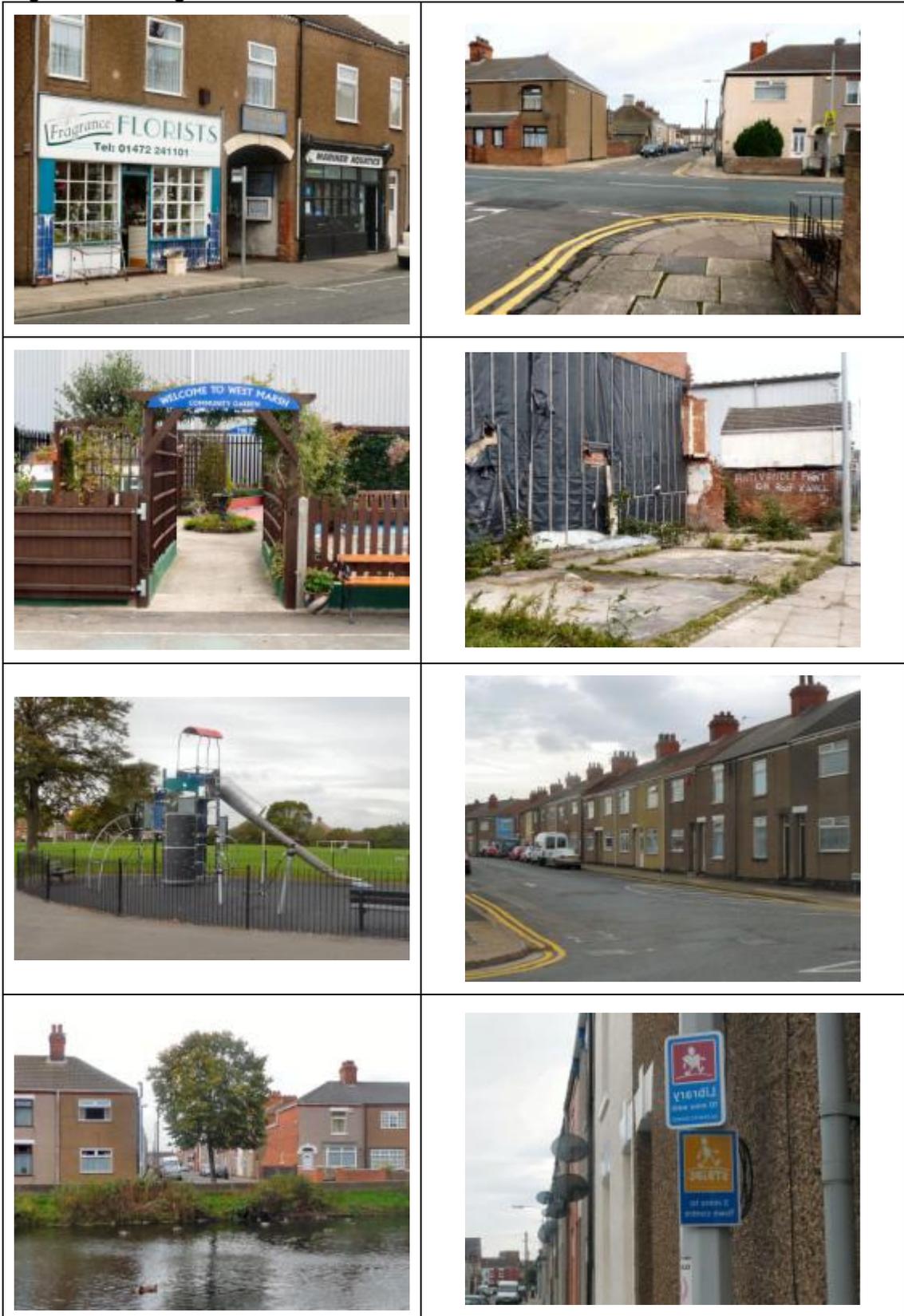
Residential development in West Marsh mainly took place between 1875 and 1913 as terraces were constructed by local builders according to basic grid patterns. There was scattered demolition in the 1960s and 1970s on buildings such as a nurses' hostel and St Paul's church, to be replaced by infill developments of flats and bungalows. There has been no systematic investment plan to improve the poor quality properties and reduce the proportion of vacant dwellings. The local authority's recent priority has been to confront the similarly poor housing conditions in the East Marsh area close to what was once the town's main shopping street, Freeman Street. A £5.7 million Neighbourhood Renewal Area masterplan to revitalise the shopping facilities, continue with demolition, develop a home-zone and refurbish other dwellings has just been approved by the local authority. It is likely to be quite some time before the Neighbourhood Investment Plans prepared for the West Marsh and West Marsh Macaulay neighbourhoods (North East Lincolnshire Council, 2007) are delivered.

There are three primary schools in the area, Littlecoates, South Parade and Macaulay, and two secondary schools, Whitgift and Hereford Technology on the fringes of the area. There is no post-16 education provision nearby. There are three local churches: Haven Methodist, the Christadelphians and St Hugh's Anglican school. West Marsh was the location of the Grimsby General Hospital from 1877, until the new Princess of Wales hospital was built to the east of the town centre and opened in 1983.

At the heart of West Marsh, bordering the river Freshney, is the Duke of York gardens, opened eponymously in 1894. The gardens are known locally as the 'boulevard' or 'bully' (Mickleburgh, 2008). They have recently been the subject of substantial refurbishment, including the provision of new play equipment, supported by an active local group, the Friends of the Freshney, set up in 2004.

Other social activities are organised by The West Marsh Community Centre (set up in 1999), St Hugh's Community Centre and the Macaulay Area Action Group. A Forward West Marsh group was set up in 2007 to identify priorities from the area's share of the £9.2 million Neighbourhood Renewal Funding received by North East Lincolnshire from 2006 to 2008 for twelve of the most deprived areas in the local authority. NRF funding has now been ceased but the group continues as a focus for the area. This is one of the few cases of regeneration funding in the area over the past thirty years. Considerable resources have now been devoted to improvements to the West Marsh community centre, including a new garden area, crazy golf and five a side football arena, and an annual West Marsh fun day. Other activities at the Centre include musical theatre classes (a group called Stage Stompers) and computer courses. Many of these activities are dependent on the energy and enthusiasm of a small group of individuals, several of whom have now returned to the West Marsh they first lived in as children and young adults some twenty or thirty years later.

Figure 6.2: Images of West Marsh

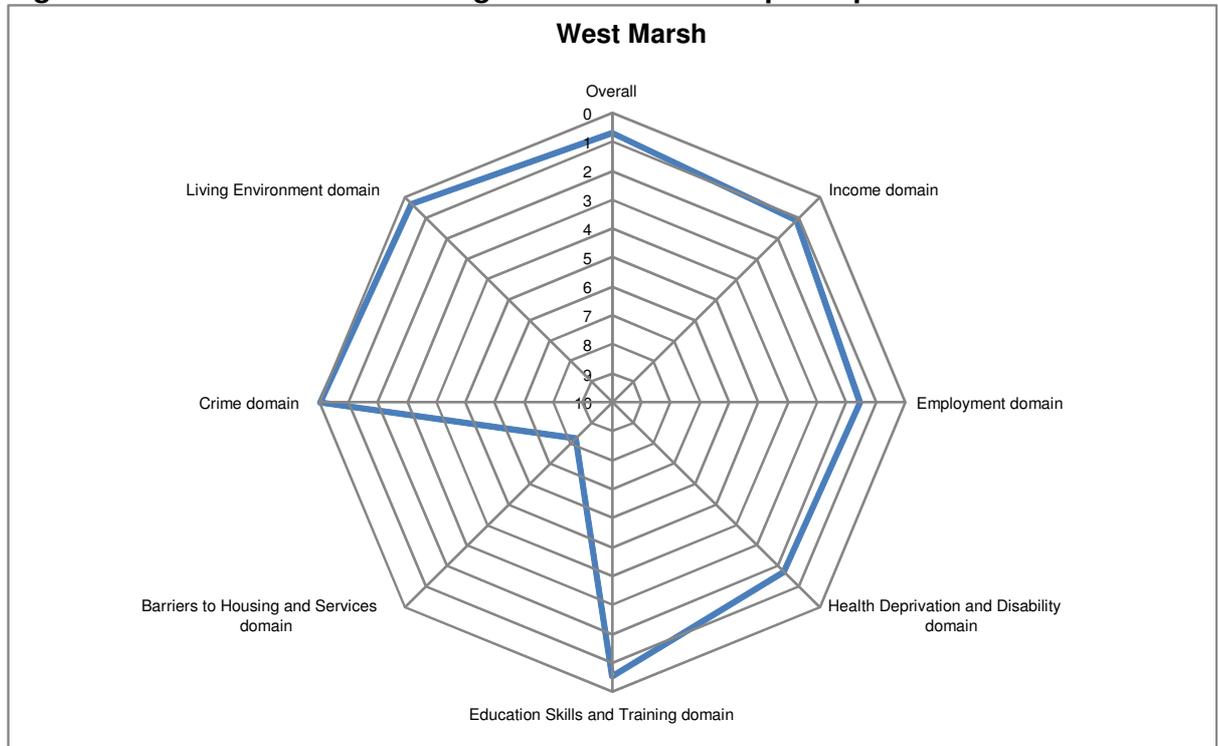


## 6.2. Deprivation Indices

The population of the LSOAs that are almost equivalent to the West Marsh study area was just over 3,000, according to the 2006 mid-year estimate. Almost two-thirds (64 per cent) were of working age and 23 per cent were less than 16 years old.

The area has a relatively small older population (13 per cent of the population, compared to 20 per cent in Northeast Lincolnshire and 19 per cent in England). According to the 2001 Census, a relatively small proportion of households are couples, with or without children (46 per cent, compared to 57 per cent in the district and 57 per cent across England). 17 per cent of households are lone parent families, compared to 12 per cent in the district and 10 per cent in England.

**Figure 6.3: West Marsh on the English Indices of Multiple Deprivation**



Source: English Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2007

The area falls within the most deprived decile of lower super output areas in England. The area is placed in the lowest decile in relation to education skills and training, crime and the living environment on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD). It is in the second lowest decile in terms of income, employment and health. In February 2008, 15.7 per cent of the working age population were in receipt of JSA or IB/SDA, compared to 11.1 per cent of people of working age in North Lincolnshire and 9.0 per cent in England.

The neighbourhood, like the wider district, is ethnically homogenous. According to the 2001 Census, 98 per cent of the population of the neighbourhood and the district were White British or Irish, one per cent were White Other and one per cent were Mixed Heritage. The study team did come across anecdotal evidence that migrant workers from the EU accession states had arrived into Grimsby in recent years, with some people settling in West Marsh, although the scale of new immigration is unclear.

Terraced housing is the dominant built form in the neighbourhood. Many of these properties have no garden or curtilage at the front, the front door opening straight onto the street. A relatively large proportion of the housing stock is privately rented (20 per cent, double the district and national average), while the proportion in the owner occupied sector (64 per cent) is below the proportion in North East Lincolnshire (72 per cent) and England (69 per cent).

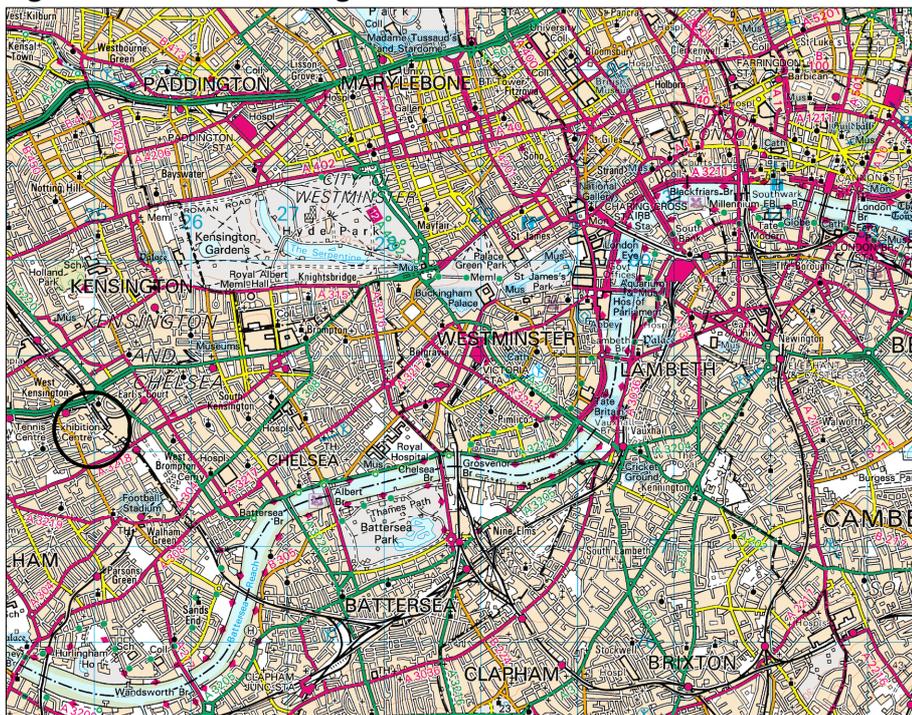
## 7. West Kensington London

### 7.1. The History of West Kensington

The West Kensington case study area is located in west London, in the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham. The area is located within walking distance of Earls Court Exhibition Centre and a number of London Underground stations including West Kensington, West Brompton, and Earls Court. The area is surrounded by several high status neighbourhoods including Chelsea, Baron's Court and Kensington. West Kensington falls within the area covered by the North Fulham New Deal for Communities programme, and social housing units on the West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates are being modernised as part of this initiative. The West Kensington estate comprises approximately 1,000 units and was built in the early 1970s. It is a mixed development comprising five tower blocks, low-rise flats, maisonettes and some terraced houses. The Gibbs Green estate comprises some 160 flats and maisonettes, built in the late 1950s/ early 1960s. The properties are set out in six four-storey blocks and one eight-storey block, which is due to be replaced by low rise housing and a communal hall under redevelopment proposals.

The neighbourhood is centred on the intersection between North End and Lillie Roads, where most of the area's numerous shops, pubs and cafes are located. The area also has a bustling (semi-permanent) market, which is located on Lillie Road. The West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates are located in the north of the neighbourhood on the eastern side of North End Road. Reflecting the diversity of the wider West Kensington area, the neighbourhood is a mixed income area and contains many households with above average incomes. In some parts of the area, property prices are very high, with some selling recently for more than £1.5 million.

**Figure 7.1: West Kensington's Location in London**



Source: ©Crown Copyright/database right 2010. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service

The name Gibbs Green dates back to the fifteenth century and until the middle of the nineteenth century there was a small green at the junction of Mund Street and North End Road. Until the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, West Kensington was a middle class suburb on the edge of metropolitan London and in demand not least due to its proximity to the prestigious St Paul's school in Hammersmith. Its status was eclipsed by the development of the garden suburb of Bedford Park in Chiswick and the release of 400 acres of land by the West Kensington estates company (part of Kensington House gardens) in 1886 for building three storey town houses (Reeder 1970). Land on the eastern boundary of the estate was incorporated in the annual Earls' Court exhibition inaugurated in 1886.

One of the striking and enduring aspects of the West Kensington area is the diversity of the wider Hammersmith and Fulham area and the lack of an obvious focal point for the community, apart from the shops and above all the market. Reeder (1970) notes that more than a hundred years ago, loyalty was expressed to the older village settlements in the area rather than to Fulham as whole. This caused, for example, a Miss Greenwood - the daughter of a parish councillor – to comment in the 1890s that in her youth '*the most striking thing about Fulham was that nobody lived in it*'. The building of the town hall in 1880 was intended to provide a focus for civic pride but it failed to bridge the divide between those in the south and those living further north in the borough.

The importance of the market as a point of solidarity amid local diversity is evident in the pungent account given by Stoddard (1970 p94) forty years ago:

*The south end of North End Road is one of the last surviving street markets of any importance( in London), where not only the poor shop to feed their families on limited budgets, but where the richer also shop in an endeavour to combat the steeply rising prices which modern taxation and changing needs impose. West Kensington today has almost lost its character and community feeling. There are practically no physical links with the past except in street names. It has become part of a large borough, submerged in the anonymity of a large city.*

The market on North End Road had originally emerged in 1880 and was a popular site for costermongers ejected from the higher status site on Kings Road. In his study of 1902 Charles Booth noted that the North End Road was flourishing and at its peak it stretched from Fulham Broadway right up to Hammersmith, but the introduction of new regulations for street markets in 1927 enabled the local council to restrict the market to south of Lillie Road. The market has remained a bulwark against wholesale redevelopment ever since. In 1934, the London County Council planned to turn North End Road into a major arterial road, but was defeated by a coalition of street traders, shopkeepers and the chamber of commerce. While much of the area around it has gentrified, the market has changed little (Forshaw and Bergstrom 1983).

In terms of the housing stock, by the 1930s the nineteenth century properties were judged were already judged sub-standard, and they were also heavily damaged during the war. The Council considered developing the area for new housing in the immediate post war period. The proposal for redevelopment was opposed by London County Council (LCC) in 1948 because consideration was then being given to zoning the area for light industry. Three years later the matter was resolved when the LCC designated the site (known then as the 'Dieppe Street area') for housing purposes. In 1955, a compulsory purchase order for the site was confirmed by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the demolition of the town houses was undertaken. The tender was let in December 1958 for the construction of 160 dwellings on site by Tersons Ltd. Because of problems in offering sufficient

opportunities for rehousing residents, the development had to be undertaken in two stages. Building work on the second stage was started in April 1960. The estimated cost of the development at that time was £325,000.

The historic name Gibbs Green was retained when the then Metropolitan Borough of Fulham developed the estate. Work commenced in 1958 and the estate was formally opened on March 4<sup>th</sup> 1961. The scheme comprised eight blocks of dwellings of which three were four storeys high, four were five storeys high and one was an eight-storey building. Overall the estate constituted 30 bedsitting flats, 32 one bedroomed flats, 48 two bedroomed maisonettes, 12 two bedroom flats and 38 three bedroomed maisonettes, served by under floor electric heating. The eight-storey block was specially designed for elderly single persons and married couples without children and was served by lifts. All the other blocks had external balcony access approach to the dwellings. The cellular structure was designed to be largely independent of the external walls, which enabled flexibility in the positioning of windows and balconies. In terms of the overall outlook of the estate, the leaflet produced for the opening of the estates referred to:

*... bold and attractive colours have been used to give charm and humanity to an otherwise drab, urban area.*

In the external area, 34 car parking spaces were provided, along with a children's playground, a 'kickabout space' for older children and some 'sitting out' places and flowerbeds.

The West Kensington estate was developed between October 1970 and 1974 by Gleasons, as a £4 million mixed development of 626 dwellings, 160 houses, 78 maisonettes and 388 flats. The buildings were constructed in a zigzag pattern in an attempt to afford greater privacy – some were then let at social rents and some at market rents. The site was an old railway site and former LMS goods depot. The names of the streets and blocks commemorate railway engineers and famous locomotives. Originally there was a plan to sell part of the site as an extension of Earls Court exhibition centre but this was dropped, and a firm statement was made by the then housing minister that the land was not to be used for any other purpose (*Fulham Chronicle* 7.11.68). A spokesperson from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government said '*It has been made quite clear to the council that they will not get consent to any proposition that seriously prejudices the use of the site for housing those in greatest need, The council stand warned.*' (ibid)

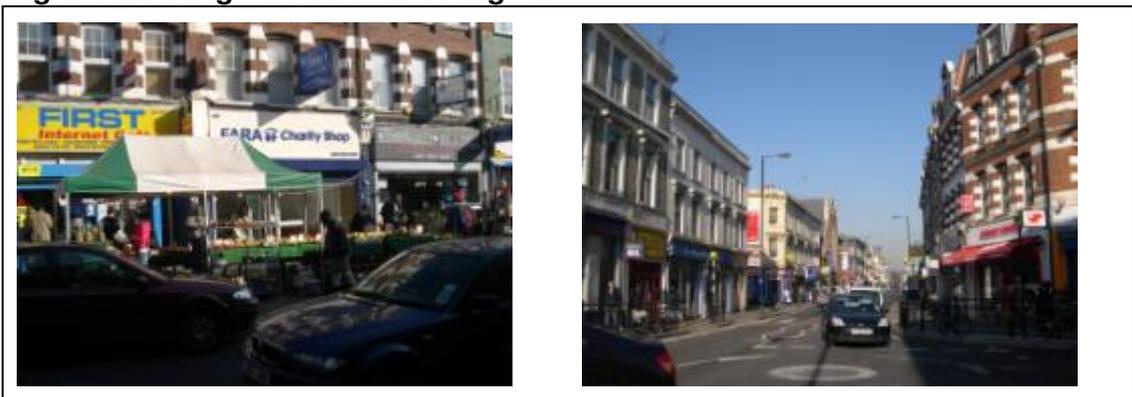
The period of construction coincided with the shortage of bricks in the early 1970s as a result of the property boom. Great play was made of the use of semi-industrialised construction combined with traditional cladding, as a way of saving money and completing the programme. It soon led to problems. An investigation was made as early as 1977 into problems with the blocks, worsening conditions with the brickwork and the absence of a damp proof course. A study by Ove Arup that followed up this study revealed problems with the stability of the brick cladding on the high-rise blocks due to the absence of adequate wall ties. Pitched roofs had to be constructed to replace flat roofs on the low-rise blocks, and one family to be evacuated after an investigation revealed that the suspended timber flooring was in danger of collapsing. A repair and improvement programme of £5.25m was therefore implemented in November 1980, less than ten years after it was completed. Two hundred families had then to be evacuated from the high-rise blocks during the three-year period to undertake the programme and the council pursued legal action against Gleasons (*Construction News* 20.11.80). However, the council's case was compromised because it did not have a full-time clerk of works on the job during the scheme's development.

An alternative was considered of demolishing the estate, but this was rejected because the council would be unable to build as many new homes because of new rules on building density (*Construction News* 31.1.80). Part way through the improvement scheme, in March 1982, three workmen died when the hoist they were working from collapsed. Two tenants died from carbon monoxide poisoning in January 1998 and the council was fined £350k for prolonged dereliction of responsibility (*Hammersmith and Shepherds Bush Gazette* 14.12.200).

In 1990, concierge schemes were introduced for the two eleven storey blocks in West Kensington – Churchward House and Fairburn House. A Safer Communities project was launched in the 1990s and the estate was brought within the boundaries of the North Fulham New Deal for Communities programme from 2000 until the present time. The West Kensington and Gibbs Green estates are currently undergoing refurbishment under the Decent Homes programme involving improvements to kitchens and bathrooms and common parts, and this programme will run through until January 2011.

The area has recently been the focus of a controversial plan for a an ambitious redevelopment of the wider area, including the nearby Earls Court complex, owned by the developers Capital and Council (Capco), once the 2012 Olympics has finished. The ambitious and politically high profile local authority (Hammersmith and Fulham LB) has expressed interest in including the phased redevelopment of the West Kensington/Gibbs Green estates into this plan. It has undertaken some initial consultation with residents about the scheme, which could involve a new international conference centre, hotels, new transport interchanges, offices and 8,000 units of high value private housing. The redevelopment has been promoted in furtherance of the local authority's objective of 'offering mixed and balanced communities'. This had led to a public campaign, and a petition signed by 80 per cent of the residents in opposition to the proposals due to their concerns that they will be displaced, and suspicious of reassurances given by the council that alternative housing would be offered on a 'like-for-like' basis (*Fulham and Hammersmith Chronicle* 19 February 2010). The recently formed West Kensington and Gibbs Green Residents' Committee has convened a series of public meetings and the proposal became an issue in the national and local election campaigns.

**Figure 7.2: Images of West Kensington**

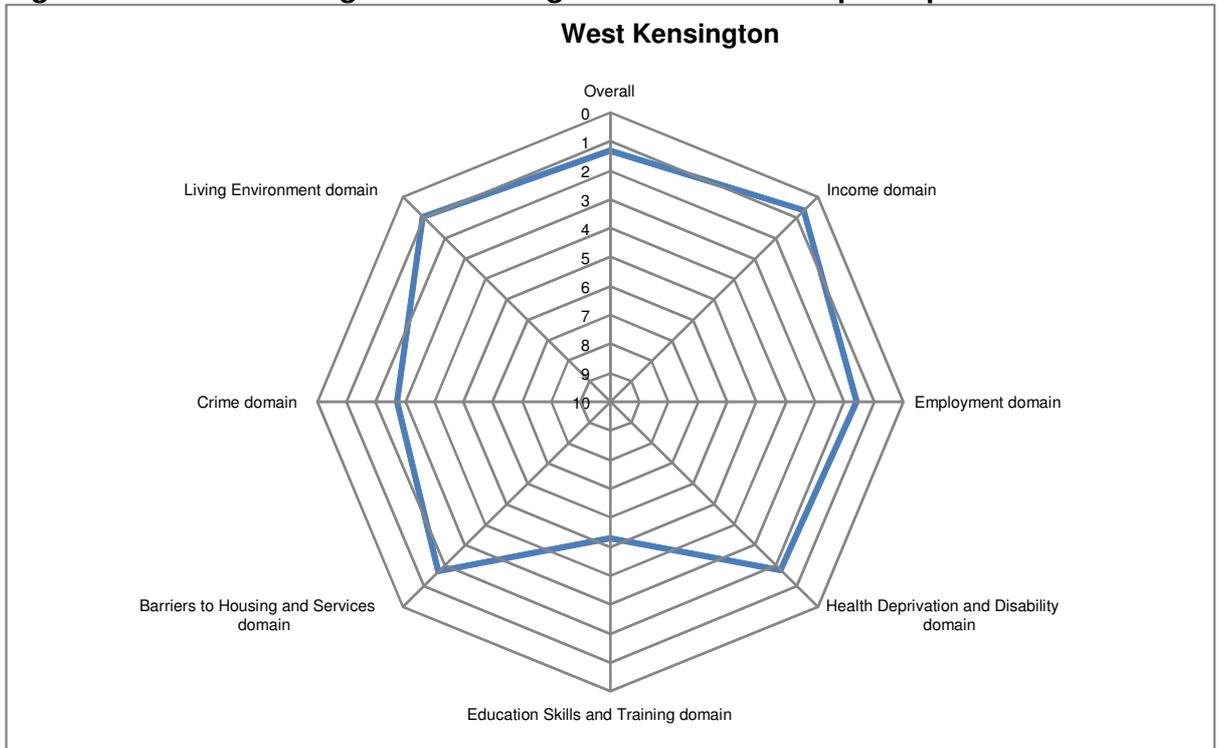


## 7.2. Deprivation Indices

The LSOAs for the area do not match the case study exactly, but are close enough to indicate the profile of deprivation in the locality. In terms of the IMD 2007, the areas were in the lowest decile for income and living environment, in the second lowest overall and in terms of employment, health and barriers to housing and services, and the third lowest for crime. It was however (just) in the least deprived half of LSOAs in terms of education, training and skills. In terms of the age profile,

there is a slightly higher proportion of younger residents under 16 (20 per cent) than in the borough (16 per cent) or nationally (19 per cent) and a lower proportion of older residents (12 per cent) than in England (19 per cent). According to the 2001 Census, 23 per cent of households are lone parents, compared to 12 per cent in Hammersmith and Fulham and 10 per cent in England, and 11 per cent are multi-person households, compared to 13 per cent in the borough and just three per cent nationally.

**Figure 7.3: West Kensington on the English Indices of Multiple Deprivation**



Source: English Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2007

65 per cent of households were described as 'white' or 'white other' in the area (78 per cent in Hammersmith and Fulham and 91 per cent in England) and 21 per cent described themselves as 'black' (compared to 11 per cent and 3 per cent respectively). The black and minority ethnic population includes members of Afro-Caribbean, West African and Somali communities. 57 per cent of households on the estates were in the social housing sector, compared to 33 per cent in the borough and 19 per cent nationally, and just 25 per cent were owner-occupiers (compared to 44 per cent and 69 per cent respectively).

## 8. Conclusion

Much of this paper has examined differences between the neighbourhoods and the specific historical developments that have shaped them. We need to avoid the risk of overstating these contrasts so that in trying to attain greater granularity in the analysis of neighbourhood difference, a whole range of underlying structural and supra-local factors are neglected or marginalised. The economic vulnerability and marginality of the areas is a constant, though it finds expression in different ways, reflecting different historical and cultural influences.

Amlwch and West Marsh, for example, still bear most clearly the imprint of former occupational communities (around mining, fishing) although the history of Amlwch seems to have been a constant feature of local life, while in West Marsh (where there has been more out-migration over time) it is only now being recaptured. Wensley Fold shares some similarities with these two areas, but the influx of south Asian households over the past thirty or forty years has helped to revitalise the neighbourhood realm to a much greater extent, aided by sympathetic redevelopment and regeneration. The economic opportunities for residents in Oxgangs and West Kensington are stronger than in the other case studies, partly for simple locational reasons, but housing market pressures are also more evident and the uncertain prospects for social housing tenants a greater cause for concern in these neighbourhoods. The remaking of Hillside, after a long period of decline, has stalled, and inadvertently compounded the sense of isolation for those who have remained in the area, increasingly bereft of local amenities that were once 'theirs'.

Let us recap how the differences between the six areas have appeared from the summary analysis in this paper:

- *Overall IMD scores* (Table 1.1) show variations between the six localities. When comparing Deciles into which each locality falls (relative to all other areas within the England, Scotland or Wales as appropriate) three are amongst the ten per cent most deprived (Wensley Fold, West Marsh and Hillside). West Kensington is amongst the twenty per cent most deprived localities in England, and Oxgangs and Amlwch are ranked amongst the thirty per cent most deprived localities in Scotland and Wales respectively
- Broadly speaking, in the areas of *income, employment, health, physical environment and crime* all six localities are placed in the first second or third decile. In the areas of access to services, housing and education there is greater variation between the six localities
- *Income*: four localities (Hillside, Wensley Fold, West Marsh and West Kensington) are in the lowest decile. Oxgangs ranks in the second decile (for Scotland) and Amlwch in the third decile (for Wales)
- *Employment*: Hillside and Wensley Fold stand out with the lowest rankings (first decile), followed by Oxgangs, West Marsh and Wensley Fold (second decile). Amlwch is ranked on the third decile
- *Health*: Hillside and Wensley Fold stand out with the lowest rankings (first decile), followed by West Marsh and West Kensington (second), and Amlwch and Oxgangs (third)

- *Education:* While four localities fall in the first or second deciles, Amlwch (fourth decile) and West Kensington (fifth decile) fair comparatively better on this measure.
- *Barriers to Housing and Services:* Here there is a very marked difference across the localities. While Oxgangs, Amlwch and West Kensington are poorly ranked (first and second decile), Hillside, West Marsh and Wensley Fold are favourably ranked (in the eighth, ninth and tenth decile respectively)
- *Physical Environment:* Hillside stands out as the most favourable locality of the six (third decile) whilst all others are ranked in the first decile. There is no comparable measure included in the Scottish IMD.
- *Crime:* On this measure Wensley Fold and West Marsh are the least favourably ranked localities of the six (first decile), followed by Hillside and Oxgangs (second) and then Amlwch and West Kensington (third)
- *Ethnicity* - West Kensington is the most diverse; Wensley Fold has a mixed Asian / White population; in all others, the population is predominately White
- All the localities have significant proportions of people in receipt of benefits. Most notable is Hillside where 25 per cent of working age residents are in receipt of JSA, IB or SDA.

So how far were the initial distinctions drawn on the basis of paired opposites on the three themes discussed in Chapter 1 confirmed or challenged by the perceptions and experiences of local residents in interview? This was the focus of Stage 1 of the research programme and the first wave of interviews (CRESR Research team, 2009). The first of these themes focused on the extent of connectivity between different social and economic groups: whether the close proximity of low income and more affluent households had an impact on the development of shared values, informal socialising, and perceptions of the locality. Would the experience of living cheek by jowl with more affluent neighbours increase a sense of resentment or lower self-esteem among lower income residents? Would the reputation of the neighbourhood situated in the midst of wider socio-economic deprivation be seen more negatively by its residents than in a pocket of deprivation nearby affluent areas?

The comparison of the two neighbourhoods selected on this criterion, Oxgangs and Hillside, did not support either of these assertions. Residents did not attribute different forms of behaviour or values to more affluent households, whether they were near neighbours or more geographically distant. The material differences were acknowledged, but this did not generate a sense of difference or 'deficit' in terms of norms or expectations. As a result, the research respondents did not seek to emulate their more affluent counterparts. Where there was sharing of local facilities, most obviously in the attendance of children at the local primary school in Oxgangs, parallel rather than 'mixed' social networks were noted.

The difference made by the more mixed social and economic environment of Edinburgh, compared to Knowsley, was manifest in Oxgangs respondents using finer calibrations of status and place; this tends to be undertaken through positive comparison with other perceived lower status neighbourhoods elsewhere in the city. The qualities of Oxgangs, therefore, were expressed comparatively in terms of the relative *lack* of certain negative or threatening aspects of neighbourhood life assumed to be present in unpopular areas elsewhere. Hillside residents did not have similar calibrations of place. They felt that their area was 'just ordinary', like everywhere else and as a result did not aspire to move for anything other than practical reasons, rather than in terms of 'getting on'. To them the neighbourhood is 'lived space' rather than a signifier of social and economic status.

The second theme concerned the impact of diversity on views and perceptions of residents in the ethnically homogenous area, West Marsh, and the more diverse neighbourhood of Wensley Fold. This enabled an assessment to be made whether diversity tended to produce more potential for tension or conflict between different groups in the locality or whether it constrained the development of local social and support networks. In fact, although West Marsh was more homogenous on the basis of ethnicity, it was also more marked by divisions according to age, with middle-aged and elderly residents shrinking from inhabiting public space in the area due to concerns about anti-social behaviour and crime. Social networks here were more fragile than in Wensley Fold, where there were strong and immediate friendship and family ties within the South Asian and, to a lesser extent, the White communities. These networks provided resources and support to help members of the community to get by and the social space in the neighbourhood had been reinvigorated as a result of both the pattern of in-migration and a regeneration programme. Relationships across the two communities were also perceived to have improved in the past ten years, as a result of a general 'settling down' and the positive impact of the refurbishment programme. The comparison suggests that population attributes of difference and sameness can only be taken as a loose guide for the nature of local social networks. The pattern of in- and out-migration, the quality of public spaces, the existence of settled or contested zones within the neighbourhood - these factors can all play a more important part, on the basis of the qualitative research evidence.

The third theme concerned attitudes and intentions in terms of residential mobility, drawing a contrast between two areas with different rates of population turnover, and between a relatively isolated settlement, Amlwch, and a more geographically 'connected' neighbourhood, in West Kensington. However, on the basis of the two samples of residents in this study, the past rate of residential turnover proved to be a poor guide to actual differences in mobility. Mobility opportunities were seen as limited in both areas, albeit for different reasons - as a result of predominantly economic factors in West Kensington, such as limited job and housing options elsewhere, or due to more 'social' reasons in Amlwch - notably the desire to remain close to family and friends. The difference is that in West Kensington the possibility of moving out to improve one's life chances is kept within a suite of options for many respondents, when (or if?) economic prospects improve. In Amlwch, on the other hand, moving out is just not considered as a possibility by many of those we interviewed - whether due to the sheer familiarity of a lifetime spent in the town, the fact that one would need to move some distance to improve labour market prospects or due to the multiple obligations, responsibilities and relationships that would need to be set aside if one moved. In both cases, but especially in Amlwch, several respondents had returned 'home' after a period away, often for a mixture of financial and social reasons.

These experiences and attitudes of residents in each of the six neighbourhoods suggest that caution is needed in relying too much on the attributes of the population in order to assess the influence of neighbourhood attachment on people's lives. It is necessary to dig beneath the surface. Social networks were, for example, more pronounced among the relatively recent residents on Wensley Fold than the longer standing residents in West Marsh; respondents felt 'trapped' in both the London case study and in the isolated town. Both the area that was a pocket of deprivation amid wider affluence and the area within an equally deprived district were seen as equally 'ordinary' by those who lived there. What did seem to count more was the pattern of residential settlement over time and the degree of turbulence or stability created as a result, the proportion of younger people in areas where the public realm was eroding, and the extent to which the wider neighbourhood was a self-contained or a more 'porous' geographical entity for those who lived there. The historical narrative of the

area, and the collective experiences that narrative comprises, acts as a key signifier of current social and community dynamics.

In the following stages of our research programme, the scope of inquiry has broadened, both in terms of the underpinning issues, and examining difference across all six neighbourhoods. To what extent will some of the differences in neighbourhood attributes and histories outlined here be reinforced by, or confounded by, the experiences and perceptions the sample of respondents in each neighbourhood? A series of papers has been produced by the research team, based on the first two waves of interviews with respondents, to reflect on differences between neighbourhoods as revealed through the qualitative research. The concluding assessments to be produced by the team now need to map together more systematically how far different neighbourhood attributes seem to influence neighbourhood identities, the strength of commitment to a locality and the development, or attenuation, of locally based social and support networks.

Lupton and Power (2002) have suggested that it might be useful to think about places as having certain 'intrinsic' or hard-to-change characteristics, such as their location, economic structure, and housing stock. Some of these can be changed, but usually over a prolonged period of time. These 'intrinsic' characteristics are strongly linked to population composition and dynamics. People with low skills and earning capacity move into areas of lower quality, lower cost housing, for example, or in cities with growing economies, areas of low cost private housing close to city centres become gentrified. Thus to a certain extent, we may read off population composition and dynamics from intrinsic characteristics and one might want to add compositional variables in order to understand better the variation between areas with similar geographic and economic characteristics.

The combination of place and people also gives rise to 'acquired' characteristics that are more 'fluid' and prone to change. These, they suggest, include physical/environmental characteristics, social interactive characteristics, political and institutional characteristics, or economic characteristics. It is evident that each type of characteristic might be viewed as context, and therefore to be included in a classification, or as an outcome, depending on the purpose of the classification. While the statistical and historical analysis of neighbourhoods outlined in this research paper can provide insights into the fixed characteristics of the areas, qualitative research is also needed to reach into the more permeable aspects of neighbourhoods underneath the surface.

It can be argued that neighbourhood-centred policies often confuse these two qualities – seeking to change what is relatively 'fixed' through over-ambitious area-based programmes, and neglecting the more permeable aspects because they cannot be so readily measured statistically. There needs to be closer attention given to the range of economic, cultural and social influences of neighbourhoods like the six described in this paper and the appropriate geographical scale at which any interventions need to be pitched. It is not self-evident that the last batch of area-based measures introduced by Labour government grasped this sufficiently, but nor is it clear that the current enthusiasm for localism will do so either.

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## Appendix 1: Sample Profiles in the Six Neighbourhoods

		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Age</b>	16-24	6	13	4	6	7	4	40
	25-29	6	3	5	5	4	4	27
	30-34	5	1	8	3	5	3	25
	35-44	3	2	3	4	7	9	28
	45-64	6	7	6	8	7	12	46
	65+	5	4	2	8	1	6	26
	<b>Total</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>
		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Employment Status</b>	Full-time	11	4	10	8	7	5	45
	Part-time	3	2	2	3	1	12	23
	Self-employed	0	0	0	3	1	0	4
	Govt training	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Unemployed	0	8	2	3	3	2	18
	Long-term sick/disability	7	1	1	0	2	2	13
	Full-time education	0	6	2	0	1	2	11
	Retired	6	4	2	11	2	8	33
	Looking after home	4	3	7	5	14	5	38
	Other	0	1	2	1	0	2	6
	<b>Total</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>

		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Ethnicity</b>	White (British)	30	30	6	34	11	37	148
	White (Irish)	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	White (other)	1	0	3	0	0	0	4
	Mixed (White and Caribbean)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Mixed (White and Black African)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Mixed (White and Asian)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Mixed (other)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Asian or Asian British (Indian)	0	0	2	0	3	0	5
	Asian or Asian British (Pakistani)	0	0	1	0	16	0	17
	Asian or Asian British (other)	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
	Black or Black British (Caribbean)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Black or Black British (African)	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
	Black or Black British (other)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Chinese	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Any other ethnic group	0	0	3	0	0	1	4
	Refused to say	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>192</b>
		<b>West Marsh</b>	<b>Hillside</b>	<b>West Ken</b>	<b>Amlwch</b>	<b>Wensley Fold</b>	<b>Oxgangs</b>	<b>Full Sample</b>
<b>Ethnicity (Simplified)</b>	White	31	30	12	34	11	37	155
	Mixed	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Asian or Asian British	0	0	4	0	20	0	24
	Black or Black British	0	0	8	0	0	0	8
	Chinese	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Other ethnic group	0	0	2	0	0	1	3
	Refused to say	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>192</b>

		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Financial Situation</b>	In Poverty	13	4	4	14	11	8	54
	On Margins of Poverty	15	23	15	13	14	20	100
	Relatively Affluent	3	3	9	7	6	10	38
	Not Applicable	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>192</b>
		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Gender</b>	Male	11	13	10	14	13	9	70
	Female	20	17	18	20	18	29	122
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>192</b>
		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Getting On</b>	Doing Badly	9	5	5	9	12	9	49
	Doing OK	15	23	21	23	16	24	122
	Doing Well	7	2	2	2	3	5	21
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>192</b>
		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Household Description</b>	Single	3	10	5	8	6	11	43
	Single with children	5	8	12	5	3	4	37
	Married couple	3	1	4	4	4	9	25
	Unmarried couple	3	0	1	6	2	2	14
	Married couple with children	6	5	3	6	15	5	40
	Unmarried couple with children	7	1	1	2	0	4	15
	2 or more adults sharing	2	1	2	3	1	2	11
	Other	2	4	0	0	0	1	7
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>192</b>

		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Tenure</b>	Rented from a HA	1	2	4	0	7	9	23
	Rented from a co-op	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Rented from Local Council	1	23	17	7	2	10	60
	Rented from Private landlord	17	0	3	11	4	1	36
	Owned outright	4	3	0	9	12	7	35
	Owned with a mortgage	8	1	2	7	6	10	34
	Shared Ownership	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
	Other	0	1	0	0	0	1	2
	Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>		<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>
		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Time at Current Address</b>	More than 12 months	25	25	28	26	23	36	163
	12 months or less	6	5	0	8	8	2	29
	Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>192</b>
		West Marsh	Hillside	West Ken	Amlwch	Wensley Fold	Oxgangs	Full Sample
<b>Time in Neighbourhood (Adjusted)</b>	More than 12 months	28	25	28	34	25	38	178
	12 months or less	3	5	0	0	6	0	14
	Don't know	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>192</b>