A GOOD PLACE FOR CHILDREN?
ATTRACTING AND RETAINING FAMILIES IN
INNER URBAN MIXED INCOME COMMUNITIES

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Executive Summary

The development of MINCs

1 This report is about better-off families in Britain's inner cities, and specifically in the mixed income new communities (MINCS) that are becoming increasingly prevalent there.

2 MINCs are new housing developments incorporating both market-rate and affordable housing. They are becoming increasingly common because of the use of Section 106 planning agreements to finance affordable housing in new private developments, and because of a growing policy enthusiasm for mixing incomes as a tool for creating inclusive, sustainable communities and for deconcentrating poverty in areas of deprivation. We are particularly interested in inner city MINCs because of their potential role in the regeneration of disadvantaged inner urban areas and the renaissance of cities.

Community mix

3 Income mix is not a panacea for low income areas. Careful thought needs to be given regarding how benefits to low income residents will actually be achieved – whether simply by the presence of people with resources, through creating demand for different services and facilities, or through social interaction. Our research suggests different outcomes depending on the specific composition of the new population; this needs to be anticipated and appreciated in MINC planning.

4 However, given the current policy context, we argue that families are particularly important for MINCs. MINCs represent a new opportunity to attract and retain better-off family households in inner cities. Furthermore, where MINCS have many families in social housing, their success as inclusive communities that bring benefits to low income households may partly depend on their ability to attract families in the market-rate households as well. Cross-tenure social interaction and benefits to schools and other services demand a critical mass of families in both tenures.

The case study areas

5 We studied four MINCs where market-rate families were envisaged as part of the mix. Two of them, in Manchester and Glasgow, were existing social housing areas that had been remodelled as MINCs. The other two were wholly new communities built on brownfield sites in London. All were convenient for city centre jobs and

leisure. They are similar to other new MINCs which are currently being built and planned. As such, they are a useful guide for current policy and practice.

Family composition and mix

6   These case studies reveal that families can be attracted to high density inner urban MINCs, including those with flats. At least 10 per cent of the private households had children at each of the four MINCs, and nearly 20 per cent in one of the neighbourhoods. This was more than those involved with the developments believed, although still less than national and city averages in the private sector.

7   We found three kinds of families:

- 'local' families, with family ties in the area, often moving into home ownership for the first time and in skilled manual, technical, administrative or lower professional jobs;

- 'newcomer' families in similar occupational classes to locals; and

- 'newcomer' families from managerial and professional occupations, with higher incomes and greater housing choice.

Attracting and retaining families with children

8   The MINCs in existing low-income areas attracted 'local' families, who often moved into the private homes with children, and were retained through the primary school years. 'Locals' tended to be more positive about the neighbourhoods than 'newcomers'. They had supportive social networks, were more likely to mix across tenures and felt well served by the primary schools. The challenge is to retain these families as their children approach secondary school age, when they are looking for larger homes and good secondary schools. Rising property prices may price them out. These MINCs also attracted 'newcomers' including some who were similar to the 'local' families, but most of whom were on higher incomes and had children *after* moving in. The latter may be harder to retain because of their concerns over social mix.

9   The new sites we studied had not attracted 'local' families; their market-rate residents were mainly from outside the areas. Neither had they attracted 'newcomer' families at the start of the development. However, some of the younger households had had children since they moved in. Retaining these families is the main challenge for these new sites. It is possible. We found 'newcomers' in one site, Greenwich Millennium Village, to be very enthusiastic about raising their children in the neighbourhood. They sent their children to the local school, and some were volunteering in the school and other community groups. It remains to be seen how these views would change as their children grew older.

10   Features of MINCs that attracted families in the first instance were:

- homes designed with families in mind, including consideration of the design and layout of bedrooms, kitchens and living space, storage space and outdoor access;

- good local primary schools that built confidence through community outreach and by serving as community schools, with childcare facilities, and space for community activities;

- clean, safe and friendly neighbourhoods, with a unified appearance and on-site staff; and

- urban design that promoted social interaction, particularly on streets, in shared courtyards and in public open spaces.

11   Factors important in retaining families included all of the above, but also larger homes, acceptable secondary schools, and a sense of community.

Lessons for practice

12   The case studies provide specific lessons for practice.

13   Despite enthusiasm for the neighbourhoods we found that at least half of the families in each area, both locals and newcomers, intended to move within the next five years. This is somewhat above the average for urban families in private homes.

14   One key concern prompting families to leave was the lack of affordable and/or well-designed family-sized homes. This parallels the situation at other inner-city MINCs nationally, particularly in London, although rising land values may in time create a similar problem in other cities. The supply of family-sized homes for sale in MINCs is limited by high land values, including on publicly owned land; by the priorities of local planning gain (Section 106) agreements; and by Government targets for higher density that are measured solely in terms of units, without accounting for internal space or bedrooms.

15   Developers also lack confidence in the market for inner urban homes. They think that families will not live in flats and are averse to the risks of inner urban living, particularly poor schools. Having the Government tell developers what to build is unlikely to solve this problem. We make some other suggestions as to how developers and public sector organisations could work together to increase the supply of suitable family homes.

16   The report concludes that it is possible to attract families with housing choice into inner urban mixed income new communities. There is some demand from both

'locals' and 'newcomers', possibly more than developers think. Childless singles and couples can be retained when they have young children, provided that the neighbourhoods are carefully planned, delivered and managed with families in mind. Families with older children can be persuaded that inner cities offer good environments for child-raising, provided that adequate homes and secondary schools are provided. With sufficient forethought and ongoing investment, MINCs could be made to work better for family households and, in so doing, could have a valuable part to play in the revitalisation of Britain's inner cities.

Chapter One

Introduction

This report examines the extent to which better-off families are being encouraged to live in Britain's inner cities, and specifically, whether they are moving to the mixed income new communities (MINCs) that are becoming increasingly prevalent there. It considers what motivates these families, both in moving into these areas and in choosing to stay there. In the context of the current policy drive to revitalise cities as attractive, vibrant and diverse environments where people want to live, we argue that these MINCs – new housing developments incorporating both private and social housing – represent an important opportunity to stem the long standing drain of families with housing choice from inner urban areas. Just as importantly, in the context of current policies for neighbourhood regeneration, we suggest that the success of MINCs as inclusive, sustainable communities that deconcentrate poverty and bring benefits to lower income residents may depend partly on their success in attracting and retaining such families. Yet it is not always clear what kind of families are likely to be attracted to these developments and what might make them stay. Family homes are not necessarily being built in MINCs, nor are the new communities always being designed and managed with families in mind.

Drawing on four case studies of inner urban MINCs, we investigate demand from better-off families to live in these communities, and find out what attracts them, keeps them, or drives them away. Through a survey of current MINC developments and interviews with housing developers and strategic authorities, we identify constraints on building family accommodation, and suggest how they could be eased with changes in policy and practice. Informed by this, we draw out lessons for design, management, and community development.

A glossary of terms is included as Appendix A and details of our methods are set out in Appendix B. In this opening chapter, we define what we mean by MINCs, trace the reasons for their growing prevalence, and suggest why better-off families with children must be a key ingredient.

Mixed income new communities (MINCs)

'MINCs', as we define them, are new housing developments of several hundred homes or more, which are mixed in income and tenure. What distinguishes them from the majority of housing developments in recent decades is that they contain both homes for private sale or rent, which we refer to here as 'market-rate' homes, and those for sale or rent with Government subsidy – 'affordable housing', including social rented housing and intermediate housing such as shared ownership properties and key worker rented accommodation.

Some MINCs are wholly new developments, on brownfield sites where no housing existed before. Others arise from the regeneration of existing low income neighbourhoods, where new private housing is introduced alongside existing, refurbished, and new social housing. We use the term mixed income *new* communities (MINCs) to incorporate both of these situations, thus identifying and focusing on developments that have significant new build and are being deliberately created or recreated as communities, as distinct from those that have become gradually mixed in income or tenure over time, perhaps through processes of gentrification or by 'right to buy' sales of social housing.

Mixed income new communities: a definition

Mixed income   contains housing for people on a range of incomes, including market-rate and affordable housing.

New   involves significant new build.

Communities   significant in size (at least 300 units), and thus having a distinct identity and giving rise to demand for new services and facilities.

Reasons for the increasing prevalence of MINCs

MINCs are becoming an increasingly prevalent form of development, for two reasons: changes in housing finance; and a growing policy enthusiasm for the benefits of mixing income *per se* (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Key factors in the development of MINCs

	Type of neighbourhood affected	
	Wholly new community	**Existing low income community**
Housing finance	• Private sector subsidy for new affordable housing through S106 agreement	• Private sector subsidy for estate regeneration through land sales
Mixed income as policy goal	• Inclusive sustainable communities	• Inclusive sustainable communities • Neighbourhood regeneration

Changes in housing finance

Changes in the financing of affordable housing, both in relation to new housing and the regeneration of existing estates, have created MINCs by default.
In the past, separate public and private sector funding of housing usually led to separate housing developments. However, more than half of new affordable

housing is now at least part-financed by private sector subsidy, generated through planning agreements under Section 106 (S106) of the *Town and Country Planning Act 1990*, which are often used to require housing developers to make contributions towards building in the affordable sector.[1] Where, as is usually the case, this provision is on the same site as the private housing, a mixed development results. In some cases, mixed developments funded through S106 are planned in advance by partnerships of private developers and registered social landlords (RSLs), giving RSLs access to additional funds for social housing developments that they could not have built with their own funds and Government Social Housing Grant alone.

In the case of existing social housing estates, regeneration can still take place without any new private housing being introduced. Two options for local authorities to raise funds for the improvement of affordable homes are housing stock transfers to RSLs and delegation of management functions to arms length management organisations (ALMOs). However, estate regeneration may also be funded by sale of land for private development, either reducing the number of affordable units or rebuilding at higher densities. In these cases, by definition, mix is created.

Mixed income as a policy goal

At the same time, mixing incomes is also emerging as a policy goal in itself, irrespective of finance. Current Planning Policy Guidance (PPG3) explicitly states that local authorities should '*… seek to create mixed communities*'. Mixing incomes is seen as contributing to sustainability and social inclusion, and also to the regeneration of existing low income neighbourhoods.

Inclusive sustainable communities

As new developments, whether in existing low income areas or wholly new communities on brownfield sites, MINCs seem to present an opportunity to build socially cohesive, integrated, communities that can contribute to reduced social segregation. Like the Garden Cities and post-war social housing estates, they provide the opening to recreate the mixed environment of the traditional English village where:

> *… the doctor, the grocer, the butcher and the farm labourer all lived in the same street … the living tapestry of a mixed community* (Aneurin Bevan, cited in Cole and Goodchild, 2001).

Mix is seen as contributing to inclusion partly through the simple coexistence of different people, which could reduce social distance and tenure prejudice (Allen *et al.*, 2005), and partly through social interaction to different degrees, from shared use of services to the development of active social networks – mix-ing as well as mix.

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1   See glossary for definition of Section 106. Section 106 agreements may also be used to finance public amenities.

Mixed communities are also seen as potentially more sustainable than mono-tenure ones because they can offer a range of housing options through the life cycle, enabling people to stay in the communities where they have grown up, if and when they can afford to buy their own homes. It is also suggested that they might be more resilient to spiralling house price increases or cycles of rapid decline (Berube, 2005). Indeed, mix has become central to the idea of a sustainable community, with the Government's Sustainable Communities Plan stating that sustainable communities will include '… *a well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures*' (ODPM, 2003), and the Government's new programme for Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders also deliberately seeking to reduce social housing stock and introduce new homes for private sale in order to create balanced and sustainable housing markets.

Neighbourhood regeneration

A second rationale for mix, and one which obviously only applies in existing neighbourhoods, is neighbourhood regeneration. Previous efforts to revive low income neighbourhoods have involved improvements to housing, amenities and services, but no change to population composition. Although the National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal persists with these kinds of interventions, the Government now appears persuaded that sustainable regeneration is more likely to be achieved by changing the mix of people as well as the physical environment, and introducing some residents who are financially better off. It seeks to 'transform' neighbourhoods rather than just 'improve' them (Katz, 2004). In January 2005, the Government announced a 'Mixed Income Communities Initiative', to support and learn from a '… *more radical and intensive approach*' to neighbourhood renewal through initially *'remodelling'* three deprived social housing areas as mixed income neighbourhoods with a more diverse mix of housing, and attracting a broader range of households (ODPM, 2005a, p38).

This approach rests on the theory that concentrated poverty creates additional problems for low income residents through 'area effects'. Mixed communities, on the other hand, are seen as helping '… *tackle deprivation by reducing the additional disadvantages that affect poorer people when they are concentrated in poor neighbourhoods*' (ODPM, 2005b, p52), thus making it easier to achieve social outcomes, such as improved school performance and reduced health inequalities, and to reduce the need for repeated cycles of public spending (Berube, 2005).

There are some concerns about area effects theory as a basis for policy,[2] but it is nevertheless becoming increasingly influential, and its assumptions are worth exploring further. In Table 1.2, we summarise assumed 'area effects' and benefits of more mixed neighbourhoods, noting that benefits can be grouped into those that rely merely on the existence in the neighbourhood of people with greater economic

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2   Area effects theory is mainly based on US research. There is less evidence of severe area effects in the UK and some evidence that cross-tenure social interaction does not occur in mixed neighbourhoods. Where the suggestion is to move better-off people into low income neighbourhoods in order to mitigate area effects, there are also concerns about possible disbenefits to existing residents, such as displacement or loss of services.

and cultural resources, and those that demand social interaction. Different communities will likely be positioned differently on this continuum of social mix, somewhere between coexistence and full mix-ing.

Table 1.2: Area effects

Assumed area effects of concentrated poverty	Assumed benefits of mixed communities
Arising from lack of resources: • absence of private sector facilities like shops or banks • high demands on public services, and poor quality • a poor reputation • high crime and anti-social behaviour	**Arising from more resources:** • more money to support facilities • fewer demands on services, particularly schools. More cultural and social capital to shape improved provision • improved reputation • fewer residents with motivation for crime and anti-social behaviour
Arising from limited interaction between social groups: • exposure to disaffected peer groups • isolation from job-finding or health-promoting networks for adults	**Arising from greater interaction between social groups:** • exposure to aspirational peer groups • access to more advantaged and aspirational social networks

MINCs and the urban renaissance

Changes to housing finance and ideas of sustainable, inclusive communities and the regeneration of low income neighbourhoods are relevant all over Britain, not just in inner cities, and are giving rise to MINCs in outer urban areas, smaller towns and cities, and greenfield sites in housing growth areas. However, there is another dimension to the development of MINCs in inner cities: their role in the 'renaissance' of cities as a whole.

Since the Second World War, Britain's large cities have been in long-term decline, suffering de-industrialisation, population loss and persistent underinvestment. The outward movement of jobs and population has, in particular, left inner urban neighbourhoods with limited employment opportunities, high worklessness and its associated social problems, and poor housing, schools, and a low quality public realm. Such neighbourhoods have become problematic in themselves, for the poor living conditions and opportunities they offer their residents; but also problematic for cities as a whole, because they fuel sprawl, and exemplify physical decay, social division and the economic marginalisation of people on low incomes. Reviving them depends on reviving the cities around them, but equally, the fortunes of inner urban neighbourhoods are critical for the success of cities as a whole. It will be hard for cities to attract investment, retain population, maintain a compact, environmentally sustainable footprint and create a climate of integration and inclusion if their inner areas remain run-down, poor and unpopular.

Inner city neighbourhoods are thus key to the wider 'urban renaissance' agenda promoted by the Government's Urban Task Force and its subsequent Urban White

Paper. Both set out an overall vision for cities that emphasised the importance of inner neighbourhoods that were physically renewed and economically viable: neighbourhoods that would be places of choice, not of last resort (DETR, 1999, 2000). This vision has subsequently been supported by the introduction of a new set of mechanisms to promote central and inner urban re-investment: Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs); a remit for English Partnerships (EP) to identify and remediate strategic brownfield sites; and new planning guidance (PPG3), to encourage brownfield redevelopment and higher density building. Confidence in cities has been stimulated and, in the context of the wider economic recovery, most large cities have begun to see a boom in city centre building and increasing developer interest in inner urban sites.

Critically, because of the parallel development of mixed income policy, and because of mechanisms for affordable housing, much of this new inner urban residential development is coming in the form of MINCs. MINCs arising in existing low income areas as a tool for neighbourhood regeneration are a feature of cities all over the country. New MINCS arising through S106 are particularly common in the South of England, where the level of affordable housing need is greater, and they are likely to have higher proportions of affordable housing in the mix. The London Plan (Mayor of London, 2004) aims for 50 per cent of any new scheme to be affordable – ideally 35 per cent social and 15 per cent intermediate, e.g. shared ownership. By contrast, in some Northern cities, local authorities report that developments can still often be 100 per cent private, or have only small amounts of affordable housing (between 5 per cent and 15 per cent, typically), often intermediate rather than social. Investigating current activity in Britain's 25 largest cities,[3] we found that nearly all had inner urban MINCs either recently developed, under construction, or being planned. Map 1 shows some examples. MINCs are becoming one of the key opportunities through which urban renaissance goals can be achieved. It is important to learn how they can be made to work successfully.

Why families matter for MINCs

Thus far we have argued that the development of inner urban MINCs rests on some explicit and public goals about revitalising cities, regenerating neighbourhoods, and creating socially mixed communities, as well as on changing public/private housing finance arrangements. However, we suggest that these goals are themselves underpinned by an implicit assumption that types of households should also be mixed, and particularly that there should be households with children (i.e. families[4]) in the market-rate housing, as well as those who are already present, on low incomes, in inner city social housing.

3   London, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Salford, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Liverpool, Newcastle and Sunderland, Edinburgh, Bristol, Cardiff, Leicester, Nottingham, Hull, Plymouth, Stoke-on-Trent, Swansea, Derby, Aberdeen, Southampton, Portsmouth and Dundee (Atkins *et al*., 1996).

4   We use the terms 'households with children' and 'families' interchangeably. Our key focus is on the presence of 'better-off' children, not on the composition of the households in which they live, i.e. their relationship to the adults in the house or the number or sexuality of the resident parents or guardians.

Map 1.1: Some examples of inner city MINCs

Glasgow: King's Dock
Mixed-use development with offices and leisure facilities; 1,800 homes planned by 2012. First phase of 280 flats has 33% for shared ownership.

Leicester: Waterside
4,000-5,000 new homes proposed by 2020, 15-30% affordable.

Birmingham: Attwood Green
Refurbishment of 1,500 existing properties, and 2,000 new homes on five council estates close to the city centre. Around 33% affordable in new build.

Bristol: Rowling Gate
1,000 new homes on a brownfield site belonging to the city council. Around 40% affordable.

Cardiff Bay
Refurbishment of 2,000 existing homes and construction of 6,000 new homes, 25% for social rent.

London: Imperial Wharf
1,650 new homes on a riverside site, with about 50% affordable housing. Almost all flats.

London: Chelsea Bridge Wharf
700 new riverside apartments plus retail and leisure uses; 25% shared equity purchase, no social rented housing.

Edinburgh: Quartermile
650 homes near the city centre on the site of a former hospital; 15% affordable housing.

Leeds: Clarence Dock
Large mixed-use development of around 1,000 flats on the waterfront. Includes key-worker housing for rent, likely to be around 5% on completion.

Sheffield: Norfolk Park
Unpopular 1960s social housing estate being demolished and replaced with 500 market-rate and affordable homes.

Nottingham: Waterside
Major development of city-centre brownfield site, up to 4,000 new homes, including family homes in the priate sector.

London: Stratford City
4,500 new homes by 2026, 30% affordable.

London: Greenwich Peninsula
10,000 new homes by 2024; about 40% affordable.

London: Clapham Park
Major redevelopment of large council estate under the NDC Programme, introducing at least 30% private housing.

11

Families matter for cities

First, we suggest that inner cities, as envisaged by the Urban Task Force, need families with housing choice. Traditionally, it has been families who have been keenest to leave inner urban areas, income and wealth permitting. At the point of bringing up children:

> … *an urban environment, previously perceived as diverse and stimulating, starts to appear unsafe. Schools and health services become more important … at this stage in their life cycle, many people will want to … move to suburban or small town environments* (DETR, 1999, p35).

Families have led the hollowing out of cities, and the expansion into the countryside. In doing so, they have diminished city stocks of experienced workers, trained in the city but now seeking to live and work outside. It seems clear that if cities are going to thrive economically and retain a compact footprint, their inner urban areas must cater for better-off people who have children, not just for low income families and better-off singles, young couples and empty-nesters. This means building urban neighbourhoods that parents will choose as places to raise their children. Not all of these will be new developments – the existing housing stock obviously has a major part to play. Nevertheless, new mixed income housing developments represent a significant new opportunity for urban family living and for the achievement of urban renaissance goals.

Families matter for the success of MINCs

Second, families may be crucial to the achievement of mixed income policy goals. When we think of the gains that mixed income policy hopes for (Table 1.2), it is evident that better-off families bring benefits that other better-off households cannot. Non-family households can deliver some advantages, such as high disposable incomes, reduced demand on welfare services, working role models and a better reputation for the area. However, only the presence of market-rate families can produce more balanced school intakes that reduce demands on schools, and opportunities for cross-tenure interaction that gives lower income children access to peers and adults with greater material and cultural resources. Other studies of mixed income communities (Jupp, 1999; Allen *et al.*, 2005) have shown that most mix-ing across social groups occurs between children and it is this interaction, in the street, nurseries, schools and playgroups, that also provides opportunities for adults to meet and network. Children provide a common ground, a shared interest and pattern of life, between people in different tenures. Moreover, people with children tend to be among the most active in community groups – they have a high stake in the neighbourhood and its services (ODPM, 2004).

Thus, while MINCs that have few families in social housing (such as city centre apartment-blocks) may have no need for families in private housing either, there is a clear implication that where there are families in social housing, expected benefits of mix depend on there being families in market-rate housing too.

The nature of these families probably matters, but is rarely articulated. Urban renaissance rhetoric tends to imply that they will be from the traditional middle class, thus attracting criticism from those who suggest that 'urban renaissance' is effectively a form of state-led gentrification that can displace lower income households (e.g. Cameron, 2003; Lees, 2003). In the terms of Table 1.2, this group would be resource-rich. They would also have high stocks of cultural and social capital that could potentially be deployed in the neighbourhood for the improvement of schools and other services for children, but which might equally be expended elsewhere to secure access for their own offspring to services not available to others in the neighbourhood, for example in private schools and other facilities (Butler and Robson, 2003; Vincent *et al.*, 2004).

On the other hand, the rhetoric of deconcentrating poverty focuses on the need simply for 'non-poor' households, to avoid the detrimental effects of 'non-mix' – a totally low-income population (Quercia and Galster, 1997; Berube, 2005). What is implied here is that households should have people in work and not on subsistence incomes. Non-poor families buying into MINCs might well come from the growing ranks of owner occupiers in traditionally working class jobs – administrative, technical or routine occupations, or self employed workers – social groups that have traditionally been located in the inner city. They might have existing family and social networks there. They might have less financial and cultural resources, but also perhaps be both less able and less inclined to seek advantage for their children by negotiating access to schools and services elsewhere. They could therefore bring different benefits to MINCs than their managerial and professional counterparts.

In either case, having few families may *create* problems for new communities in their aims to be sustainable and inclusive. Can they really be wholly sustainable, if market-rate singles and childless couples only occupy them for short times before moving out to raise their children elsewhere? Can they really be integrated and inclusive, when family and non-family households tend to use different neighbourhood facilities and services, and occupy public spaces at different times of day? How can the needs of low-income families be safeguarded when these may come into conflict with the needs of better-off childless households, for example, over community facilities and use of public space?

Investigating families in MINCs

It seems clear, therefore, that if MINCs are to meet their policy goals, attention needs to be given to mixing household types, not just incomes, and specifically to securing the presence of families in both market-rate and affordable housing. This seems implicit in Government policy and indeed, at the local level, it is sometimes explicitly recognised in city revitalisation strategies and plans for large MINC developments. For example, Leicester Regeneration Company notes the need to

balance the flourishing city centre apartment market with family housing to '… *introduce balance and diversity, to offer choice, and to encourage sustainability'* (Leicester Regeneration Company, 2004). One of the key aims of Nottingham's regeneration of the large brownfield Waterside site close to the city centre is to '… *provide homes to attract people and families back to the City … Homes for families and a wide variety of other needs will help create variety and balanced neighbourhoods'* (City of Nottingham, 2001, pp2-3). This aim to secure more family housing in inner urban MINCs is not incompatible with the need to provide homes for the increasing numbers of smaller households that national demographic trends predict. Rather, it articulates the need for some redistribution of housing types and sizes, achieving some degree of balance in each area, rather than a concentration of small units and single people in the city, and larger units and families outside.[5]

However, at least at a national policy level, the need to secure market-rate families in MINCs is not explicitly articulated, beyond general statements about a mix of household types, and there are no specific mechanisms in place to ensure that MINCs provide the homes and environments that families need. In this context, our report sets out to investigate how the aim of attracting and retaining better-off families is being achieved, in reality, in inner urban MINCs.

The report focuses primarily on four existing inner urban MINCs, which were developed in earlier phases of policy and have been occupied for between two and ten years. Two were existing low income communities: social housing areas that had both had long histories of concentrated poverty and attempts at physical and social renewal before their remodelling as MINCs. These are Hulme in Manchester, and the New Gorbals in Glasgow. The other two, both in London, were new communities built mainly on brownfield sites: Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village. We selected all of them because their early plans envisaged market-rate families as part of the mix: they articulated the desire for better-off families that underlies current inner urban MINC policy. Learning how this was, or was not, realised provides an important guide for the MINCs of the future.

In each area, we conducted a survey of 100 residents, interviewed families in both market-rate and affordable homes and key local actors, and reviewed planning documents, evaluation reports and local studies.

Chapter Two presents our analysis of Hulme and New Gorbals, and Chapter Three the two new London communities. In each we look at three key issues:

- **First, we ask whether the MINCs provided family homes**, which we define essentially as those big enough for families ('family-sized' homes), with three bedrooms or more. We look at the number of such homes, and also at their

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5   It is worth noting, as well, that demographic trends leading to smaller households will not necessarily remove the need for family-sized homes. Families separating may lead to two smaller households, but in most cases, custody of children is shared, so both parents may wish to have homes that are large enough to accommodate a family.

design and internal space: whether houses, flats or maisonettes, with or without gardens or other safe outdoor spaces for children to play, and with or without the design features that families need, such as adequate storage, ample kitchens, family bathrooms and access to outdoor space where possible.

- **Second, we look at who came to live in the MINCs**: their household type, income and occupation. We particularly focus on market-rate families. How many such families moved in, who were they and what brought them there?

- **Third, we assess the success of the MINCs** in relation to their goals of being inclusive, integrated, sustainable and renewed communities, and particularly in relation to how well they worked for the market-rate families. How did these families experience the neighbourhood as a place to bring up children and what would make them want to stay or leave?

This analysis highlights two critical issues for inner urban MINCS. One is that **the supply of suitable family-sized homes is critical if families are to be retained**, an issue that we investigate further in Chapter Four, drawing on a review of current MINC developments and on interviews with developers and strategic authorities as well as on the four case study sites. Here, we identify the constraints on the supply of family homes and indicate key issues that will need to be tackled if these constraints are going to be lifted. The second critical issue is that **the way in which MINCS are designed and managed can have a significant impact on how families feel about them as places to raise children and on their predisposition to stay**. Chapter Five draws out lessons from the practice of local organisations in the case study sites about the factors that help or hinder success in delivering MINCs that meet the needs of families.

Finally in Chapter Six, we present conclusions, and pull out implications for policy and practice. We identify changes that will be needed in the design, management, planning and delivery of MINCs if the implicit aim of attracting and retaining market-rate families is to be achieved in reality, and reflect on what our case studies tell us about mixed income policy as a whole and its likely success.

MINCs in existing low income areas: Hulme and the New Gorbals

Two of the areas we studied were existing low-income neighbourhoods which were regenerated as mixed income communities in the mid-1990s. This chapter tells the story of these MINCs: the homes that were built there, the communities that came to live in them, and their success as inclusive, integrated communities. It particularly focuses on the market-rate families who lived there. Who were they? What attracted them to the neighbourhood? How did they find it as a place to raise children, and what were the issues that would make them stay or leave?

The areas

Hulme, in Manchester and the Gorbals, in Glasgow, are both well positioned just to the south of their respective city centres, within a short walk or bus ride of shops and offices. Hulme is also adjacent to Manchester's two university campuses. Both are large districts and we concentrate on particular parts: the central area of Hulme, and the 'New Gorbals' area, which includes all the new build in both Crown Street and Queen Elizabeth Square, but not the earlier Gorbals East (see maps on pages 18-19 and 20-21).

Both of these neighbourhoods have long histories of concentrated poverty dating back to the 19th century. Their original housing was cleared in the 1960s and 1970s and rebuilt as blocks of council-rented deck-access flats which were mostly occupied by non-family households. At both sites, construction flaws soon emerged, compounded by ineffective management. Hit badly by industrial decline, with dilapidated housing and disadvantaged populations, by the late 1980s both neighbourhoods were suffering severe economic and social exclusion, falling populations, rising crime and failing local services (DoE, 1990).

The regeneration of both Hulme and Gorbals as MINCs began in 1991. Hulme's redevelopment was triggered by City Challenge funding, which enabled the demolition of the existing deck-access flats and their replacement by new homes. Regeneration at Gorbals began on a vacant site, where the worst of the deck-access housing – the 'Dampies' – had been demolished five years earlier and its residents rehoused elsewhere in Glasgow. Development of the 40 acre site became the responsibility of the new Crown Street Regeneration Project (CSRP). In both areas, residents moved into the first new homes in 1995.

Hulme

Location — Manchester, England
Local Authority — Manchester
Distance to city centre — 2km

KEY FACTS

Development
Date first occupied — *1995*
Lead agency — *Hulme Regeneration Ltd*
Developers — *Bellway, NBH*
RSLs — *numerous*

Housing
Total new-build homes — *~3,000*
New-build homes — *1,500 (case study area)*
Total homes — *1,985 (case study area)*
Density — *35 homes/hectare*

Tenure
Market rate — *45%*
Social rented — *55% (including retained council stock)*

Housing Market
2-bed apartment — *£120,000+*
3-bed house — *£135,000+*
Larger 4-bed house — *£180,000+*

Early-phase private housing

Hulme

Legend:
- New market-rate housing
- New affordable housing
- Existing affordable housing
- Non-residential buildings
- Public open space
- Shared private open space
- Major road
- Street

Note: map indicates the general pattern of tenure, not tenure of individual households

Map labels: Mancunian Way, Chorlton Road, student housing, Hulme Park, school, Stretford Road, to Oxford Road, shops, scheduled for future development, Princess Road, library, Zion Centre, co-op, offices, community centre, school, offices, Stretford Road, Chorlton Road, under construction, shops & supermarket, 500m

Early-phase housing association homes

Hulme Park and Zion Centre

Internal parking

Newer larger private homes

New Gorbals

Location — Glasgow, Scotland
Local Authority — Glasgow
Distance to city centre — 2km

KEY FACTS

Development
Date first occupied — 1995
Lead Agency — Crown Street Regeneration Partnership
Developer — Multiple
RSL — New Gorbals Housing Association

Housing
Homes built to end 2004 — 1,200
Homes on completion — 1,400
Density — 88 homes/hectare

Tenure
Market rate at end 2004 — 75%
Social rented — 25%

Housing Market in 2004
2-bed apartment — £140,000
3-bed apartment — £180,000

Future developments
Laurieston — 1,600 homes, 40% social housing

Newer homes and courtyard

New Gorbals

Map labels:
Ballater Street
hotel
River Clyde
leisure centre
student housing
training centre
library
(shops)
supermarket
Crown Street
Rose Park
New Gorbals Park
school
Cumberland Street
Caledonia Road
500m

Legend:
New market-rate housing
New affordable housing
Existing affordable housing
Non-residential buildings
Public open space
Shared private open space
Major road
Street

Note: map indicates the general pattern of tenure, not tenure of individual households

New housing

Playground

Retained council housing

Shops

Masterplans and design guides set out the form of the new developments in both places, deliberately seeking to integrate them with the surrounding social housing, rather than to create secluded enclaves. 1,500 new homes have been built in central Hulme, about half of them market-rate, with the remainder rented from several RSLs and a co-operative. Only a few vacant plots remain. There will be 1,400 new homes in the New Gorbals on completion, about three-quarters of them private and the rest rented from a specially formed community-based housing association. Some of the original Council dwellings remain in each area. Table 2.1 summarises the housing stock at each site, and the spatial integration of private and social housing is shown on the maps above. While the Crown Street site and adjacent Queen Elizabeth Square in the Gorbals is nearly complete, development continues in an adjoining area, Laurieston, planned to have around 1,600 homes of which 40 per cent will be affordable.

Table 2.1: Housing at Hulme and the New Gorbals

	Hulme	New Gorbals
Total number of new homes	1,500 (to Dec 2004)	1,400 (on completion)
% new homes that are affordable housing	43%	25%
Homes in wider case study area, including retained council stock	1,985	1,750
% of homes in case study area that are affordable, including retained council stock[b]	55%	40%
Density of housing in case study area[a]	35 dwellings/ha	90 dwellings/ha

a   Densities are given as homes/hectare, and calculated including private gardens and shared open space, but excluding the parks
b   These data relate to the Central Hulme and New Gorbals case study areas. Both MINCs are within larger areas with higher proportions of social housing, 65% in both Hulme ward and Hutchesontown ward, which covers most of the Gorbals and beyond (Census, 2001).

The new homes

Attracting families was an explicit aim at both these sites. About half of the new market-rate homes at each site have three or more bedrooms, a figure roughly in line with the proportion of such homes in the existing housing stock in England, and with the proportions currently being built as at 2003-4 (Figure 2.1),[6] though the developments have a smaller overall proportion of larger four or five bedroom homes.

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6   These figures are for England only: the Scottish Executive does not publish comparable data. They are intended to give a rough benchmark against which to compare the number of family-sized homes in the case study areas. They are not intended to imply a target for these particular MINCs or other MINCs, or to assess them against the number of homes needed at the particular time or place at which they were built.

Figure 2.1: Size of new market-rate homes, Hulme and New Gorbals
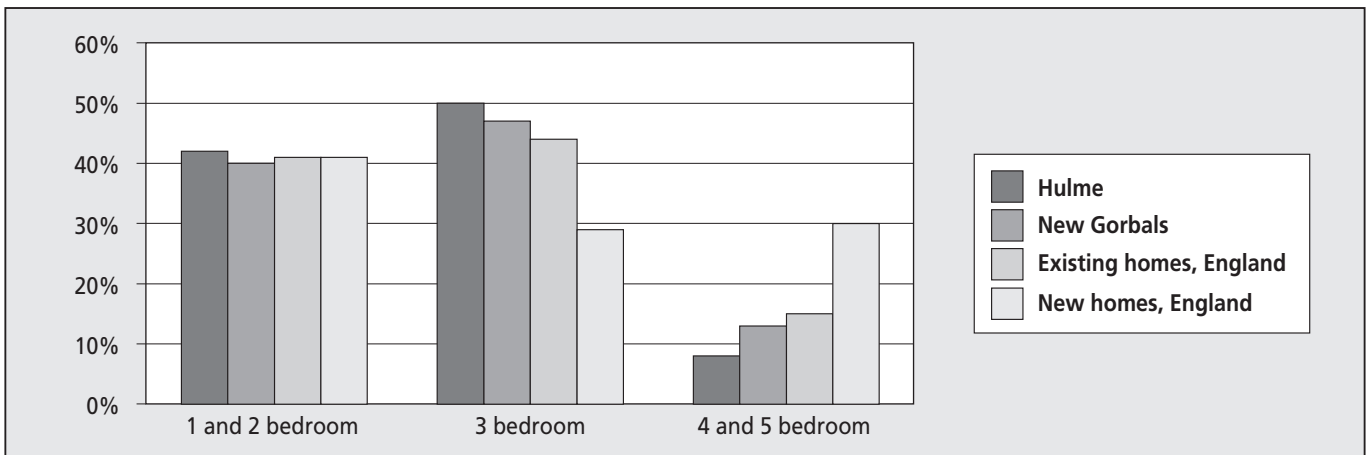
Sources:
Hulme and New Gorbals data from local field work, 2004/ 2005.
Existing stock from English House Condition Survey 2001.
New build from ODPM housebuilding statistics Table 251, 2003/4.

At Hulme all of these family-sized homes are houses, a particular feature of the early phases of building. These early houses were modest in size and conservative in design, typically two storeys high, with three bedrooms and a private garden. Since then the proportion of flats has risen, but there have also been some larger houses built. One current in-fill development, for example, includes four bedroom, three storey townhouses.

Flat living is more common in Scotland than England and the predominant housing type in the New Gorbals is the remodelled tenement, with mostly four storey blocks arranged around shared secured courtyards. In the early phases, the design brief, with families in mind, insisted on ground floor maisonettes with doors on to the street and private gardens opening on to the shared courtyard, with flats above them. Many of these maisonettes are three bedroomed, and there are also three and four bedroom townhouses, for social housing as well as for sale. These homes are spacious and well-designed for family living, with sizeable bedrooms, storage space and large kitchens. Significantly, many later blocks did not incorporate the maisonettes, and have more one and two bedroom flats. The upcoming Laurieston developments will be at higher densities and are planned to have fewer family-sized homes for sale.

The new mixed income populations

The introduction of the new market-rate housing considerably increased overall incomes, with a wide range of 'better-off' residents being attracted to each site. In the early years, the new homes in both areas were affordable to people on moderate incomes. In 2000, houses in Hulme could be bought for under £50,000. In the New Gorbals, initial house prices were subsidised by the Grant for Rent and Ownership (GRO grant) scheme, which offered developers a subsidy for the estimated difference between the cost of building the homes and a negotiated

maximum asking price. Existing residents were also given the opportunity to buy new private housing before it was put on the open market. Our survey of residents generally, not just families, found substantial overlap between the incomes of people in affordable and market-rate housing. In each case, the greatest number of owner occupiers that we interviewed had incomes in the £24-42,000 range (i.e. average to above average incomes, by national standards, but not exceptionally high) (Figures 2.2 and 2.3). They tended to be in lower managerial or professional or intermediate positions (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Highest occupation in household, with example occupations, Hulme and the New Gorbals

	Managerial and professional	Associate professionals, skilled manual, administrative	Personal service and routine occupations
Hulme	38%	43%	19%
	Priest, IT manager, pharmacist	Housing officer, car mechanic, recruitment consultant	Café waiter, checkout assistant, childminder
New Gorbals[7]	40%	53%	7%
	Chartered surveyor, senior government officer, teacher	Nurse, service engineer, train driver	Call centre operator, warehouseman, hairdresser

Source: Field survey. For further details of sample, content and methods please see Appendix B.

Close proximity to the cities' centres has also attracted people on higher incomes, especially in recent years. House prices have risen substantially: new larger houses in Hulme are now selling for £200,000. In both neighbourhoods we found more high earners among the recent movers – some in higher professional and managerial positions. In the New Gorbals, about 40 per cent of the owner occupiers we interviewed had household incomes over £42,000.

Figure 2.2: Income of Hulme residents, by tenure

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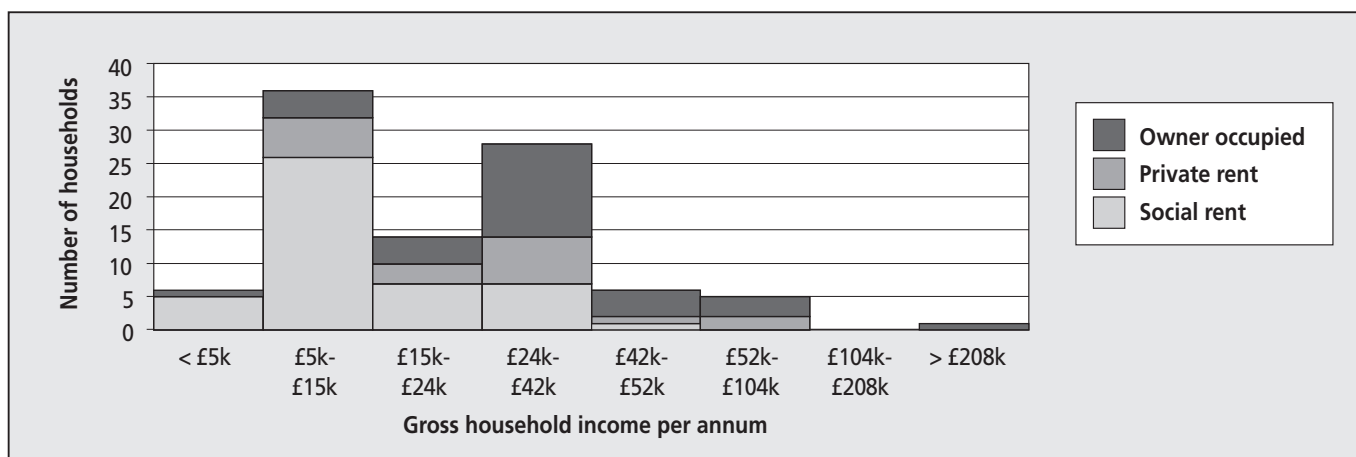
7   Private residents were oversampled in our survey in New Gorbals. The 2001 Census, using the same classifications but applied to all persons in employment, found: Managerial & Professional: 22 per cent; Associate Professionals, Administrative & Skilled Manual: 43 per cent; Personal Service and Routine Occupations: 35 per cent. Given the rising house prices and the preponderance of new build in the private sector, it is likely that there are now more residents in professional occupations, and fewer in intermediate and lower-status jobs than in 2001.

Figure 2.3: Income of New Gorbals residents, by tenure
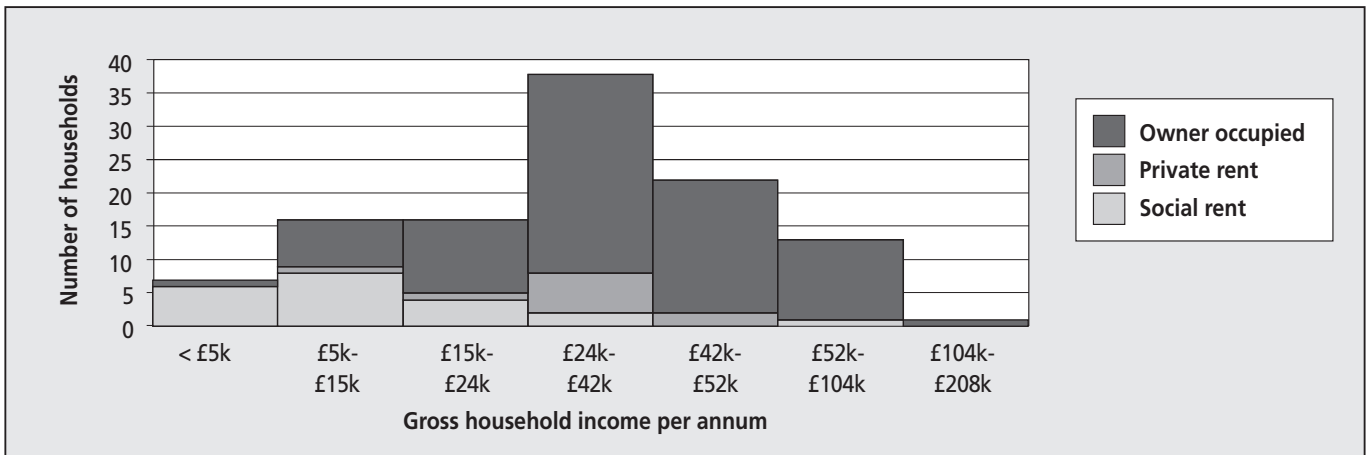
Source: Field survey.

While our focus is on the market-rate households, it is important to note changes in the social housing population. Existing tenants, with ties in the area, were offered first choice on the new RSL homes. In Gorbals over 90 per cent of new RSL homes in New Gorbals were allocated to tenants re-locating from other council-owned homes in Gorbals. Thus the composition of much of the social housing is similar to that of the pre-existing communities. However, the new homes are in high demand in both areas, meaning that there is low turnover, and in New Gorbals, a waiting list of thousands. Fewer homes are available for letting to people in very urgent housing need. The longer tenancies and continuity of residence has led to a certain level of stability.

Families with children

Better-off families *were* attracted to the market-rate housing in both of these redeveloped urban areas. In 2001, 15 per cent of households in market-rate housing in the New Gorbals, and 19 per cent at Hulme, had dependent children (Table 2.3). These figures are well below city averages for the proportion of owner occupier households that have children (27 per cent in Manchester and 28 per cent in Glasgow), and some way below the proportions of families in social housing in the neighbourhoods (24 per cent at Hulme and 25 per cent at New Gorbals) but they are not negligible.

Table 2.3: Children by tenure, Hulme and New Gorbals

	Hulme	New Gorbals
% households in private housing with children	19%	15%
% area's dwellings that are private housing	45%	60%
% area's children who are in private housing	31%	36%
% area's school-age children who are in private housing	24%	33%

Source: Census, 2001.

Families were a minority of the households living in the family-sized homes, because many of these had been purchased by households without children. By contrast, large homes in the social rented sector at both sites were almost always occupied by families. Social housing families also tended to be larger than market-rate families, meaning that a greater proportion of the children in the areas were from social housing than might be expected given the overall tenure mix. We found this to be particularly the case with older children. Nearly half the children under school age (under fives) lived in private housing, but fewer than 30 per cent of school age children did so (Figures 2.4 and 2.5).

Figure 2.4: Number of children by age and tenure, Hulme
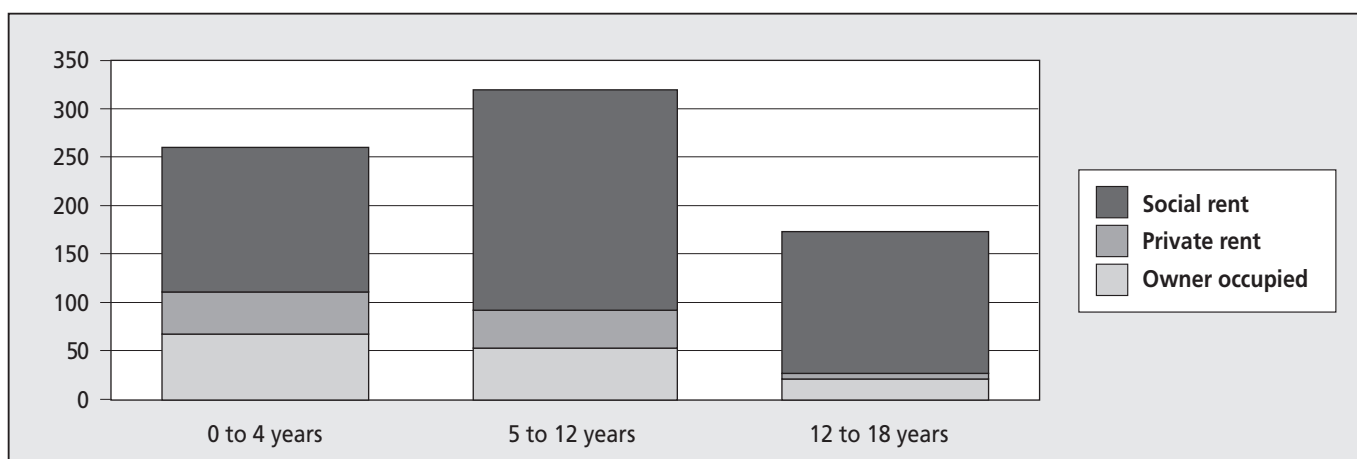
Source: Census, 2001.

Figure 2.5: Number of children by age and tenure, New Gorbals
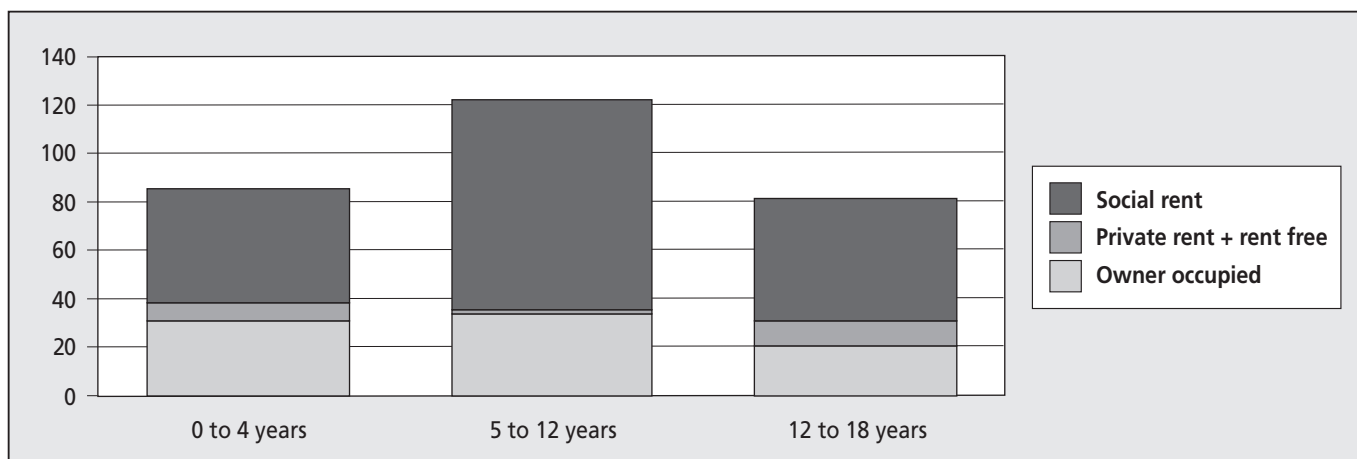
Source: Census, 2001.

Types of families in market-rate housing

Two types of families could be distinguished among the market-rate households: 'locals' and 'newcomers'.[8] Their characteristics are summarised in Table 2.4.

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8   These categories should not be taken as ones residents commonly employ about those living around them; they are simply our labels to denote groups of families with similar housing trajectories, social characteristics and attitudes.

Table 2.4: Typical characteristics of 'local' and 'newcomer' families

	Local	Newcomer
Previous tenure	Varied, often including social rented	Owner occupation or private rental
Had children when moving	Often	Rarely
Ethnicity	Reflects distribution at ward level	Reflects regional or national distributions, rather than local
Children's ages	All	Pre-school
Occupations	Lower professions, skilled manual, administrative, routine	Professions, administrative
Household composition	Varied, including couples and single parents	Typically couples
Length of time resident in area	Most at least two years, often more than five years	Less than five years, some less than two years

'Local families'

At Hulme and Gorbals, the majority of families in private homes were 'locals' – either long term residents, born in the area or with family settled nearby, not necessarily in the immediate case study neighbourhood but in the wider locality – other parts of Hulme or Moss Side in Manchester, or the wider Gorbals in Glasgow. None of these households were very poor: all had at least one adult working in them; at Hulme, both adults were working in all the couples we interviewed. Their occupations spanned the range of lower professional, technical and administrative professions. The men often worked in skilled trades and technical occupations (cf Harding, 1998, p37).

These local families had often moved into the new private homes early in the redevelopment and stayed. For them, the new communities had a number of advantages:

- Proximity to family and longtime friends, which could be invaluable when raising children. Among the 'locals', children's grandparents were the most commonly named source of childcare, but other relatives, friends and neighbours also helped. Given that one Hulme couple, for example, was spending nearly £12,000 per year on childcare for two children, the 'value' of this support is considerable;

- The opportunity to buy a family home locally: the redevelopments introduced types of family homes for sale that had been in scant supply when the areas were dominated by council flats. Indeed some of the local families had previously moved away, and then moved back. Initial prices were affordable;

- A sense of shared values or heritage: some of the families in Hulme cited the neighbourhood's ethnic diversity as a positive aspect of raising children there. Unlike in the suburbs, non-white children were inconspicuous in the neighbourhood, and schools and other facilities possibly better adjusted to meet the tastes and aspirations of minority ethnic families. In Gorbals, some Catholic families noted the strong Catholic identity of the area, including schools and churches, as a positive draw.

However, rising house prices may now have priced 'local' families out of the market. One study found that the percentage of local people buying at Crown Street had fallen from 30 per cent in 1996 to about 5 per cent in 2000 (McArthur, 2000:, p64); our field survey in Hulme in early 2005 found that only 10 per cent of current owners had previously lived in Hulme or Moss Side; a previous study found 8 per cent (Harding, 1998, p36).

This change is having a particular impact on families, given the high prices of the largest homes. While families buying early in the development have gained from rising property prices, the aspirations of similar families in social rented housing to move into owner occupation now seem unlikely to be fulfilled within the areas. Thus owner families moving out are unlikely to be replaced by other families. At Hulme, our research suggests a net outflow of families from the private housing since 2001. We estimate that there may be between 60 and 100 families now living in private housing in the area, compared to 126 at the 2001 Census.[9] Hulme seems to be fulfilling predictions of becoming a more 'transient and cosmopolitan' neighbourhood rather than a family area (SURF, 2002, p v). At both sites most of the children in private tenures live in a few streets built in the early phases.

'Newcomer families'
Fewer families in private homes at Hulme and New Gorbals were 'newcomers', a term we use to describe those who had moved in without existing social ties. Many 'newcomers' saw a different set of advantages in the areas, namely relatively low housing costs and the areas' proximity to the respective city centres, rather than their desirability as a place to raise children. Children in these households had usually been born after a couple had moved to the area, and were too young to be attending school. As with 'locals', these parents usually worked. Some newcomers had similar occupations and social characteristics to 'local' families, and had often moved from elsewhere within the city. Others came from further afield, and they sometimes worked in the higher professions.

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9   These estimates were derived from our sample survey, in which we sampled one in fifteen dwellings directly, and also asked all respondents to identify any neighbouring households that had children. The higher and lower figures given allow for sampling error. The direction of our estimates was confirmed by interview data from families, who most commonly described having seen more families move out than in, and by our survey, which found that newer arrivals were less likely to have children.

The success of the MINCs

Overall, both of these developments can be regarded as successful in terms of the improved housing, reductions in poverty and population stabilisation. They have created confidence for further adjacent inner city development at higher land values. The housing is popular and the stigma of the neighbourhoods has been reduced, though perhaps not entirely lost, according to our field survey. Most residents we interviewed liked living there, especially in the New Gorbals. Only 23 per cent were 'less than satisfied' at Hulme, and 19 per cent at New Gorbals. 24 per cent at Hulme were 'very satisfied', and 40 per cent at the New Gorbals.

Residents valued proximity to the city and, social tenants particularly, liked the friendly neighbours and sense of community (Table 2.5). Their concerns centred on crime and drugs, litter, vandalism and in Hulme's case, some shortcomings among the local shops and facilities. The regeneration of Hulme brought a new park but there is little other public open space. Shopping facilities consist of only a small rank of basic shops and a new 'convenience store', although there is a large supermarket nearby. The New Gorbals has a wider range of shops along the restored Crown Street, and a small supermarket. There are more brand-new facilities there than at Hulme, including a new park and playground, a new library with extensive computer facilities, and a new leisure complex with a swimming pool nearby. These facilities, together with the local health clinics, serve the wider Gorbals area, bringing benefits to existing council tenants as well as to the new mixed income population.

Table 2.5: Aspects of Hulme and the New Gorbals most commonly liked and disliked by residents

	Hulme	New Gorbals
Likes	Convenience for city centre Friendly neighbours and sense of community	Convenience for city centre Local amenities Friendly people
Dislikes	Crime Vandalism Lack of local shops and facilities	Addicts queuing for methadone Dog excrement and litter Young people 'hanging about'

Source: Field survey.

In terms of inclusiveness and sustainability, the picture is mixed. In our survey of residents (~100 in each neighbourhood, from both private and social rented homes, and not just families) we asked about views on the tenure mix, and whether residents had known about it before moving in. Knowledge of the tenure mix was much higher at New Gorbals, where nearly all residents knew about it in advance. At Hulme, in contrast, about half of all residents said they did not know about the tenure mix.

Among all the residents we interviewed in both tenures, a majority at both sites were either indifferent or positive about the mix (Table 2.6). Some felt that mix was inherently a good thing, and good for all residents:

The housing association flats and houses are well built and look like other flats – I feel it's something to be proud of; one of the reasons I moved here was that new mix of private and social housing (Owner, New Gorbals).

Others of both tenure saw tenure mix as good for social tenants, and supported that in principle, but some residents in the private homes had reservations about the behaviour of children, or what they thought might be the potential impact on crime and property prices of having social housing in the area.

At Hulme, over a quarter of respondents surveyed were critical of the mix. They often argued that the introduction of private housing at the expense of social housing had created a polarised, 'them and us' neighbourhood.

You have rich people in enclosures with car-parks, and young people on estates in poverty – it's going to cause problems and resentment (Owner, Hulme).

I thought that when they knocked down the social housing it would be rebuilt mixed so that tenants could buy, but professionals buying investments have outpriced people like us who lived here before (Housing Association tenant, Hulme).

Table 2.6: Residents' views of the social mix, Hulme and the New Gorbals

	Hulme	New Gorbals
% positive views of social mix	34%	43%
% negative views of social mix	26%	10%

Source: Field survey.

These views may possibly be linked to the level of integration of homes at the two sites. Housing in different tenures is more integrated in the New Gorbals, where internal courtyards are often shared between tenures, than at Hulme, where each block contains only private or social rented homes. However, this was not explicitly stated by any of the residents we spoke to.

The views and plans of market-rate families

We were particularly interested in the views of families in market-rate housing on the area and its suitability for raising children. We found a mixed response. At both sites, these families gave their neighbourhoods an average rating of 'fair' for raising children – 'newcomer' households rating the area less favourably as a place to bring up children than 'locals'.

Over half of all the market-rate families said it was very or fairly likely that they would be moving out in the next five years, and at Hulme, three-quarters even of the families with local ties were either moving away or thought it likelier than not that they would. These proportions are somewhat higher than might normally be expected.[10] A number of factors were important in shaping their views: the homes themselves, the schools, and children's play, safety and leisure.

Homes

For both 'locals' and 'newcomers', the availability of homes of the right size was critical. Many families foresaw the need for a larger home as their children grew older and new siblings were born. Seeking a larger home is the main reason why families move home, according to national surveys,[11] so this is no surprise, but the key issue is that the homes that these families sought were not available to them within the neighbourhood. This was a particularly common problem in Hulme, where most private houses are less spacious and have fewer bedrooms than in the New Gorbals. The third bedrooms in these houses are so small – often less than 2 metres square – that many thought them unsuitable even for a younger teenager. The newer four bedroomed houses sell at considerably higher prices. Two of the twenty market-rate families we spoke to at Hulme were tolerating a substantial degree of crowding to stay in the area; five families were either leaving the area or planned to do so in search of a larger house they could afford. These families were often reluctant to leave:

> *… you do get attached to an area, and we do like the area, we just don't like the properties* (Owner, Hulme).

By contrast, homes in the New Gorbals were typically built at 15 per cent above prevailing space standards, and families there were usually very satisfied with the size and design of their homes.

Schools

Schools were important to all the families. Both areas had three local primaries, which were well regarded. 'Local' families used them. Parents had sometimes themselves attended these schools. They liked them for the caring environment, the approachability of staff and their willingness to discuss problems that arose, as

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10 The estimates of families moving in our case study sites are based on very small samples and cannot be accurately compared with national survey data. We asked whether they intended to move from their neighbourhood, whereas the English House Condition Survey (EHCS) asks if people intend to move from their property. The EHCS 2001 found that 30 per cent of households think it very or fairly likely that they will move house in the next five years, rising to 37 per cent among private sector families with children in urban areas, and 44 per cent of those with a child under 11. By this token, intentions to move appear to be common amongst our families, but differences could well be accounted for by sampling error. The key point is that families do tend to be more likely to move than other households.

11 49 per cent of families nationally who currently wanted or needed to move gave the need for a larger home as a reason. This was the most common reason given (EHCS, 2001).

well as for the results achieved. At Hulme, one of the primaries had attainment slightly above the city average in 2004, the others just below. School performance tables are not produced in Scotland.

> *The headteacher makes an effort to know all the children's names and recognise the parents. My five year old son gets homework including reading and maths, and the school's good with the kids, building their confidence* (Local owner occupier, Hulme).

> *I like that I can go in at any time. They get the parents involved. There is a nice feel to it* (Owner, New Gorbals).

'Newcomer' families, by contrast, whose children were younger, often would not countenance sending their children to those same schools in the future, and some planned to move away for this reason. Childless couples we surveyed also often mentioned the schools when explaining why they would prefer to raise children elsewhere. As well as believing they would find a higher attaining primary school in a more suburban area, they did not want their offspring to mix with children from the social backgrounds of the majority in the area. They saw differences between the home environment of their own children and those of others – at New Gorbals interviewees spoke of 'druggie' parents. At Hulme, where a high proportion of school pupils come from minority ethnic backgrounds, they also spoke of ethnic differences.

Secondary schools were a major concern, and a reason for planning to leave, for both 'local' and 'newcomer' families. New Gorbals had no local secondary school. Nearly every parent we interviewed said that this was a major problem, and more than sufficient reason for families with older children to leave. Parents complained that following the closure of the neighbourhood secondary school, the available schools were too large, too far away and too expensive to reach. Low attainment was another major concern.

Hulme has two local secondaries: a successful Anglican school that operates strict faith-based entry criteria, and a new Academy that has recently replaced a failing school and is run by a Christian Foundation, although it does not select pupils by faith. Some parents were frustrated that they have no completely secular local option, but a bigger concern among our interviewees was whether the quality of the Academy was significantly better than that of the school it had replaced. Admissions data and our interview with a local primary head suggest that confidence in the Academy within the area may be growing.

Children's play, leisure and safety

Finally, perceptions of safety and the suitability of potential playmates were clear influences on families' intentions. In streets and blocks with many children, the car-parks and courtyards provided a safe space for casually supervised play. Whether this was cross-tenure depended largely on the integration of the homes: at Hulme, the children in one courtyard will all either be in social or in private housing, but at

New Gorbals, most courtyards are shared between tenures, facilitating social mix among children across tenures. Most of the local families in private homes reported that their children had friends from the social housing homes, while newcomers reported less socialising across tenures.

Like the other residents we interviewed, the majority of families at both sites were either supportive of, or unconcerned by, the tenure mix. A minority of owner families, however, saw the presence of social housing as a strongly negative aspect. 'Newcomers', especially, associated it with crime and vandalism, the latter often by young people 'hanging around'. The social mix also bore on their view of the school and their children playing with others nearby:

> *I see kids swearing at each other, that's not the environment I want for my kids; it stems from their parents* (Owner occupier, New Gorbals).

At New Gorbals, the noticeable presence of drug addicts waiting to receive methadone treatment at pharmacies disquieted families who were concerned about their children being exposed to such sights.

Families' concerns about safety and influences became more acute as their children approached their teenage years and began to encounter the neighbourhood more independently. In both places, a lack of suitable organised facilities was criticised as contributing to problems with young people hanging out on the streets.

Summary

- Regeneration at Hulme and New Gorbals has improved the housing and physical environment. It has created more stable and better-off communities, because of changes in the social housing and the addition of market-rate homes. On the whole, these are neighbourhoods where people are happy to live, slightly more so at New Gorbals than at Hulme.

- The regeneration programmes have also created higher land values and confidence for further developments at higher densities in the inner city. These new developments are planned to have fewer family-sized homes for sale.

- Significant numbers of family-sized homes (3 bedrooms or more) were built at both Hulme and New Gorbals: half of the homes at each site. At New Gorbals, these homes were designed with families in mind. At Hulme many have small third bedrooms that make them less suitable for older children and larger families.

- There are families in the market-rate homes, although they are the minority of households in the family-sized homes, and represent a smaller proportion of private sector households than is the case in their respective cities or nationwide.

- Homes in these areas were initially affordable to local people with incomes not much higher than those of social housing tenants, and the majority of families are 'locals', who bought early in the development when prices were lower, and already had children when they moved in. House prices have subsequently risen, leading to reduced affordability for those on lower incomes and a bigger income gap, although it is possible that prices have risen less than they would have done in an entirely private development. Some families are 'newcomers', with higher incomes, who arrived later, and had children after they moved. Their children are younger.

- 'Locals' are more positive than 'newcomers' about the area as a place to raise children. They have supportive social networks, and feel well-served by local primary schools.

- There is some evidence that families are mix-ing across tenures at both New Gorbals and Hulme. Mix-ing happens between children in schools, and in the shared courtyards, where these are mixed-tenure. It is more characteristic of 'local' families than 'newcomers'.

- About half of all the market-rate families, including 'locals' intend to move from the neighbourhood in the next five years. 'Local' movers want bigger homes that they can afford, and are concerned about secondary schools. 'Newcomers' also worry about primary schools, negative influences on their children, and safety.

- Given the rising price of homes, 'local' families moving out are likely to be replaced by 'newcomer' childless households. We predict that the current trends of declining numbers of families in the private sector will continue in the immediate future, especially as the adjacent new developments cater less to this market.

Chapter Three

New MINCs: Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village

Our two case studies in London are new 'urban villages' built on sites with few or no existing residents. Compared to the MINCs in existing low income neighbourhoods, these developments are more recent and more isolated from other residential areas. As in Chapter Two, this chapter tells their story, focusing particularly on the motivations of market-rate families living in these areas.

The areas

Both Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village are in East London, facing each other across the Thames. Greenwich Millennium Village is on the Greenwich Peninsula, 10 minutes walk from the Millennium Dome and the new North Greenwich tube station; Britannia Village is on the north side of the river, abutting the Royal Victoria Dock, opposite the Excel exhibition centre. Though both neighbourhoods are ten minutes walk from public transport, neither is as well connected to the city centre (West End) as Hulme or Gorbals are in their respective cities. In fact, though both are within sight of Canary Wharf's skyscrapers, their locations and physical distance from other residential development give them something of a peaceful and 'out-of-town' feel. Both are within what Londoners regard as easy commuting distance (30-45 minutes) to the financial districts of Docklands and the City.

Both communities were built on sites left vacant by industrial decline. Development of Britannia Village began in 1993, directed by the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC). At the time, the site was mostly derelict. There remained only a small, dwindling council estate known as West Silvertown, with about 200 residents, and a handful of shops, a closed community centre and a closed and burnt-out school. This estate was demolished, and, following a design competition, Wimpey Homes was selected to redevelop the site.

The Greenwich site, formerly Europe's largest gas works, was decontaminated and remediated by English Partnerships (EP) at a cost of over £200 million as part of the high-profile Millennium preparations. The Village was one of EP's flagship Millennium Communities, which aimed to maximise design and construction quality and quality of life, while minimising resource consumption and protecting local environmental capital. The competition to develop it was won by a consortium of Countryside Properties and Taylor Woodrow, who set up Greenwich Millennium Village Limited as a joint venture company to oversee the site's development and long-term management.

Britannia Village's first new residents arrived in 1997, and to date 1,200 new homes have been built there. The first new residents at Greenwich Millennium Village arrived in late 2000, and 600 homes were complete by the time of the field survey in autumn 2004.

Britannia Village
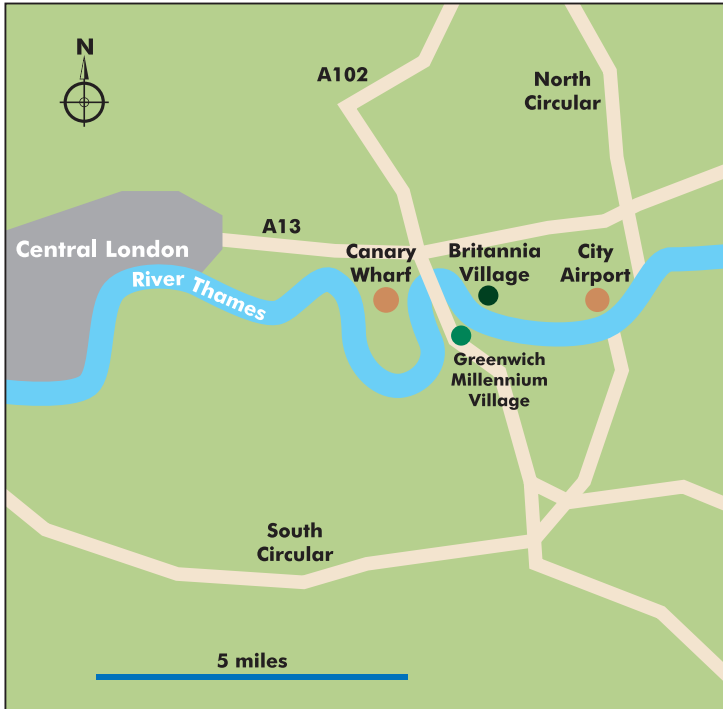
Location London, England
Local Authority Newham
Distance to city centre 7km

KEY FACTS

Development
Date first occupied *1997*
Lead Agency *London Dockland Development Corporation*
Developer *Wimpey Homes*
RSLs *Peabody, East Thames*

Housing
Homes built to end 2004 *1,200*
Homes on completion *1,400*
Density *110 homes/hectare*

Tenure
Market rate *70%*
Social rented *30%*
Shared ownership *<1%*

Housing Market in 2005
2-bed apartment *£210,000+*
3-bed apartment *£250,000+*

Future developments
Silvertown Quays *5,000 new homes, 30% affordable housing*

Approach to bridge

Britannia Village

Royal Victoria Dock

to Custom House Station

Footbridge

shops

Wesley Avenue

Village Hall

Village Green

school

North Woolwich Road

Legend:
- New market-rate housing
- New affordable housing
- Existing mixed-tenure housing
- Non-residential buildings
- Public open space
- Major road
- Street
- Pedestrian route

Note: map indicates the general pattern of tenure, not tenure of individual households

500m

Village green and social housing

Border between social and private housing

Playground

Shared ownership and private homes

Greenwich Millennium Village

Location map

- N
- A102
- North Circular
- A13
- Central London
- River Thames
- Canary Wharf
- Britannia Village
- City Airport
- Greenwich Millennium Village
- South Circular
- 5 miles

Location	London, England
Local Authority	Greenwich
Distance to city centre	8km

KEY FACTS

Development

Date first occupied	*Dec 2000*
Lead Agency	*English Partnerships*
Developer	*Countryside and Taylor Woodrow as GMV Ltd*
RSLs	*MOAT, Ujima*

Housing

Homes built to end 2004	*700*
Homes on completion	*2,956*
Density	*134 homes/hectare*

Tenure

Market rate at end 2004	*88%*
Social rented	*8%*
Shared ownership	*4%*
Affordable target	*20%*

Housing Market in 2005

2-bed apartment	*£255,000+*
3-bed apartment	*£295,000+*

Future developments

Greenwich Peninsula	*10,000 homes, 38% affordable housing*

Courtyard

Greenwich Millennium Village

River Thames

to North Greenwich station

John Harrison Way

West Parkside

Ecology Park

Southern Park

school

health centre

to shops

approved for future development

Legend:
- New market-rate housing
- New affordable housing
- New mixed-tenure housing
- Non-residential buildings
- Public open space
- Wetland nature reserve
- Shared private open space
- Major road
- Street
- Pedestrian route

Note: map indicates the general pattern of tenure, not tenure of individual households

500m

Homes

Lower density homes

Ecology park

School

The new homes

Both developments were based on an 'urban village' concept, explicitly aiming to increase social inclusion and participation, with tenure mix seen as a key mechanism for these aims. However, the proportions of affordable housing they include are lower than at Hulme and Gorbals, and lower than the target for new developments in London currently. Britannia Village has approximately 30 per cent affordable housing, and these are concentrated at three main locations in the neighbourhood. At the end of 2004, Greenwich Millennium Village had only 12 per cent affordable housing, of which one-quarter were shared ownership. The final proportion is scheduled to rise to about 25 per cent, and to be integrated indistinguishably from the private homes. Both sites provided lower density houses for the lower-income families in social housing, and these were considered to be well designed and suitable for family needs. Table 3.1 summarises the housing at each site.

Table 3.1: Housing at Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village (as at end 2004)

	Britannia Village	Greenwich Millennium Village
Number of homes	1,200	600
% affordable	30%	12%
Density[a]	110 dwellings/ha	134 dwellings/ha

a   Densities are given as homes/hectare, and calculated including private gardens and shared open space, but excluding the central park at Greenwich Millennium Village.

The majority of units built for market sale at these sites are flats rather than houses. At Britannia Village, about 85 per cent are flats in medium and high-rise blocks strung along the dockside, with around 150 small two storey houses with gardens dotted through the site. Greenwich Millennium Village has only 14 private houses: two storey live-work units. The remaining private homes are all flats or maisonettes with balconies or terraces or private gardens, most arranged around shared landscaped courtyards. At both sites, 80 per cent or more of the homes have one or two bedrooms only (Figure 3.1). Few are family-sized homes. Following consultation with residents, more family-sized homes are planned for later phases.

Major new MINC developments are planned next to both sites: 5,000 flats, of which 30 per cent will be affordable, at Silvertown Quays adjacent to Britannia Village; 10,000 homes, mostly flats, of which 40 per cent will be affordable on the Greenwich Peninsula. Notably both are planned to have lower proportions of family-sized homes than are currently in Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village.

Figure 3.1: Size of new market-rate homes, Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village
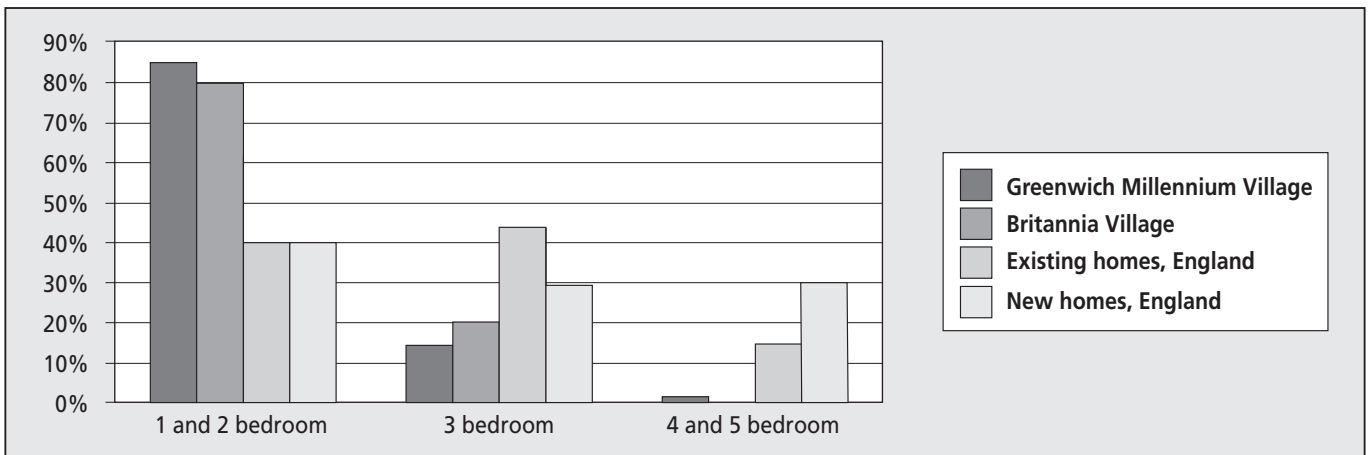
Sources:
Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village data from local field work, 2004/ 2005.
Existing stock from English House Condition Survey 2001.
New build from ODPM housebuilding statistics Table 251, 2003/4.

The new mixed income populations

Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village have more polarised populations than the two MINCs in existing low income areas, with a pronounced income gap between social renters and market-rate households. The majority of market-rate households in our field survey had incomes over £52,000, well above the national average (Figures 3.2 and 3.3). A high proportion was in higher managerial and professional positions, often in the financial sector (Table 3.2). The high salaries and occupational profiles of the residents we surveyed reflect London's more middle-class population, the particular locations of these communities near to the City of London, and the relatively high prices of the properties. In both areas, market-rate populations are predominantly white, with many more ethnic minorities in the affordable sector. Nearly 30 per cent of all market-rate households own another home. Significant proportions of the white market-rate households (about a quarter in our survey) are from outside the UK.

Figure 3.2: Income of Britannia Village residents, by tenure
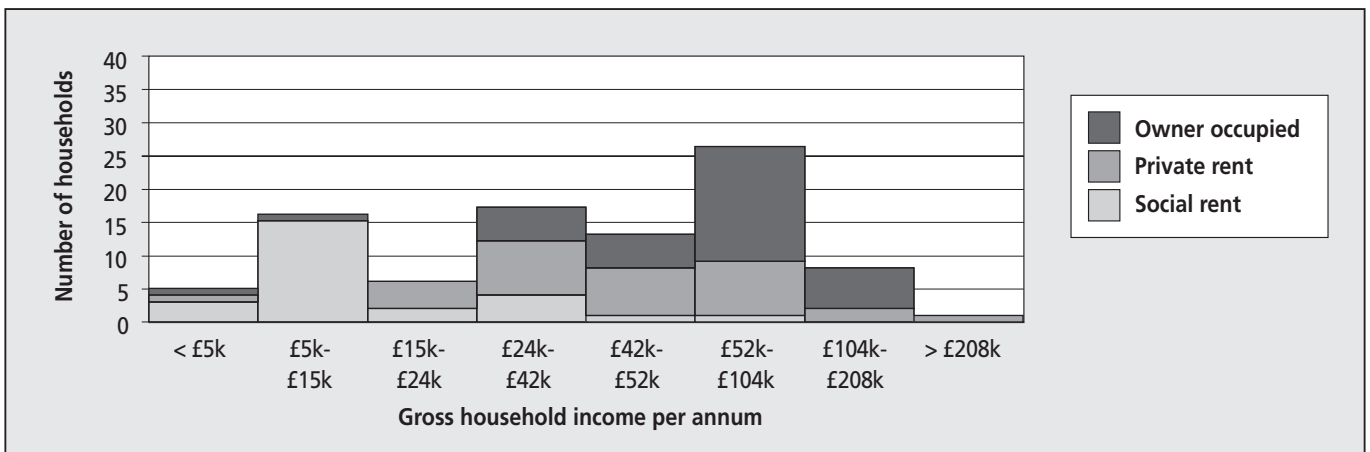
Figure 3.3: Income of Greenwich Millennium Village residents, by tenure
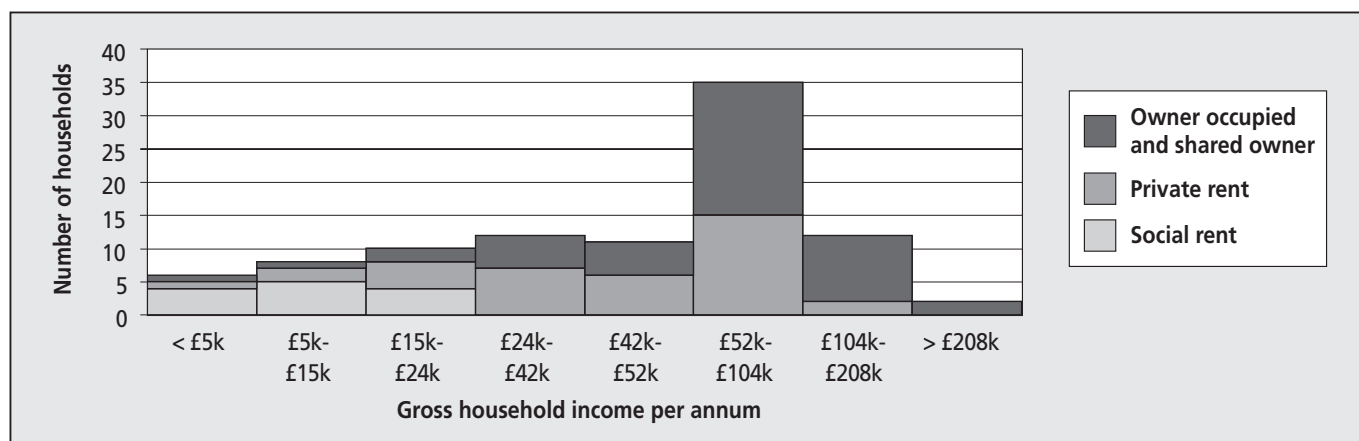
Source: Field survey.

Table 3.2: Highest occupation in household, with example occupations, Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village

	Managerial and professional	Associate professionals, skilled manual, administrative	Personal service & routine occupations
Britannia Village	63%	25%	12%
	Chartered accountant, data manager, underwriter	PA, painter and decorator, network engineer	Catalogue salesperson, barman
Greenwich Millennium Village	55%	35%	10%
	Auditor, architect, software engineer	Printer, freelance photographer, office administrator	Chambermaid, truck driver, childminder

Source: Field survey.

Britannia Village's community is perhaps less stable than Greenwich Millennium Village's. Many of the homes were bought to let, and over 40 per cent of the market-rate homes (including the houses) are privately rented – with many of these occupied by professional sharers with at least two full-time incomes. Social tenants at Britannia Village are not necessarily rooted in the area either. Although residents in the demolished tower blocks were offered the right to return to the new development, very few younger residents chose to do so. Original plans for the site envisaged a 'housing ladder' but no special mechanisms were put in place to assist tenants or other locals to purchase the new homes.

At Greenwich Millennium Village, the developers chose not to offer discounts on multiple purchases to investors, and only a quarter of the private housing stock is rented. Allocation of social housing was carefully co-ordinated between the RSL and the London Borough of Greenwich. Priority was given to council tenants with children who would be transferring to the new school on the site, along with several other groups. Prospective tenants received detailed explanations about the

new development, were not penalised if they rejected the offer, and were visited within a month of moving in. At Britannia Village, the London Borough of Newham used no special considerations in allocating social housing.

Families with children

Despite the lack of larger homes, there *were* families in the market-rate housing at these sites – about 12 per cent of private households (Table 3.3). This was higher than the estimates of many of those who had worked on the developments, although lower than city and borough averages: 25 per cent of owner households in London as a whole, 29 per cent in Greenwich, and 36 per cent in Newham have dependent children. The proportions were also lower than at Hulme and New Gorbals.

Table 3.3: Children by tenure, Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village

	Britannia Village	Greenwich Millennium Village	For comparison	
			Hulme	New Gorbals
% of households in private housing with children	12%	12%	19%	15%
% of area's dwellings that are private housing	70%	88%	45%	60%
% of area's children who are in private housing	<15%	50%	31%	36%
% of area's school-age children who are in private housing	<10%	around 45%	24%	33%

Sources: Britannia Village: Census 2001; Greenwich Millennium Village: best estimates using multiple sources; see Appendix.

Given the types of homes provided, the vast majority of the market-rate families lived in flats or maisonettes. Families at these sites were happy to live in flats, some coming from countries where flat-dwelling is more common. Many of them, however, were young families in two-bedroom flats: they were not yet generating a demand for large homes. Most of them had moved in before they had children.

In both sites, there were more family-size homes in the social rented sector than the market sector, and almost all of these had children living in them. There tended to be more and older children in the families in social housing (Figures 3.4 and 3.5). Thus at Britannia Village, market-rate children made up only 15 per cent of the area's children, and less than 10 per cent of those of school age. At Greenwich Millennium Village, where private tenures made up 88 per cent of the homes, children in private housing accounted for about half the area's total, including at primary school age.

Figure 3.4: Number of children by age and tenure, Britannia Village
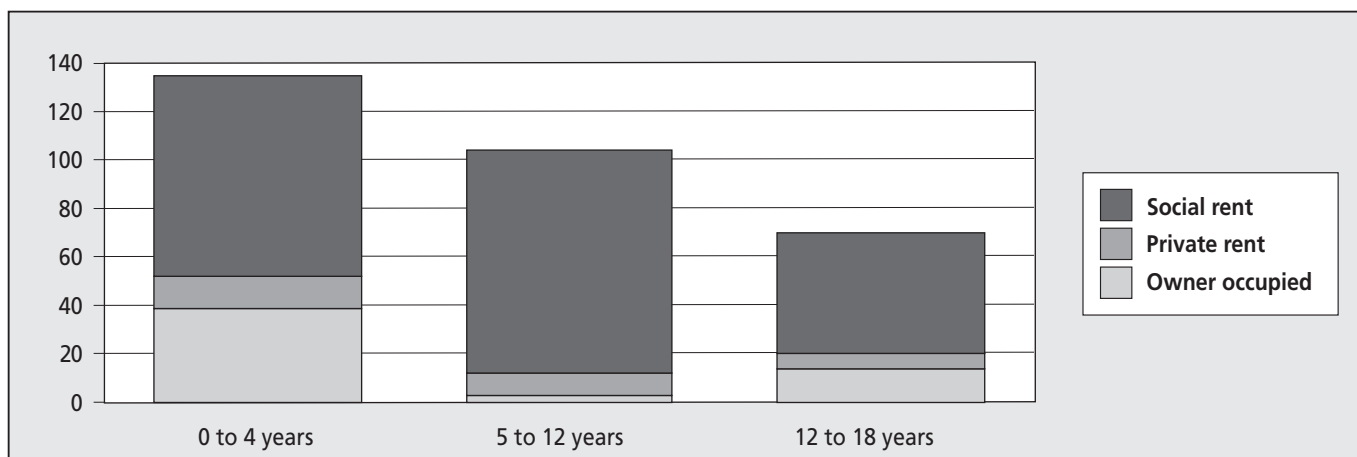
Source: Census, 2001.

Figure 3.5: Number of children by age and tenure, Greenwich Millennium Village
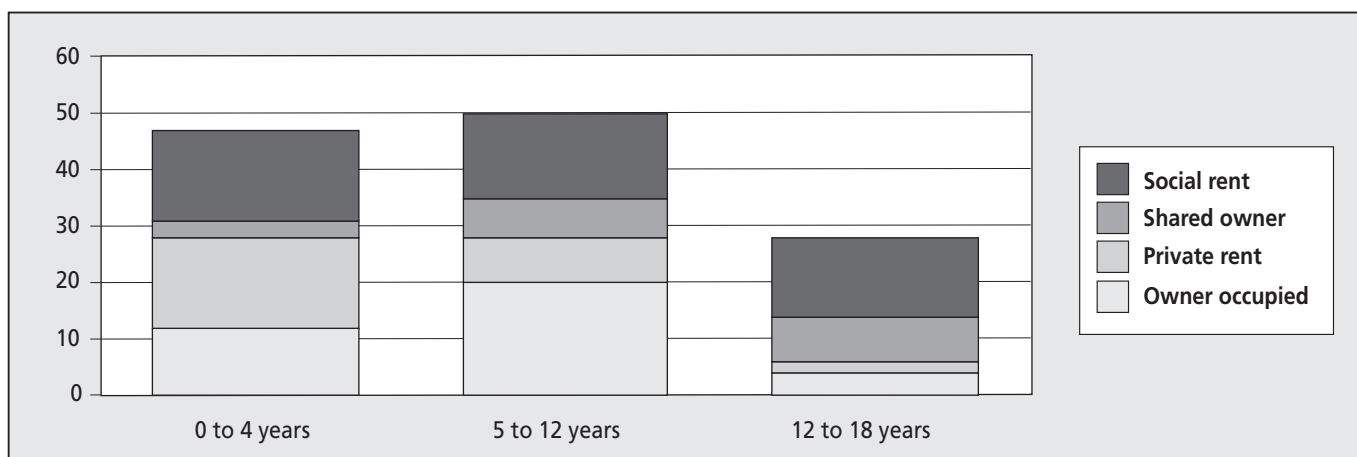
Source: Best estimates using multiple sources; see Methods Appendix.

Types of families in market-rate housing

In contrast to Hulme and New Gorbals, we found very few 'local' market-rate families at these sites, and none in the new homes at these sites. All of the market-rate households in the new build were 'newcomers'.

A majority of them had selected the neighbourhoods for quite utilitarian reasons, most commonly closeness and ease of access to work and price or investment – not just affordability but the prospect of making a good profit when selling a few years later. These newcomers might be described as buying for 'convenience'. This was usually convenience for a childless working couple, as families rarely had children when they moved in. There were more of these 'convenience' families at Britannia Village, which had more private tenants and first-time buyers among the market-rate families. At Britannia Village, half the families thought cities could never be a good place to raise children, preferring a more suburban or rural setting. They saw themselves as temporarily resident in the city.

However, Greenwich Millennium Village in particular also attracted families for whom convenience was not the only criterion, and who had the resources to exercise choice in the London housing market. A greater proportion of market-rate families owned their homes at Greenwich Millennium Village. Some had been attracted by the development's special qualities, including:

- the architecture, which was named by nearly a third of families at Greenwich Millennium Village as a reason for moving in;

- the mixed community, and particularly the tenure mix:
  … we were attracted here as an ideal world, a model community, there shouldn't be differences in areas, everybody should be able to live in the same kind of house regardless of their income and their means to pay for it – I still think that (Shared owner, Greenwich Millennium Village);

- the environmentally sensitive features, including the area's Ecology Park which is staffed and offers educational activities. The outdoor space generally was the commonest reason that families in private housing chose Greenwich Millennium Village; and

- an 'urban' lifestyle – the families in private housing at Greenwich Millennium Village almost all thought that cities could be good places to raise children, as well as being the kind of place they liked themselves:
  … the suburbs isn't my style, I'm from the suburbs, I was brought up in Surrey … we used to live in the West End, I would rather go back into the centre, if anything, but I don't think that's the place for child raising, we were just off Soho, one bed flat, couldn't afford a two bed. We didn't look at any other Docklands developments, would never have considered Greenwich either. It was my partner, he read about this in the architectural schemes. We didn't yet have the baby when we purchased (Owner, Greenwich Millennium Village).

These tastes and aspirations indicate some demand for family housing in suitably designed urban developments and a level of attachment to them. We return shortly to whether or not these families planned to stay.

The success of the MINCs

The material presented so far suggests that these sites, Britannia Village particularly, have a more transient and typically childless population in the private sector, and a much larger proportion of families in the social housing sector. It is difficult to assess the success of these MINCs given that they are relatively new. Even so, our field survey evidence points to some substantial differences between them.

At both sites, we found many residents satisfied with the neighbourhood. Residents valued the quiet (both neighbourhoods are largely pedestrianised and

traffic-calmed) and the waterside locations (Table 3.4). However, we found more 'dissatisfied' residents at Britannia Village than at any other case study site (26 per cent were 'less than satisfied', and 26 per cent 'very satisfied').

By contrast, there were more residents (including families and other households) at Greenwich Millennium Village who said they were 'very satisfied' (50 per cent) than anywhere else, again because of the quiet, water and open space and, among parents, the school. Only 11 per cent were 'less than satisfied' at this site and common neighbourhood complaints such as litter, vandalism and graffiti were almost completely absent. At Greenwich Millennium Village people were unhappy with the very limited on-site retail facilities – only one small kiosk selling cigarettes, magazines and confectionery – although there is a retail park with a large supermarket, cinema and restaurants ten minutes walk away.

Table 3.4: Aspects of Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village most commonly liked and disliked by residents

	Britannia Village	**Greenwich Millennium Village**
Likes	Quiet Close to water	Quiet Close to river Open spaces Primary school
Dislikes	Vandalism Anti-social behaviour	Lack of shops and leisure facilities

Source: Field survey.

At Britannia Village, blocks and streets usually comprise a single tenure only, and most of the social rented family homes are separated from the private housing by the Village Green or a road. The green itself is minimally landscaped and lacks furniture. As it does not offer routes to transport or services, private residents' paths rarely cross it.

At Greenwich Millennium Village, though there is less social housing overall, it is more integrated with the private housing in the lower-rise, lower-value parts of the site. Our field work suggests that the internal courtyards, as well as the public open space and the cross-tenure residents' associations, are sites of informal mix-ing at Greenwich Millennium Village. Though these relations may be limited in intensity and significance, and may be a source of tension and conflict as well as sociability and goodwill, they are commoner than at Britannia Village, where greater social separation appears to accompany the greater physical segregation of tenures.

Views on the social mix also varied between the two (Table 3.5). Many, especially among the private residents, were simply indifferent to the social mix, feeling that it had little bearing on their daily lives. Others in both tenures were supportive of

the social mix, particularly at Greenwich Millennium Village, where nearly half of those surveyed expressed positive views. Housing association tenants often said that the mix made the areas safer and more orderly than single-tenure estates.

Table 3.5: Residents' views of the social mix at Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village

	Britannia Village	Greenwich Millennium Village
% positive views of social mix	30%	47%
% negative view of social mix	32%	14%

Source: Field survey.

However, other residents expressed negative views of the mix. These were in a minority at Greenwich Millennium Village, but at Britannia Village these slightly outnumbered those with positive opinions. Tenants sometimes felt that the interests of owners were remote from their own. Some owners at Britannia Village attributed problems with young people 'hanging about', vandalism and untidy exteriors to the presence of social housing.

> *I hear a lot of abusive language and the kids run wild. There seems to be no care of the property in the social housing* (Owner, Britannia Village).

The views and plans of market-rate families

Of the two new MINCs, Greenwich Millennium Village has so far been much more successful than Britannia Village in creating an environment where families want to stay and raise their children. Britannia Village received a 'fair' rating from families we interviewed, but three-quarters of those in private housing said they were either moving away or were likely to do so in the coming years, compared with about half at Greenwich Millennium Village. As at Hulme and New Gorbals, these proportions were rather higher than might be expected, if we are guided by national data.

Greenwich Millennium Village was rated much more highly by residents as place to raise children than all the other case studies; over 75 per cent in every tenure gave it the highest mark on our scale, compared to 28 per cent at Britannia Village.

> *I think it's perfect for children, it's like a little oasis in the middle of London* (Owner, Greenwich Millennium Village).

Like the 'local' families at Hulme and New Gorbals, families at Greenwich Millennium Village were very much predisposed to staying in this neighbourhood. Their more favourable views of schools and of parks and open spaces marked them out from those at Britannia Village.

Schools

Both areas had a new primary school. At Britannia Village, the pupils were drawn initially from a closed failing school, and the school currently lies at the bottom of Newham's 2004 Key Stage 2 league tables, with the next nearest primary occupying the place above it. Education was much the commonest reason families gave for planning to leave. Only 15 of the school's pupils come from the new private housing, and these were mostly in the nursery. Parents in private housing planned to move to a wide range of places in London, elsewhere in the UK, and abroad to get a better school.

> *I have no concerns academically – but some behaviourally. He is copycatting some bad behaviour* (Owner, Britannia Village).

> *I would like to see more first-time buyers with small children move in – I will stay so long as [my son] is happy at the school, but if his friends leave then I will too – really just having two friends in the class is enough … same ideas and views about bringing up children, and can help out with taking the kids to school in a pinch* (Owner, Britannia Village).

> *There are so many non-English speaking children here and all the school resources go to those children with behavioural problems* (Private renter, Britannia Village).

Greenwich Millennium Village's school, by contrast, was a successful primary which had moved from a dilapidated building elsewhere in the borough. Without exception, parents in all tenures at Greenwich Millennium Village were very pleased with it. They felt that the staff were accessible and imaginative, that parents were involved in the school, and that it achieved excellent results; its results are among the top 20 per cent in the borough. The headteacher reported that several of the 'newcomer' parents in market rate homes had already joined the parent-teacher association and were volunteering at the school. For families in all tenures, it was a reason they had moved, liked the area and planned to stay:

> *The school is fabulous. It always seems so happy … it has a good reputation, the staff are terrific, I like the inclusionary policies, and of course the brand-new facilities* (Shared owner, Greenwich Millennium Village).

Given that there are very few families in private housing with older children at either site, it is hard to judge how views will change as children approach secondary school age. The nearest state schools do not achieve high results, and at Greenwich Millennium Village, the social housing families with children at the closest secondary school expressed reservations about it. There are private options available, and given the high incomes of some families, some may take them. Another possibility is that families will move elsewhere when their children reach that age.

Parks and open space

The small Village Green is the only purpose-built green space at Britannia Village and parents reported that they prefer to use large parks outside the neighbourhood, particularly the newly developed Thames Barrier Park. By contrast, the quality of the parks and open spaces at Greenwich Millennium Village, especially the Ecology Park, made a substantial and clear contribution to the positive views of families in the market-rate housing, and was used by children of all tenures. This large restored wetlands park had two full-time staff, (funded by a non-profit trust for urban ecology), and actively engaged residents in educational activities and volunteering.

The shared courtyards at Greenwich Millennium Village worked for families with small children in most cases, though they did not have play equipment. Some smaller courtyards worked less well, particularly those with high proportions of family-sized social housing homes. Families of all tenures in these smaller courtyards reported problems of noise, pilfering and minor vandalism, and tensions with other residents, with most attributing this to '*… too many children*':

Child: *She don't let me use it (the courtyard)...*

Mother: *Because this courtyard has too many children, I don't want trouble from the other children or parents* (Social tenant, Greenwich Millennium Village).

Despite these generally very positive views of the neighbourhood, around half of the families in market-rate housing at Greenwich Millennium Village said they thought it likelier than not they would be leaving in the next five years – as at Hulme and New Gorbals, somewhat higher than we might expect. The availability of appropriate housing was one reason; there are few three bedroom and very few four bedroom homes, nearly all of them expensive luxury units. Changing employment and, for non-UK nationals, the desire to return to the home country were also common reasons for moving away that were not related to the neighbourhood.

Summary

- The large mixed-tenure developments at Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village have turned derelict sites into new residential neighbourhoods where people are generally happy to live, more so at Greenwich Millennium Village. The programmes have created confidence for further very large-scale development in the area, with higher land values and higher densities, but with fewer family homes.

- Both sites have a majority of private housing. Private housing residents often have high incomes and work in management and the professions in London.

- There are few family-sized homes in the private sector compared to the MINCs we looked at in existing low income areas outside London, and there are fewer families living in them. These families are 'newcomers'. They often moved in for reasons of 'convenience', such as proximity to work, and often did not have children when they made that decision. At the time of the study their children were still young. Some were averse to raising children in the city.

- At Greenwich Millennium Village, in particular, there are also families who have been attracted by the development's distinctive features, such as the open space, the architecture, and the idea of living in an 'urban' and 'mixed' community.

- Greenwich Millennium Village has been more successful than Britannia Village in persuading private families that it is a good place to raise children; the difference in the primary schools and in the open space provision are key to understanding the disparity between the sites. New primary schools were built in both areas in time for the new residents, but only the school at Greenwich Millennium Village attracted pupils from the private sector homes.

- There is some evidence that families were mix-ing across tenures, particularly at the Ecology Park and within the courtyards at Greenwich Millennium Village. Some families in private sector homes were volunteering within the schools, residents' associations and other community groups at both sites.

- Many families in private housing think it likely they will move out in the next five years, mainly to get a larger home or for personal reasons. Secondary schools were not raised as a major issue because of the age of the children, but may turn out to be relevant in the future.

- At Britannia Village the number of families in private housing is likely to continue to fall, and there is little immediate prospect of it becoming an attractive neighbourhood for households with school-age children. At Greenwich Millennium Village, it seems likely that families that move out may be replaced by other families, and so overall numbers may remain stable or even rise somewhat in the near future. It is not yet possible to tell whether families will be retained when their children reach secondary school age. Moreover, these sites are relatively recent and Greenwich Millennium Village is still under construction. The mix of home types in future phases will be critical in determining the types of households that move in, and the opportunities for families to stay locally as they begin to require larger homes with more space.

Chapter Four

The supply of family homes in MINCs

The case studies presented in Chapters Two and Three demonstrate the critical importance for MINCs of the supply of suitable family-sized homes. Despite the fact that building market-rate family homes had been an important element in the master plans for all four of these areas, the fact that such homes were not supplied – or became too expensive – was in all cases a barrier for market-rate families who wanted to stay in the neighbourhood, or for new families who wished to enter it. In all cases, at least half of the market-rate families thought that they would be leaving the neighbourhoods in the next five years: some for personal reasons or because there were aspects of the neighbourhood they were unhappy with, but many in search of larger homes at prices they could afford. Larger homes are a principal reason why families move, generally, and if they are not provided within the MINCs, families are not likely to stay.

In this chapter, we review why suitable, affordable, family homes were not always provided in the quantities that might have been expected, and what helped or hindered their provision, in the case study neighbourhoods. We also draw on our review of current and planned MINCs, and on our interviews with housing developers and strategic authorities, to assess whether these problems are being reproduced in current inner urban MINCs and if so, why.

The provision of family homes

Comparison across the case study sites indicates that the provision of family-sized homes at Hulme and New Gorbals was much greater than at the new London sites (Table 4.1). The initial developments provided large numbers of family-sized homes – about half of the new homes had three or more bedrooms. At New Gorbals these were designed with families in mind and families were satisfied with them. However, at Hulme, the fact that the three bedroomed homes were relatively small presented some difficulties for families who wanted to move on within the neighbourhoods. There were relatively few homes that had more than three bedrooms (less than 10 per cent) and these were expensive. Rising prices also meant that lower income families without a foot on the housing ladder, were priced out of the market for family-sized homes as time went on. The result was that the number of families diminished over time and seemed likely to continue to do so.

At Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village, the supply of family-sized homes was considerably smaller than at Hulme and the New Gorbals, and they were not specifically designed with families in mind. The proportion of market-rate

families living in these developments was slightly lower than at Hulme and New Gorbals, and again families there identified the lack of suitable large homes as major obstacle to remaining in the neighbourhood. Even families at Greenwich Millennium Village that were very satisfied with the neighbourhood as a place to bring up children thought that they might have to move to seek a more suitable home.

Table 4.1: Summary of market-rate homes and families in case study areas, 2004/2005

	Hulme	New Gorbals	Britannia Village	Greenwich Millennium Village
% of all new private homes with 3 or more bedrooms	50%	50%	14%	15%
% of all new private homes with 4 or more bedrooms	<10%	13%	None	1%
families as a % of all households in private housing	19%	15%	12%	12%

Our review of current and planned MINCs suggest that the case study developments, even though built in earlier phases of policy, are not untypical of the MINC developments that are coming forward at present.

Virtually all large cities have experienced an upward trend in one and two bedroomed flats in central city areas (Lambert and Boddy, 2002), and most are seeing the development of central city apartment-block MINCs that have few, if any, family-sized homes in the market sector. Most affordable housing in these MINCs is aimed at small households of 'key workers' for rent or shared ownership rather than at families. However, in the Midlands and North it appears that cities are also planning, and beginning to deliver, other inner urban MINCs that *do* include market-rate family homes in significant numbers. A good example is Beswick in Manchester, just across the city from Hulme, where there are plans for 1,100 new homes over the next ten to fifteen years, the majority of which will be family housing. The first phase will be mainly private, two thirds with three or more bedrooms.

In London, by contrast, new MINC developments are tending to share the characteristics of Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village, with relatively small numbers of family-sized homes. The capital has seen a very marked rise in the proportion of one and two bedroom homes built since 2000/01 (up 16 per cent). Family-sized homes made up only 20 per cent of new homes in 2003/4, compared with 59 per cent overall, and only 7 per cent had four or more bedrooms. This situation is causing concern to inner London authorities and RSLs, both because it is becoming difficult to secure larger units for social housing tenants and because it produces an unbalanced household mix. The Mayor of

London (2004) estimates that to meet housing needs over the next 15 years, 49 per cent of all new homes would need to have three or more bedrooms, and 30 per cent four or more: a stark contrast to what is actually being built. Some local authorities are seeking to increase the proportion of larger homes through planning guidance or Section 106 negotiations. However, larger social housing homes are the priority, so the number of large private homes may remain modest. Indeed, proportions of family-sized homes in MINCs may even be diminishing, as we saw with the upcoming developments adjacent to the case study sites at Silvertown Quays and Greenwich Penninsula.

If this is the case, the experience of our four case study areas might well be replicated, or even magnified, in the MINCs that are now being developed. Lack of supply of suitable family-sized homes obviously creates a significant barrier to the number of families that can be attracted and retained. Given the importance of this issue, we supplemented our local case studies with interviews with developers, planners and strategic authorities, to investigate constraints on the supply of family homes. We report on these findings here.

Constraints on the supply of family homes

Constraints on the supply of family homes seem to link to five key issues: development economics, public sector influence on land and building costs, a lack of developer confidence in the family market, Government policy and insufficient public influence over the development's implementation.

Development economics

The interviews suggest that the most important constraint on family housing in MINCs is the simple economics of development. Housebuilders ultimately seek to build the kinds of homes that generate most profit, as determined by the cost of land and building and market prices. High land values and building costs mean high house prices, and developers need to be convinced that there are markets for these homes. In recent years, inner urban areas, in London particularly, have seen rising land values, but also a strong market for small apartments in premium, expensive locations. Small units have been profitable in these settings.

Outside London, land values have been lower and the market for small, expensive, units weaker. Family-sized homes have remained a good option for developers. However, if the urban revival continues and inner urban land values continue to rise, the provision of family-sized homes may become less attractive in other cities too. The example of Laurieston in Glasgow, adjacent to the New Gorbals but now being developed with smaller numbers of family homes, provides a good illustration. It also highlights an inherent tension in urban policy around the issue of family homes, which applies in London as well as other cities. One of the

objectives of development in regeneration areas is to raise land values, yet success in this respect is likely to squeeze the number of family homes in subsequent phases of development.

Public sector influence on land and building costs

Costs of land and building are influenced by public authorities, in ways which may constrain the supply of family homes. Public sector landowners, including local authorities but also the National Health Service, armed forces and others, when seeking to sell land for private development, influence the cost of development through the market price that they set for their land. Very high values may constrain the supply of larger units. As planning authorities, local authorities also influence the cost of development through the level of Section 106 contributions that they seek for affordable housing or other amenities. In both cases, they need to juggle the need for land revenues or for affordable housing and facilities with the need to secure a supply of larger units in the new private sector homes that are being built.

Lack of developer confidence in the family market

Strong demand for apartments, high land values and cross-subsidy for affordable housing may push developers in the direction of smaller units, but developers also lack confidence that families with housing choice will want to live in inner urban developments.

Flats are one barrier. With one notable exception, all the housebuilders we spoke to took it as read that:

> … *families with housing choice don't want to live in flats – we know that* (Chair, large housebuilding company).

It is well known from the experience of European cities that flats *can* offer the space and design features that families need, and can accommodate better-off families (PRP, 2002), and indeed the experiences of families at the New Gorbals and at Greenwich demonstrate that flats can be good environments for bringing up children. Evidence from Britannia Village and Hulme shows that houses are not always ideal for families. Those with small bedrooms and bathrooms, small kitchens with few cupboards or little room for appliances, inflexible open plan living areas, inadequate sound-proofing, small or overlooked gardens or limited storage, can all be unsuitable for households with children.

However, developers are informed by existing patterns and preferences, which show overwhelming family preferences for the traditional house. According to the General Household Survey in 2002, 86 per cent of small families, and 92 per cent of large families currently live in houses of some kind, and most families aspire to a detached house, with outdoor space in the form of a private garden, and with privacy, security and ease of access (CABE, 2005).

In the face of this evidence, most developers have little desire to experiment with three or four bedroom flats designed for families along European models which tend to have:

- larger internal spaces;

- high quality sound-proofing;

- careful planning to ensure privacy;

- spaces and services beyond the individual home such as basement storage, cycle parking, and perhaps laundry rooms;

- shared courtyards and gardens, sometimes with a creche;

- a concierge or maintenance staff;

- and more recently, health facilities, including pools or gyms, and dedicated parking (PRP, 2002).

Many also have little experience of doing so. There is thus a 'chicken and egg' situation, whereby developers believe there is a limited market and do not design flats for families, and families see no homes that challenge their traditional concerns about flat living, and generate no demand to which developers might respond.

Some of the developers we spoke to also tended to be sceptical that families with the resources to purchase large homes in high value areas would want to live in the inner city per se, whether in houses or flats. Concern over the quality of schools was the most commonly mentioned prohibiting factor. Several developers expressed frustration over the ability of central and local government to deliver adequate schools, or indeed sometimes *any* schools, at the time when families might be moving into developments. The same developers were also doubtful of the ability of public sector agencies to deliver the physical and social infrastructure that would make areas attractive and workable for families: transport, 'bobbies on the beat', parks, health and leisure facilities. They echoed some of the concerns of the less satisfied families in our case study areas.

There are developers who are prepared to work in partnership with public sector organisations to patiently build communities rather than seeking to build homes, sell them and move on. They may also be prepared to build homes for families in lower value areas, where large units will sell for relatively low prices, as the examples of Hulme and New Gorbals show. However, where land values are high, and families will need to purchase homes at high prices, concerns about urban living make the family market a risky one. In the current market, smaller units may seem safer:

> … *why would you take a gamble on whether there's a market for family homes when you know there's a market for non-family homes?* (Housebuilder representative).

Even where larger homes are built, the incentive to proactively sell and market to families is also limited, given lack of confidence in the number of likely buyers. We found limited evidence of active selling to families. In fact, sales mechanisms for new homes may actually deter families. New homes are usually offered 'off-plan', requiring a speedy decision and a deposit. Some companies will only sell to people without another property to sell. This can be problematic for families, who typically require more information about the wider area and its services before buying, and who may often be caught in housing chains. Our case studies suggest that this style of purchase can work for the 'local' market in MINCs in existing low income areas, where potential buyers know the area well, and are often living in council housing so have no home to sell, but it may be less attractive to families elsewhere. Marketing, both directly and through estate agents, is another issue. In our London case studies, very few of the marketing materials used images of families, and we found an assumption amongst estate agents that families would not be interested in properties there. None of the agents told us encouraging information about local schools when asked and one, at Greenwich Millennium Village, the site rated most highly as family friendly by its residents, told us:

> I don't really think these apartments are ideal for families. If people ask me, 'is Greenwich Millennium Village family oriented', I am honest and I say, 'no' (Estate agent, Greenwich Millennium Village).

Government policy

While developers may be unwilling to buck current market trends, Government policy also does little to encourage building of family-sized homes. Housebuilding targets are set in numbers of units, not in number of rooms, volume or bedspaces, allowing the mix of units to slip off the agenda. Even in the social housing sector, there are pressures to build smaller homes, to maximise the number of units built with Social Housing Grant, and because Section 106 agreements often require developers to finance certain numbers of units of social housing, rather than particular housing types or sizes.

Current planning guidance (PPG3) encourages development at higher densities, again expressed in units per hectare. This need not preclude the building of larger homes, especially on larger sites where higher and lower density developments can be combined to give moderate density overall. However, developer reactions have often been to build dense apartment-blocks, the success of which has meant relatively little experimentation with high density family living.

Insufficient public influence over development

Together, these factors have created something of a disparity, especially in London, between developer interests and longer term urban policy goals, with developers wanting to build one and two bedroom flats, and city strategists hoping for larger homes to meet housing need, limit sprawl and create balance and sustainability.

> *What developers want to build and what we're learning from all our housing needs assessments and research are two completely different things* (Development manager, HMRP).

While developers expressed frustration at the inability of public sector organisations to deliver infrastructure, public sector representatives expressed frustration at their lack of influence over what developers actually built. Presented with planning applications only one at a time, they found it difficult to exert a strategic influence over development, and in many cases found it hard to enforce planning guidelines over affordability levels or unit types:

> *We have a policy to require a certain split of unit sizes, but it's often not rigidly enforced. It might be required, but developers aren't very keen on it. When you come down to it, the private market sector is determined by what the house builders want to build, which is one and two bedroom apartments. So there's a gap between goals, objectives and implementation* (Local authority planner).

The influence of public authorities lessens once planning permissions are granted. This was certainly the case in the case study areas. Although public sector agencies drove the initial plans, their task usually peaked with a master plan and selection of developer. The size and design of the market-rate homes was left largely to developers' discretion. There seemed to be no mechanism for developers and public authorities to work together throughout the development to create a place that worked.

New Gorbals, where private homes were initially both well-designed and affordable for families, was a notable exception. A key difference here was the existence of a strong regeneration partnership that pushed the vision through. The partnership owned the land and retained the feu superior,[12] giving it some continued control over alterations to the private homes. It was closely managed by a charismatic individual with powerful backing. It had strong control over size and design, and was able to ensure that developers continued to build family-sized homes. Despite the lack of obvious demand, the regeneration partnership insisted that families would eventually wish to purchase homes at New Gorbals, and that it was critical to ensure their supply. It secured public subsidy to enable local families to buy in at the early stages. Initial house prices were deliberately kept low, using the GRO Grant scheme, and under the Priority Purchase Area scheme, homes were offered first to local people, and to council tenants and first-time buyers, before being put on the open market.

The influence of the regeneration partnership at New Gorbals declined as the project progressed beyond the mid-term, budgets were cut and management changed. Few family homes were built in the later phases, and subsidies ended as land values rose. By 2005, locals who had not already purchased family homes faced limited supply and high prices.

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12 Allowing the partnership to intervene over improvements and maintenance in the private homes.

The clear message is that, in the current market, developing visions and masterplans and leaving their implementation to developers is unlikely to result in the supply of homes of a sufficient size and suitably designed for families, and affordable to them in the long run, nor will it secure the infrastructure needed to make the place work as a whole. Public influence needs to be retained throughout the delivery process. In Chapter Six we discuss how this might be done in order to secure the mix of households that public policy seems to seek.

Summary

- MINC developments are taking different forms in different parts of the country. In London, the supply of family homes in MINCs is extremely constrained, while outside London, some MINCs are being planned with significant proportions of family housing. However, rising land values in some cities may lead to a more limited supply of family homes in MINCs in future.

- The supply of market-rate family homes is constrained by development economics. Where land values are high and there is a market for smaller units, these are considered more profitable. Developers lack confidence in the family market. Government policy also fails to create incentives to build family homes in costly areas.

- Given these constraints, there is a need for public sector influence over development throughout the planning and delivery process. Visions and masterplans are not enough to secure family homes if delivery is left entirely to developers' discretion. Strong public sector-led partnerships are needed throughout implementation phases to secure homes that are suitable for families. Sales and marketing mechanisms may also need to be addressed.

Chapter Five
Designing and managing MINCs

While the supply of family homes is an issue, there is a clear message from the four case studies that market-rate families can be attracted to MINCs, and that households without children can be retained when they start a family if MINCs are well-designed and managed. There were rather more families in the case study sites than developers assumed, and some of these families were living happily in flats. Many families viewed cities in general, and these neighbourhoods in particular, as suitable places to raise children, particularly in the earlier years. To suggest that inner urban MINCs are inherently unsuitable for families would clearly be wrong.

Retaining families as their children get older becomes more difficult, however, partly because they leave in search of larger homes and partly because, in the traditional pattern, they become more concerned about schools and about the physical and social environments in which their children are growing up.

It is important to note though that views on these issues do vary across MINCs and between MINCs of similar types and with similar types of residents and families. Of the new MINCs, Greenwich Millennium Village was rated much more highly than Britannia Village, and of the MINCs in existing low income areas, New Gorbals was slightly more favoured than Hulme (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Comparisons across the four case study sites

	Hulme	New Gorbals	Britannia Village	Greenwich Millennium Village
Types of families	Locals Some newcomers	Locals Some newcomers	Newcomers	Newcomers
Overall satisfaction (% very satisfied)	24%	40%	26%	50%
Overall dissatisfaction (% less than satisfied)	23%	19%	26%	11%
Rating as a place to bring up children	Fair	Fair	Fair	Excellent
Positive about social mix	34%	43%	30%	47%

Source: Field survey.

The clear differences between the areas demonstrate that local decisions about design and management can make a difference to the way families feel about their neighbourhood, and make them more or less predisposed to stay – their own personal lives and the availability of homes permitting. In this chapter, we draw out the lessons from local practice in these four case study areas to show what helps or hinders in making MINCs good choices for raising children.

Schools

Primary schools

Primary schools were more of an issue at the case study sites than secondary schools, given the age of the children. They tended to be seen as a problem for 'newcomer' families, although they were sometimes appreciated by 'locals'.

Securing a new school in a new community is a problem bemoaned by housing developers. However, the case studies show that simply providing a school is not enough. A new primary school building was an integral part of the design for Britannia Village, and was equipped to high internal standards for space and equipment. However, the new school was populated initially by students from a failing local school with a low income intake. It was perceived by 'newcomer' families from the outset as an unsatisfactory school. Similarly, in the MINCs in existing low income areas, 'newcomer' families were distrustful of the quality of the schools, and prepared to reject them without investigating further.

Gaining the confidence of 'newcomer' families may require schools to work proactively with them. We might expect to find schools taking specific measures in response to changes in population make-up: for example, running school or community events to facilitate neighbourhood mix-ing or engaging the parents of the new better-off populations and identifying forms of provision that might suit their needs, whether through extended hours with after-school activities or particular curricular options. However, we did not, in general, find headteachers specifically orienting their provision towards the new mixed income community. None had received any special guidance how to do so. Further, one LEA officer articulated a reluctance to design school provision to suit populations with specific class compositions:

> We don't think of education provision in those terms. We expect the school to serve all children in the community. We certainly aren't looking at a tenure-specific pattern of provision or a social origin pattern of provision ... If anything, we would need a poorer standard of provision in wealthier areas since we wouldn't have so many children with special needs (LEA officer).

Opportunities for wider community outreach and confidence-building were missed because of lack of resources and perhaps lack of clear responsibility for

delivery. School playing fields were closed after hours; a wonderful school toy library was publicised only to school parents, not to the wider community, and community facilities at the new schools at Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village were under-used.

An example from Britannia Village indicates the potential value of early-years' provision in building confidence in local schools and bonding among new parents. Better-off parents who attended an hour-long weekly toddler session at the school, run by the local church, subsequently noted that they felt comfortable with the peer group and with the school building, and would be willing to 'give the school a chance'. However, although the new schools at Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village were both outfitted with extensive early-years' facilities, these were not in regular operation at either school, even though working families there reported an extreme lack of infant care places in the area. We heard of year-long waiting lists for full-time places, and monthly fees equivalent to the rent of a nice two bedroom flat. It appeared that MINCs were low on the priority list: one LEA officer explained that relative to other needy areas, the median income at MINCs is high, and they may be considered ineligible for priority childcare services. Private-sector parents might pay handsomely for childcare but there appeared to be no-one taking responsibility for identifying private childcare providers who might work from these sites.

Significantly, we did find one primary school that had become the school of choice for all parents in the neighbourhood, including the 'newcomers' – the Millennium Primary School at Greenwich Millennium Village. The preponderance of private housing in the early stages of Greenwich Millennium Village's development meant that it was somewhat easier for this school to gain the confidence of the 'newcomer' parents. It was not perceived as predominantly a low income school. However, there are other lessons we can learn from this example:

- *Provision ahead of demand.* When Greenwich Millennium Village was planned, Greenwich LEA had sufficient spare places in other schools and did not need a new school. However, the LEA agreed with the developers that the school would be 'more than just a school' (EP, 2000) – it would be a centre of the new development and thus needed to be provided ahead of demand. However, both this school and the one at Britannia Village were hampered by low budgets in the early stages when pupil numbers were low, because of per capita funding following pupils, suggesting that additional budgets might be needed for schools in MINCs to enable them to function fully while their numbers build up.

- *Moving a stable and successful school.* Having planned the new building, the LEA invited schools across the borough to bid for a complete transfer to the new facilities. They chose a high-performing nearby school, whose pupils were drawn from both middle-class and working-class families. There was extensive consultation with staff, parents and pupils to ensure commitment for the move.

- *Housing allocations:* Parents with children at the school were given priority in the new social housing allocations.

- *Community outreach.* The school participated in a joint Village School Summer Fayre; school activities and achievements were publicised in the Village Newsletters; non-parent members of the Village Residents' Association were recruited as governors. As a signal of openness to all Greenwich Millennium Village residents, the school was considering re-branding the parents' committee as 'Friends of Millennium Primary School'.

There was an unusually high level of inter-agency co-ordination here, reinforcing the findings of other research about the usefulness of co-ordination between education and housing-led regeneration (Mumford, 1998; Clark, Dyson *et al.*, 1999; Beekman, Lyons *et al.*, 2001) .

Secondary schools

Secondary schools are fundamentally important to the success of MINCs, primarily because of their impact on parental housing choices. Among parents with children of the relevant ages, secondary schools were a concern to local and newcomer families alike. Our findings underscore the importance of this issue for urban policy. Lack of a secondary school in the neighbourhood also means associated loss of opportunity: playing fields for the wider community, after-school activities and events, and perhaps other youth development work.

There were few private-sector children of secondary school age at any of the case study MINCs, making it hard for us to comment on parents' views or school practices. Even had there been more older children in the private homes, these relatively large MINCs would not have generated numbers of children big enough to constitute a school's sole community. The changes in their population composition were not sufficient to impact greatly on any one secondary school. Moreover, since secondary schools served several neighbourhoods, it would have been difficult for them to orient specifically towards the MINC's particular characteristics, even had they wanted to. As in the primary schools, orienting towards specific elements of the population was not always a strategy that was fully embraced. At Hulme, the headteacher at the new Academy explicitly rejected approaches that might be seen to be privileging the new private housing population, refusing to 'cherry-pick' pupils, or enter pupils for GNVQs to artificially boost GCSE results in order to attract those households.

Safe, clean and friendly neighbourhoods

Families told us that it was important to them to raise children in a place that felt safe, clean, and friendly, and these were the aspects of the MINCs that they valued when they were present, and complained about when they were not. Families and

other residents in our case studies felt more safe at Greenwich Millennium Village and at New Gorbals than at the other sites.

These are not easy conditions to create in any inner city neighbourhood, and harder in MINCs with high density, ongoing construction, divergent social needs and expectations, and new residents. Three of the case study areas reported the typical inner city problems of youth nuisance and disorder and concerns about drugs and crime. There is no magic formula. However, the case studies do highlight the importance of this issue, and support the emphasis that the Government places on it through its 'Cleaner, Safer, Greener' policies.

The case studies suggest five factors that can help:

- a unified appearance across the site;

- a single contact point for dealing with day-to-day problems;

- neighbourhood staffing;

- co-ordinated strategic management; and

- community building.

Unified appearance

The urban design masterplans for all four neighbourhoods aimed to integrate social housing within the overall fabric of the site, rather than creating obviously segregated enclaves. At most of the neighbourhoods, tenure was not immediately apparent either from the location or from the external appearance of the homes. This was most consistent at New Gorbals, where social housing typically formed one side of a four-sided block. At Britannia Village, we found both greater physical separation of tenures and greater social segregation.

We speculate that the unified appearance helps to create a feeling of safety across the entire neighbourhood. Where differences were more obvious, families in the private homes made distinctions, with comments such as *'I feel safe over here, but I wouldn't go 'over there''*.

Another aspect of the unified appearance relates to cleanliness and maintenance of public areas. At Greenwich Millennium Village and New Gorbals, there was a uniform standard of cleanliness across the site. In both neighbourhoods a single *on-site* company had responsibility for grounds maintenance across the site: a private management company at Greenwich Millennium Village and the community-based housing association at New Gorbals. The cross-tenure management resulted in a standard of maintenance well above the norm for social housing estates, according to senior staff in both companies.

At Britannia Village, an on-site private management company was responsible for maintaining the private areas, while maintenance of the social housing areas was

split among the two RSLs and the council, none of which maintained an on-site presence. There was noticeably more litter, graffiti and potholes near the social housing, underscoring the social divide and perhaps contributing to a lesser feeling of safety across the neighbourhood. At Hulme, large RSLs with a small amount of stock had closed their neighbourhood offices: co-operation between RSLs, for example in dealing with difficult tenants, has suffered. These findings confirm the importance of estate-based management in social housing areas (Power and Mumford, 1999) and demonstrate that these are equally important in mixed areas.

A single contact point for day-to-day problems

At Greenwich Millennium Village, residents could refer problems with safety, cleanliness and social behaviour to a single, on-site office, called the 'concierge', and run by the same management company responsible for grounds and housing maintenance. The concierge employed six full-time staff who monitored 50 CCTV cameras all hours of the day, and walked around the site. They also fielded calls from residents on everything from vandalised block entrances to anti-social behaviour in public areas, and contacted the developers, the housing association, and the local council to solve these problems. The management company was hired by the developers, but residents would determine whether to renew their contract.

This was an extensive – and expensive – service. The service charges for social housing tenants were absorbed by the housing association, who factored this significant expense into their budget for purchasing the new homes: such a system may be problematic where Social Housing Grant is the main funding source, and the housing association has more limited budget autonomy.

Neighbourhood staffing

As the Government has recognised with its neighbourhood wardens programme, intensive staffing can help residents to feel that a neighbourhood is more clean and safe.

There were no neighbourhood wardens as such in any of these neighbourhoods, but aspects of their roles were taken on in the different sites by the concierge service, the on-site community-based housing association, and community police officers, as well as by staff and volunteers from community organisations such as churches, the healthy living network, or the residents' association. What seemed to be important was that there were people at ground level keeping an eye out for problems, undertaking low-level supervision, supporting vulnerable residents, and passing on information – and that there was someone to pass the information on to.

Parks are one place where staffing is particularly important for families. The parks at New Gorbals and Hulme, in particular, could feel unsafe, especially for the younger children, and newcomer parents in the market-rate homes did not usually let their children play there unsupervised. Park wardens, or play staff for specified

hours, could add greatly to the feeling of safety in these areas. The Ecology Park at Greenwich Millennium Village, in contrast, had two full-time staff (funded by English Partnerships), and this was by far the most popular of the parks among families across the four neighbourhoods.

Funding these positions *is* expensive. While the developer or the regeneration partnership may fund such projects in the initial stages, there is a need to address long-term funding sources. The case study areas were experimenting with various forms of community trusts and long-term management companies, and these might provide an answer.

Co-ordinated strategic management

Effective neighbourhood management demands a co-ordinated overview of neighbourhood issues, problems, facilities and services, and someone with the ability to listen to residents, link between agencies and deliver change. This is especially important in the initial phases of these new build, high density and socially mixed MINCs.

Families in all the case study areas suggested ways that the neighbourhoods could be made to work better for their children. These included ideas like more park benches, classes for new parents and toddler groups, activities for young people, traffic calming, and, most frequently, safe supervised places for children to play.

The needs for strategic management change over time. In the early stages of Greenwich Millennium Village, the developers employed a community development worker, discussed below, and also conducted periodic surveys and resident consultations, resulting in changes to the planned community centre and uses of public open space.

Experience at Britannia Village illustrates the problems of the transition phase. There, the LDDC had initially performed the role of strategic management. After the LDDC was closed, and their projects were handed over to other bodies, there was no longer a clear contact point: even motivated residents did not know where to turn in order to improve the lacklustre green space, activate the highly under-utilised village hall, or restore the vandalised and padlocked toddler playground. A similar problem had occurred in the transition phases at New Gorbals, when the management role of the Crown Street Regeneration Partnership was reduced, but some of these tasks were taken on by other agencies, responsible for the wider Gorbals area.

Another way of approaching this is exemplified at Hulme where, after the close of the City Challenge programme, the council appointed a dedicated ward manager to co-ordinate the delivery and improvement of services by different council departments as well as by voluntary organisations, which played an important role.

Community building

Many of the families we interviewed said it was important to them to feel part of a community, and this is perhaps particularly important in high density developments, where a sense of community responsibility can help to mitigate undesirable aspects of high density living (Mulholland, 2003). In most places, a sense of community develops organically, over time, but wholly new MINCs, particularly, are starting from scratch, with residents who may not automatically feel they have much in common, making the issue of 'community' perhaps even more pertinent.

We did not set out to assess the extent of mix-ing in the general populations of these areas, only among the families. We found some evidence of mix-ing between children in schools and shared courtyards. Some of their parents were involved as volunteers in schools or on cross-tenure residents' groups.

Three factors seemed to help or hinder mix-ing across the tenures.

One was **community development work**, which was most extensive at Greenwich Millennium Village and had a direct effect on market-rate families:

I wouldn't have said that community was important to me before, but it is crucial now, with the kids. I don't join in as much as the others here. There are all sorts of societies, theatre groups, social get-togethers … (Owner, Greenwich Millennium Village).

We used to keep ourselves to ourselves, and that's a habit we're breaking now. We're unlearning our learned behavior. Here people are appreciative, and you can be at ease. (Shared owner, Greenwich Millennium Village).

Recognising the need to jump-start community ties, Greenwich Millennium Village Ltd had hired an experienced community development worker from the RSL to work part-time on-site to promote 'resident liaison', helping new residents connect to the place and bridging the social divide. Armed with a small activities budget and a lot of insight, she supported residents in creating a widely read regular newsletter, advised the residents' association, and helped to organise social activities and resident consultations.

At Britannia Village, a church-led organisation raised funds to hire a community development worker, who helps to organise a toddler-group, a food co-op and play activities for children.

A second approach was to create **joint residents' associations**. Left on their own, residents in MINCs are likely to develop separate residents' associations by tenure. This happened at Britannia Village and in parts of the New Gorbals, and for families it meant losing some of the potential social advantages of a mixed income neighbourhood, including joint lobbying for improved services. There is a risk that

in renewal areas community activities can be targeted solely on issues of disadvantage, perhaps inadvertently excluding newcomers.

> *There's a strong sense of community here, you can really feel it. But sometimes I think that it must also be very isolating for those who are outsiders, those who didn't grow up here* ('Local' owner, New Gorbals).

Greenwich Millennium Village, on the other hand, had cross-tenure residents' associations. These co-ordinated consultations with the housebuilders, helped start a toddler group, and raised funds for the school. They were supported by donations from developers, emphasising the importance of sustaining these over time. Hulme has an active cross-tenure neighbourhood forum with a newsletter and meetings where residents can raise matters of concern with local government officers, the police and so on. Again, small grants enabled it to extend its activities.

A third factor was **public open space** and other places for informal interaction. At Hulme and New Gorbals, the cafes and community centres, shops, bus stops, and the supermarkets served this purpose. The wholly new communities were more lacking in such places. At Britannia Village, lack of street furniture and landscaping meant that the waterside promenade and Village Green did not really serve this function.

For children, particularly, the internal courtyards of blocks could be good meeting-up places, although these were not unproblematic. At Hulme, the courtyards of the market-rate blocks are mostly given over to car-parking, meaning that residents who drive have less need to use the streets, reducing social contact outside the single-tenure blocks. At the sites with landscaped courtyards, unsupervised children playing in them sometimes caused tensions, especially where the child density was high and the courtyard small. Blocks with a very large proportion of larger family homes for social rent may not be suited to the courtyard form, especially where these are low-rise houses with only small courtyards between them.

Courtyards seemed to work best for families when:

- they were larger and landscaped with fencing and shrubbery. This ensured privacy of gardens and flats at ground-level and seemed to make children's play less contentious;

- norms for play behaviour in the shared courtyards were clearly expressed, and were backed by action and resources. At the New Gorbals this happened informally, among neighbours. At Greenwich Millennium Village it was more formal: the concierge and/or the housing officer met with families where necessary; and

- toddler equipment was designed into the courtyard from the beginning, and residents were not held liable for accidents.

There is, of course, a potential clash of interests here – where residents were asked to determine courtyard design, the large majority of households without children always voted to exclude play equipment! Providing for a mix of household types *and* incomes is a difficult juggling act.

Summary

- Market-rate families can be attracted and retained in MINCs, especially when their children are young, and MINCs can be good places for raising children. Retaining families as their children grow older is more difficult. However, some MINCs work better than others, and can make families feel more or less predisposed to stay. The way MINCs are designed and managed can make a difference.

- Schools in MINCs can build confidence among 'newcomer' families. This can be done through community outreach, and through involvement in pre-school childcare. Where new schools are needed, they require careful inter-agency planning, including consideration of pupil composition, and links between school and housing allocations.

- Safe, clean and friendly environments matter to families. They can be enhanced by a unified appearance, local staffing, strategic management and community-building activities, including community development, cross-tenure residents associations and the provision and management of public spaces where people can mix informally.

Chapter Six

Conclusions and implications

This report has looked at mixed income new communities (MINCs) in inner urban areas. We have argued that cities need families, across the income spectrum, and that new mixed income developments represent a new opportunity to attract and retain them. Both for MINCs in existing low income areas and 'new' MINCs on brownfield sites, success as balanced, inclusive and sustainable communities may also depend in part on the ability to achieve a mix of households, including those with children, as well as a mix of incomes.

This chapter draws conclusions from our findings, and highlights implications for the planning, design, services and ongoing management of MINCs, for the provision of family homes in them and for mixed income policy as a whole.

We raise issues relevant for Government, local authority planners and regeneration partnerships, housebuilders, and local public services. Table 6.1, at the end of this chapter, summarises the implications of our work for these different groups.

The MINCs that we studied are not untypical of those that are being built now in inner urban areas and our findings are most relevant to inform these current and upcoming developments. Some of our findings will also be more widely relevant:

- for MINCs in outer urban areas, or in the growth areas;

- for new *unmixed* inner urban communities that are also looking to attract market-rate families; and

- for those interested in the design and management of housing, neighbourhoods and public space and in urban schooling and community development.

Attracting and retaining market-rate families in MINCS

A clear message of our research is that MINCs *can* be suitable for families and that there are market-rate families who will come and live in them if conditions are right. In our case studies, these families came from three different constituencies:

- 'local' families, with family ties in the area, often moving into home ownership for the first time and in skilled manual, technical, administrative or lower professional jobs;

- 'newcomer' families in similar occupational classes to locals; and

- 'newcomer' families in managerial and professional occupations, with greater housing choice.

Wholly new communities and those in existing low income areas face different challenges in attracting and retaining families in inner city MINCs.

Our examples show that those in existing low income areas can attract local families, who often move into the private homes as families, and retain them through the primary school years. These families tend to be positive about their neighbourhoods and inclined to stay. The important challenge is to retain them as their children approach secondary school age, when they are looking for larger homes and good secondary schools. Lack of large homes is a key barrier and rising property prices may price them out. MINCs in existing low income areas will also have some newcomers. Some have similar characteristics to local families, move in at similar times and have similar feelings about the neighbourhood. Others are on higher incomes and in higher professional occupations, and tend to have had children *after* moving in. In our examples, their children were still young. They may be harder to retain because of their concerns over social mix.

Our new sites had not attracted 'local' families from the surrounding areas; their market-rate residents were mainly on higher incomes. Neither had they attracted 'newcomer' families at the start. However, some of the younger households had had children since they moved in. Retaining these families is the main challenge for these new sites. This task changes over time: it begins with fostering social bonds among new parents across tenures and providing childcare and appropriate outdoor play space; progresses through entry to primary school and providing larger homes and outdoor spaces, and then to dealing with the challenge of secondary schools. Where these things are done well, retaining families is possible. We found 'newcomers' in one site, Greenwich Millennium Village, to be very enthusiastic about raising their children in the neighbourhood. It remained to be seen how these views would change as their children grew older.

This evidence suggests that there is no need to give up on the prospect of attracting and retaining market-rate families, but we need to be realistic about the challenge that this presents, and to focus on the specific issues that help and hinder, rather than generalised assumptions, such as that families 'wouldn't want to live there'.

Design, services and ongoing management

Our case studies suggest that MINCs work best for market-rate families when:

- the homes are designed with families in mind, with adequate storage, ample kitchens, family bathrooms and access to outdoor space where possible;

- they have good local schools that build confidence through community outreach and by serving as community schools, with childcare facilities, space and budget for community activities. In the case of secondary schools, MINCs have to be seen as part of a bigger picture: they are rarely big enough to justify a dedicated secondary school;

- neighbourhoods are clean, safe and well managed, with integrated urban design, on-site staff, and the same standards of management across public and private areas;

- there are places where people can meet informally, and where children can play informally, but with suitable equipment and in sight of their parents or of paid staff; and

- community development builds links for children and parents, and there is cross-tenure community representation, enabling shared lobbying for services.

Much of the good practice we saw was at Greenwich Millennium Village, which emerges as perhaps the most successful of our case studies for 'newcomer' families. Greenwich Millennium Village was an expensive demonstration project. Its success serves to highlight the significant investment that may be needed to get urban environments right for families with children.

Importantly, income mix does not alleviate the need for public funding. Services are still needed for disadvantaged residents and there are also specific services that may be particularly required in order to make the social mix work, such as community development, on-site estate-wide management, schools with extended hours or community outreach, and play wardens or parks staff. It is worth noting that Greenwich Millennium Village also had the lowest proportion of affordable housing, a proportion that will grow as the development progresses. Whether building few affordable homes in the early stages is a better model for attracting and retaining market-rate families in the long run than implementing a greater tenure mix from the start, remains to be seen as this development progresses.

Beyond the immediate neighbourhood, high quality secondary schools are essential for MINCs. It is beyond the scope of this report to propose an agenda for the improvement of inner urban schools. We can only underline their importance for urban policy, and note that mixing incomes at neighbourhood level cannot be expected to impact greatly on secondary schools, which tend to serve larger areas. Secondary schools need to be tackled at a larger geographical level. Meanwhile, we note that there is a current mismatch between housing and education policy that may impede schools from adapting to the changing composition of neighbourhoods. While mix is being managed in housing policy in order to achieve social outcomes, it is not in education. The composition of schools is left to parental choice and competition between schools, and the focus for schools, parents and pupils is on maximising individual attainment. In this policy climate, it is hard to expect headteachers to proactively seek to reflect the make-up of mixed communities in their intakes, for social reasons, or to set out to identify and meet the needs of new market-rate families, especially when MINCs form only one part of their catchment area. While some beneficial changes might be achieved by informing headteachers of changing population composition and possible responses, there is also a need for a wider debate on how education

policy at a national level could better contribute to achieving goals of social mix and inclusion.

Issues of day-to-day management and service provision cannot be divorced from bigger strategic issues of planning and delivery. Our work shows that when developers are left to their own devices at the implementation stages, they will not necessarily build family homes, nor market them to the 'newcomer' or 'local' families who might buy them. It also shows that the right conditions and services cannot be provided for families without public sector planning or co-ordination. MINCs need strong strategic management throughout the delivery process, to make sure that family homes are built and to provide the links between public agencies to deliver effective schools, childcare, play facilities, public spaces, community work and neighbourhood management. Mechanisms need to be in place to make *places* that work, not just to provide housing. For some areas this may mean the establishment of a special delivery vehicle, but in other cases existing partnerships involving local authorities, Urban Regeneration Companies, or the New Deal for Communities will be sufficient, with a named champion in charge.

Provision of homes for families

No matter how good the local amenities and management, probably the most critical issue in attracting and retaining families is that they have suitable homes to live in. This may be a problem, particularly in London, and potentially in other cities as land values rise. Housebuilders are sceptical about the market for inner urban family accommodation, and given the high value of inner urban land, and the need to build more units at increasing densities, they often prefer to build smaller, more profitable homes. One of the explicit objectives of these developments is to raise urban land values as part of the economic revitalisation of cities, but rising land values may squeeze the supply of affordable family homes.

While the Government may hope for more family homes to secure the mixed and balanced communities it seeks, it is ultimately dependent on housebuilders and the imperatives of the market in which they operate. Attempts by the Government to tell developers what kinds of homes to build are unlikely to be well received, but there are other ways in which more family housing in MINCs could be facilitated.

One would be to encourage developer interest in the family market, questioning the assumption that families, flats and high density are incompatible, and building expertise and confidence in the design of homes, gardens, courtyards and public open spaces for families. In the first instance, the Government could invest in some demonstration projects, working with developers and local authorities, to highlight how family accommodation might be successfully provided in inner urban flatted locations. These projects could involve:

- researching and implementing innovative designs that meet both families' needs and density requirements, perhaps using European models;

- identifying the target market (whether 'locals' or 'newcomers') through local census and housing needs research, and actively marketing to them;

- experimenting with sales mechanisms that might be more attractive to families; as an example, 'home-swaps' that guarantee the purchase of an existing family home at an agreed-upon price;

- experimenting with making public subsidy available to cap new house prices or investing in shared equity schemes in order to ensure that as prices rise, homes remain affordable to new buyers and to local families looking to move up the housing ladder; and

- publicising successful practice within the development and regeneration communities.

Without a wider range of successful examples, it will be hard to crack the 'chicken and egg' problem of developers not designing homes for families, and families not demanding any change in prevailing market norms. The Government's Mixed Communities Initiative may provide the opportunity to develop practice in this area, particularly if it is extended.

A second way would be to change the incentives for developers to build family homes. At a national level, this could be done by altering housebuilding and density targets so that they specify habitable rooms, overall space, or bedspaces rather than units per hectare or by exploring the possibility of 'gap' funding or underwriting developers who are willing to invest in large units in urban areas, with a commitment to reconversion to smaller units if they are ultimately unsuccessful.

Where more private family accommodation is sought, local authorities and regeneration partnerships could raise the issue of building for families as an explicit social goal as they enter into partnerships with housebuilders, rather than allowing it to slip off the agenda as consideration is given to the balance of affordable and private homes. On large sites, they could link the sale of plots, so that developers willing to invest in potentially riskier family developments could also be offered options on more profitable sites, thus tying developer profit into their efforts to build for families. They could consider discounting sales of public land for development, on sites where family housing was a priority. They could work with developers to survey and consult with residents in the early phases of schemes to identify demand for larger homes in later phases. If a system of developer tariffs is implemented, local authorities might consider varying these tariffs to incentivise provision of family housing. Lower per unit tariffs could be levied on sites where family housing was sought.

Implementation at a local level must obviously take into account local housing contexts and demographic trends. Moreover, all of the suggested mechanisms have costs, and decisions have to be made about whether the long-term creation of mixed and balanced communities is worth the short-term cost of manipulating the supply of private housing, where the market on its own seems unlikely to deliver.

Mixed income policy

Finally, we make some comments on mixed income policy in general. Mixing incomes in order to create socially inclusive and sustainable communities and to avoid the negative 'area effects' of concentrated poverty is very much a policy in the ascendant at present. Current urban policy directions rest on the idea that 'mix' is good, but 'mix' can mean many things – from co-existence of diverse populations to actual mix-ing. Benefits are also thought to arise in different ways: some seem to rest simply on the presence of people with greater material and cultural resources, while others demand shared use of services and facilities or mixed income social networks.

Our case studies were relatively young MINCs (all less than ten years into their development), so it is difficult to be conclusive about outcomes. Income mix certainly had some benefits:

- the existence of market-rate housing contributed to physical and economic regeneration and pump-primed investor confidence in surrounding neighbourhoods;

- in the renewal MINCs, the introduction of market-rate housing provided more options, and enabled potential home owners with family ties to remain locally or to return. In this sense, it contributed to greater diversity and greater sustainability; and

- physical renewal and reductions in poverty contributed to improvements in neighbourhood reputations, thus reducing stigma for low income residents.

However, it did not necessarily generate a set of conditions for inclusive, sustainable communities:

- there were limited shops or other private sector facilities and it was not clear that additional income helped with the provision of services from which all could benefit. At Britannia Village, for example, the new local outlets were a wine bar and dry cleaners – too expensive for many low income residents;

- with fewer very poor residents, demands on public services in the renewal areas were to some extent reduced, but this was in part due to the impact of improvements in the social housing stock on population turnover and poverty levels, not just to the introduction of market-rate occupants;

- although aggregate income levels increased, there was still a need for services targeted at disadvantaged residents, and for some additional services to make mix work;

- 'newcomer' families were less likely to use local services such as schools or community centres, or lobby for their improvement, although there were exceptions where efforts had been made to gain newcomer confidence and participation; and

- there was some evidence of cross-tenure social networks among families, especially between children, but this varied from place to place. Residents had different views about the value and benefits of tenure mix.

This mixed picture underlines the fact that local planning and management matter. However, it also points to the need for policy-makers to be clear about the limits of income mix policies.

Clarity is also needed about the kinds of families who might be attracted in different situations and the likely benefits they might bring. Material resources can be increased most by attracting managerial and professional newcomers. However, in our cases, many such newcomers tended to distance themselves somewhat from neighbourhood social life and distrust local schools and peer groups. Mix-ing may be difficult to achieve in these cases. On the other hand, local and some newcomer families drawn to existing low income areas are less resource-rich. They may not have the traditionally middle-class educational or professional aspirations that policy sometimes hints at, but their characteristic closeness to families in affordable tenures can make for a sustainable and cohesive community, and their local ties may make them more likely to spend money locally, use local services, socialise across tenures, and want to stay if they can.

The notion of income mix and its benefits therefore needs to unpicked for each local circumstance. It is not a panacea for low income communities and its impact will vary depending on who the better-off residents are. Benefits that cannot be gained through mix will need to be sought in other ways, including sustained public investment.

Conclusion

Attracting families with housing choice to inner urban mixed income new communities is possible. There is some demand, from locals and newcomers, possibly more than developers think, and childless singles and couples can be retained when they have children. Moreover, these neighbourhoods can work for families, especially young families, provided that they are carefully planned, delivered and managed with families in mind.

Table 6.1: Summary of implications of the research

For all	Market-rate families can be attracted and retained in inner urban MINCs, but this is a challenge. All parties need to focus on addressing the factors that help and hinder this.
For Government	Achieving income mix is expensive to do well. Physical and social infrastructure must be on site, sometimes ahead of demand, with operating budgets. Schools are especially important in this regard.
	Services are still needed for disadvantaged residents and extra services may be needed to facilitate mix.
	Shared public space needs to be built in and local staffing and management are needed.
	Developers could be encouraged to build for the family market through facilitating demonstration projects or changing incentives. Housebuilding targets set in rooms, overall space, or bedspaces could be considered.
	More clarity is needed over the goals of income mix, the types of 'better-off' residents sought, and expected benefits.
For local authorities and regeneration partnerships	Achieving income mix is expensive to do well. Services are still needed for disadvantaged residents and extra services, including community development, may be needed to facilitate mix.
	Public space needs to be built in and maintained. Local staffing and management can help to provide a visible face to the local community in addressing day-to-day concerns.
	Strong strategic management is also needed throughout delivery of MINCs with control of what homes are built and co-ordination of public service provision. 'Place-making' rather than house building needs to be part of the vision.
	Measures to encourage greater supply of family housing could be considered, e.g. through planning agreements, discounted land sales, or options for developers for building larger units.
	Service providers, such as schools, would benefit from being informed of population changes. Some may need guidance on providing for mixed communities.
For housebuilders	The assumption that families, flats and high density are incompatible is questionable. Demonstration projects, exploring European models of city living for families, including flats, are worth exploring.
	Sales and marketing mechanisms aimed at families could also help.
	'Newcomers' tend to arrive without children but may stay – ongoing consultation with residents could inform developments, with a view to providing family homes in later phases for newly-forming and young families.
	Shared equity schemes to keep family homes affordable could be considered.
For local public services	Public services can help MINCs to work in various ways, by: • building the confidence of market-rate families through community outreach and offering appropriate services; • providing extended schools with childcare and community activities; • delivering cross-tenure community development; • ensuring there are safe, well equipped public spaces where children can play, and staff in parks and play areas.

Families can be persuaded that inner cities offer good environments for child-raising, provided that adequate homes and secondary schools are provided. With sufficient forethought and ongoing investment, MINCs could be made to work better for family households, and in so doing could have a valuable part to play in the revitalisation of Britain's inner cities.

Appendix A

Glossary of terms

Affordable housing: homes rented or owned with public subsidy at lower cost to the resident than prevailing market prices. Includes *social housing* and *intermediate housing*.

Brownfield site: site that has previously been built on.

English Partnerships (EP): Government agency that supports and funds regeneration and sustainable development.

GRO grant: Scottish grant scheme (Grant for Rent and Ownership) designed to bring more housing choice for local people, particularly in urban housing estates. Grants were given to private developers to build affordable homes for sale in areas where they would otherwise not operate, with the homes offered initially to first-time buyers, housing association or council tenants, and those on their waiting lists.

Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders (HMRPs): sub-regional bodies established in 2003 to tackle low housing demand by demolition, refurbishment and remodelling of existing stock.

Housing stock transfer: the process of transferring (or selling) housing stock to a different landlord. For tenanted stock in the social sector, this essentially means transfer to a registered social landlord.

Intermediate housing: homes in shared ownership or rented with public subsidy at sub-market rents, such as keyworker housing schemes; typically available to those who have been left unable to buy or rent because of rapid house price inflation.

Maisonette: is any house or apartment that is part of a larger building but with its own separate entrance. In the New Gorbals, maisonettes were two storey homes, often with a garden, with flats above.

Market-rate housing: homes owned or rented privately without public subsidy.

Mixed Communities Initiative: a new, intensive approach to renewal in a small number of very disadvantaged areas. Three demonstration projects in Manchester, Leeds and London have been chosen to *'create neighbourhoods with a more sustainable mix of tenures and incomes'* (www.odpm.gov.uk).

New Deal for Communities (NDC): ten-year Government programme targeting 38 severely deprived neighbourhoods, each receiving substantial funding for improvements to housing, physical environment, community facilities and safety.

Public/private partnerships: consortia of for-profit companies and public-sector bodies formed to work on major development project.

Registered social landlord (RSL): a provider of social housing such as a housing association or co-operative which is registered with and monitored by the Housing Corporation.

Section 106: a mechanism under the Town and Country Planning Act whereby planning authorities require developers to make a contribution towards affordable housing or other public facilities such as schools or parks, reflecting the wider impact of the new private housing development.

Social housing: homes rented with public subsidy from local authorities or registered social landlords (RSLs); tenancies are allocated to those unable to rent or buy on the open market on the basis of housing need.

Social Housing Grant: grants distributed to RSLs and councils by the Housing Corporation to part-subsidise the cost of building new affordable housing.

Tenement: a purpose-built flat block, typically with one to three flats per floor accessed via a central stairwell; blocks are up to six storeys high and terraced together to form streets.

Urban Regeneration Companies (URCs): private-public partnerships established to champion and stimulate new investment in urban areas and co-ordinate plans for their regeneration and development.

Appendix B

Research methods

The research for this report had three main strands:

- four case studies of established inner urban MINCs;

- a review of current and planned MINCs in Britain's 25 largest cities;

- interviews with housebuilders and representatives of strategic bodies.

We also reviewed the existing literature, and examined census and national survey data on trends and patterns in families' residential choice.

Case studies

Our case studies were selected from MINCs that:

- were located in inner urban areas;

- had 300 or more new homes in total, with new build in both market-rate and affordable sectors;

- had been lived in for at least two years;

- had either a declared intention to attract families, some private homes suitable for families, or some private families.

We sought to include examples from London and from cities where housing demand has been lower.

The field work funded by the JRF grant was carried out between June and November 2004 in London and Glasgow, and between February and May 2005 in Manchester. This supplemented extensive work carried out at the London and Glasgow sites in 2002-2004 by Emily Silverman for her doctoral thesis.

Each site was visited at least eight times by a member of the research team. At each case study we conducted a residents' survey and interviews with families and key actors, described below. Each researcher also recorded observations of children's play, the use of public space, shops and services, and the presence or absence of problems such as litter, traffic and vandalism.

Resident survey

We surveyed approximately 100 residents at each case study site, sampled to reflect the approximate tenure mix in the local housing. At Britannia Village, Greenwich

Millennium Village and New Gorbals, interviews were carried out on the street at varying sites, at different times of day and evening, and at both weekdays and weekends. At Hulme, door-to-door interviews were conducted, because internal car-parks mean the streets are relatively quiet.

Table B.1: Number of survey respondents by site

	Market rate housing	Affordable housing	Total
Britannia Village	69	33	102
Greenwich Millennium Village	82	18	100
New Gorbals	97	21	118
Hulme	49	49	98
Total	297	121	418

The questionnaire, which took between ten and thirty minutes to administer, used a combination of national survey questions and those devised for this research. The topics covered included:

- information on current and previous housing, including tenure, time in the area and location;

- overall satisfaction;

- reasons for moving to the area;

- most and least liked aspects of living in the neighbourhood;

- ratings of the severity of various possible sources of neighbourhood nuisance;

- views on the neighbourhood's suitability for raising children;

- likelihood of moving away from the area, and possible reasons for doing so; and

- household composition, including age, occupation and ethnicity of all adults, and gross household income.

Responses were recorded both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the data analysed using SPSS.

Interviews with families

At each site, we also sought to interview at least 20 adults in households with children living in the new private housing, and at least ten living in social housing. These semi-structured interviews included questions on the topics given above, and also additional more detailed discussion of:

- age and current schooling of children;

- selection of school or childcare;

- views of the school;

- children's play and leisure, including use of local facilities and inter-tenure contacts;

- sources of childcare;

- suitability of home for raising children, and;

- what would improve the neighbourhood as a place to raise children.

A number of means were used to recruit these families to the study, including the residents' survey, neighbours' and friends' reports of where children lived, and contacts made at nurseries and school gates. Often we were able to secure an extended interview in the respondent's home, lasting up to an hour. In some other cases parents were willing to give only shorter interviews, usually at the location where they were contacted. The total number of families interviewed at each site is given below; about half at Britannia Village, Greenwich Millennium Village and New Gorbals, and all but three at Hulme were longer interviews.

Table B.2: Number of family interviews, by site and tenure

	Market rate housing	Affordable housing	Total
Britannia Village	23	30	53
Greenwich Millennium Village	22	20	42
Hulme	19	11	30
New Gorbals	26	12	38
Total	90	73	163

These were recorded using contemporaneous notes, or using a digital recorder. The cases were analysed manually and using SPSS and Weft QDA.[13]

Estimating numbers of homes and families

Estimating numbers of homes and families in these neighbourhoods was difficult. No single source provides an accurate and up-to-date record. The census is now four years out of date; significant numbers of new units have been built at each site, and existing properties have changed hands through sales and re-lettings. At Britannia Village, we also identified substantial census undercounting of flatted properties. Greenwich Millennium Village was occupied after the census in 2001.

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13 http://www.pressure.to/qda/

In addition to the census, therefore, we used a range of documents and data to estimate the present mix of homes and the number of families in market-rate housing. All of these sources have problems with either coverage, sampling method or level of detail, but were used in combination to generate estimates. Where available, sources that have been used include:

- Our residents' survey;

- Planning records;

- Community surveys carried out by companies and voluntary bodies;

- School rolls, including postcode data;

- Tenancy records from RSLs;

- Information on sales from private developers; and

- Previously published evaluations of the developments.

The complexity of piecing together these sources to produce estimates of the number of families indicates the difficulty of evaluating the success of income mix policies even at the most basic level.

Interviews with key actors

Additionally, we interviewed at least 15 key actors at each site. These interviews normally lasted from 30 minutes to an hour and a half. The individuals we interviewed included representatives of:

- regeneration agencies involved with the MINCs;

- local authority departments with responsibility for planning, housing, education and environmental management;

- property developers;

- architects, planners and scheme designers;

- housing associations;

- tenants' and residents' associations;

- local schools and nurseries;

- service providers including estate management, police officers, youth workers, park wardens, health workers, librarians and leisure facility managers;

- voluntary organisations and church groups;

- local politicians; and

- sales representatives and estate agents.

We also gathered and reviewed design briefs, marketing materials, photographs and plans of the sites.

Table B.3: Number of key actors interviewed, by site

Britannia Village	24
Greenwich Millennium Village	22
Hulme	15
New Gorbals	21
Total	75

Review of current and planned MINCs

We set out to gain an overview of inner urban MINC developments in Britain's 25 largest cities: London, Glasgow, the major cities within the metropolitan areas outside London (Birmingham, Manchester, Salford, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Liverpool, Newcastle and Sunderland) and the 14 largest non-metropolitan cities (Edinburgh, Bristol, Cardiff, Leicester, Nottingham, Hull, Plymouth, Stoke-on-Trent, Swansea, Derby, Aberdeen, Southampton, Portsmouth and Dundee).

To gain an overview of developments, we visited council, URC, HMRP and NDC websites and followed up by telephone, email or personal visit. We also identified and contacted the housebuilding companies, and some RSLs, most active in this area of work. We sought to identify the location and overall size of schemes, and breakdowns of housing type and tenure. Data collected from initial contacts with housebuilders was subsequently checked by follow-up letter.

This information was extremely time-consuming and difficult to gather. Publicly available information does not usually include scheme details, which are often only known at the very local level. Housebuilding companies are often large, with regional divisions, and it was hard to find individuals with an overview of developments across the country. When contacted, both housebuilders and planners more readily reported on current and planned schemes than ones that had already been built. Built schemes often varied from what had been originally planned. Many MINCs are only at the planning stages – details such as type and tenure breakdowns are not yet known.

Our review is not therefore exhaustive, but gives an illustrative picture of the current situation. The problems we have had compiling it indicate the difficulty for Government in monitoring the implementation of MINC policies.

Strategic interviews

As a final stage, we conducted face to face interviews with representatives of six large housebuilding companies and one RSL, and representatives of the following strategic bodies involved in MINC developments:

- English Partnerships;

- Greater London Authority;

- Housing Corporation;

- House Builders Federation;

- Office of the Deputy Prime Minister;

- New East Manchester (URC);

- Leicester Regeneration Company (URC);

- Derby Cityscape (URC); and

- Newcastle and Gateshead Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder.

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