

The dynamics of neighbourhood sustainability

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The dynamics of neighbourhood sustainability

Geoff Green, Mike Grimsley and Bernard Stafford



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Executive summary

Neighbourhood assets are a key to neighbourhood sustainability. This study charts, over time, the influence of four assets – social, human, environmental and fixed – on the self-reported well-being of residents in eight former coalmining communities in South Yorkshire. Evidence is derived from a large-scale baseline and a follow-up survey.

The study traces the movements of residents into and out of these eight neighbourhoods and shows that population movements have an important influence on whether or not a neighbourhood evolves along a sustainable path. We identify the influence of wider developments in the labour and housing markets and we map out a strategy for sustainable regeneration. The key findings are that:

- The strong growth in jobs over the 1990s nationally and in the sub-region had a very weak impact in the study neighbourhoods. When inactivity is taken into account as well as unemployment, a pattern of severe and persistent labour market disadvantage is revealed (Chapter 2).
- The demand for housing in seven of the study areas has been depressed by an excess supply of new accommodation in the wider sub-regional housing market. The problem of 'low demand' for housing in the study areas – and the environmental and social damage which comes in its train – has been intensified by a very rapid expansion of the nearby stock of new private dwellings (Chapter 4).
- There is a strong relationship between neighbourhood assets and neighbourhood well-being. Social assets – trust, safety and reciprocity – are the most important, followed by the quality of the housing stock and the environmental amenity of the neighbourhood (Chapter 5).
- The eight neighbourhoods now have very different trajectories, despite the collapse of a common economic base. These trajectories can be classified as sustainable, regenerating or declining (Chapter 5).
- Dysfunctional social relations – mistrust of neighbours and fear of crime – are key drivers of residential mobility away from declining neighbourhoods. 'A better area' is the most important goal. Life course events – marriage, divorce or getting a new job – are less important than elsewhere (Chapter 7).

- For many tenants of registered social landlords (RSLs), the initial attraction of a new and well-maintained house has been overshadowed by the social problems in their immediate neighbourhood. Successive waves of in-movers appear to compound the problem. In these enclaves, the cycle of decline has not been halted by investment in fixed assets (Chapter 7).
- Sustainable neighbourhoods are successful in replenishing their human assets because they recruit incomers who are relatively healthy and prosperous. Unsustainable neighbourhoods recruit incomers with relatively few assets, usually from poor neighbourhoods nearby. Publicly led regeneration programmes have helped turn around poor neighbourhoods by attracting relatively skilled and healthy householders (Chapters 6 and 8).
- It is costly and inequitable for declining areas to rely on adjustments in labour and housing markets cushioned by mainstream or area-targeted welfare provision. More cost effective and more equitable for declining neighbourhoods is an investment strategy designed to boost social capital, environmental amenity and owner-occupation. However, such an investment programme will be undermined by any significant degree of excess supply in the wider sub-regional housing market. An essential component of a strategy for neighbourhood regeneration is thus a strategic sub-regional housing policy designed to prevent excess supply, and for sub-regions similar to South Yorkshire this strategic component will require housing demolition (Chapter 9).

A fuller statement of these key findings is provided in Chapter 9.

1 Introduction

Our study is designed to uncover the causes of neighbourhood growth and decline in deprived areas of England. It sits within a national policy focus on vulnerable areas, in particular on how to revive failing housing markets in urban communities. It builds upon a good deal of research in support of these national and regional policies. The wider policy context is summarised in Chapter 2. Also in Chapter 2 is a brief account of the main characteristics of our study neighbourhoods, including their pattern of housing tenure.

Our approach has two innovative features. First, we deploy an explicit ‘four capitals–durable housing’ model of neighbourhood sustainability, elements of which we first used in our earlier baseline study *Capital Accounting for Neighbourhood Sustainability* (Green *et al.*, 2001). This framework and our survey methodology are set out in Chapter 3. Essentially, we argue that sustainable neighbourhoods depend on the level and mix of community assets. Second, the model is applied *dynamically* to eight ex-mining neighbourhoods in the South Yorkshire coalfield. In applying our model, we undertook a large-scale longitudinal survey that connects people with where they live and traces migrants to and from the eight study neighbourhoods. These surveys allow us to analyse the contribution made by the four capitals, and by the movement of residents in and out of the neighbourhoods, to the trajectories of decline, regeneration and sustainability.

The decline or regeneration of vulnerable neighbourhoods depends heavily upon the interaction of sub-regional labour and housing markets. These are analysed in Chapters 2 and 4 respectively. The results of our survey and resurvey of the eight neighbourhood populations are analysed in Chapters 5 to 8.

Though our post-industrial study areas have special features, they have sufficient in common with other deprived and vulnerable communities in the UK for us to address five key general questions:

- To what extent does a rising tide of prosperity and jobs within the nation and a region raise the economic fortunes of deprived neighbourhoods within the region – is there a geographical trickle-down effect from national and regional prosperity?
- What are the causes and mechanisms of ‘low demand’ for housing in deprived neighbourhoods?
- How can neighbourhood ‘sustainability’ be defined and measured, and how is it related to the characteristics of neighbourhoods and residents?

The dynamics of neighbourhood sustainability

- To what extent does the sustainability of a neighbourhood depend on the characteristics of those who move in and out of the neighbourhood – to what extent do neighbourhoods become unsustainable or sustainable through a process of residential segregation?
- What causes people to move into and out of vulnerable neighbourhoods?

In Chapter 9 we assess several policy scenarios in the light of our answers to these five questions.

2 The policy context and the study neighbourhoods

This background chapter is divided into two parts. First we set the national policy context of neighbourhood renewal, then we give a brief overview of housing and labour market developments in our eight study neighbourhoods. The labour market profile includes a brief comparison of trends in the neighbourhood group with those in the sub-regional¹ and national economies.

The key message emerging from this comparison is that the strong growth in jobs over the 1990s slightly favoured the study neighbourhood area relative to the sub-region and the nation, but did no more than restore the pattern of severe labour market disadvantage that prevailed in 1981.

National policy context

A number of national reports analyse the characteristics, scale, trend and causes of neighbourhood deprivation (SEU, 2000a, chs 1 and 2; the 18 reports of the Policy Action Teams: SEU, 2000b; and the subsequent national action plan: SEU, 2001, ch. 1).

From these reports we know that the gap between deprived communities and the rest of the country shows itself in terms of high rates of unemployment and economic inactivity, high rates of dependency on welfare benefits, high crime rates, low levels of educational attainment, poor health status, and high levels of vacancy and dereliction in the housing stock. Between 800 and 900 UK wards are afflicted by very serious deprivation. The highest concentrations are in the North East, the North West and Yorkshire and Humberside. In these regions, deprived wards account for between 19 per cent and 36 per cent of the population. However, although much work has been done to chart the facets of neighbourhood deprivation, there is only a limited understanding of the nature of the underlying processes and causes involved.

A specific concern within existing studies is housing markets in declining neighbourhoods. Building on earlier work, researchers have developed detailed typologies of local housing markets afflicted by 'low demand', the more obvious signs of which are an increase in empty properties, a sharp deterioration in the maintenance and repair of dwellings and a general decay in the quality of the housing stock (see, for example, Bramley and Pawson, 2002; and Lee and Nevin, 2003). The close proximity of such housing markets to extensive new developments of private housing (Lee and Nevin, 2003, p. 69; and Green *et al.*, 2001, ch. 3) raises the possibility that the latter may contribute to the problems of the former.

Over the past half-decade a sequence of neighbourhood regeneration strategies has been put in place. These superseded both earlier policies focused on land and property development, such as Urban Development Corporations, and earlier attempts at a more comprehensive and integrated approach – principally City Challenge and the Single Regeneration Budget. Amongst the principal new initiatives are:

- the New Deal for Communities (NDC) – launched in 1998 and focused on employment, crime, education, health and housing problems in 39 NDC areas of between 1,000 and 4,000 households
- the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund – established in 2001 to fund improvements in mainstream public services in 88 deprived areas
- Pathfinder Housing Projects – announced in 2002 and designed to tackle the problem of housing abandonment in nine urban areas in the North West, South Yorkshire, Humberside, Tyneside, North Staffordshire and Birmingham/Sandwell, the areas selected by an analysis of the prevalence of low demand for housing
- the Sustainable Communities Plan – launched in February 2003 and ambitiously addressing both the problem of low demand, abandonment and deprivation in the northern regions and the opposite problem of severe housing shortages in London and the wider South East.

As we shall see below, the tide of prosperity within the national economy during the 1990s did little to alleviate neighbourhood deprivation. Although the case for area-based renewal strategies was thus strongly reinforced, the strategies put in place suffer from lack of co-ordination across ‘a plethora of area-based initiatives, designed to identify different policy needs in different areas’ (House of Commons, 2003).

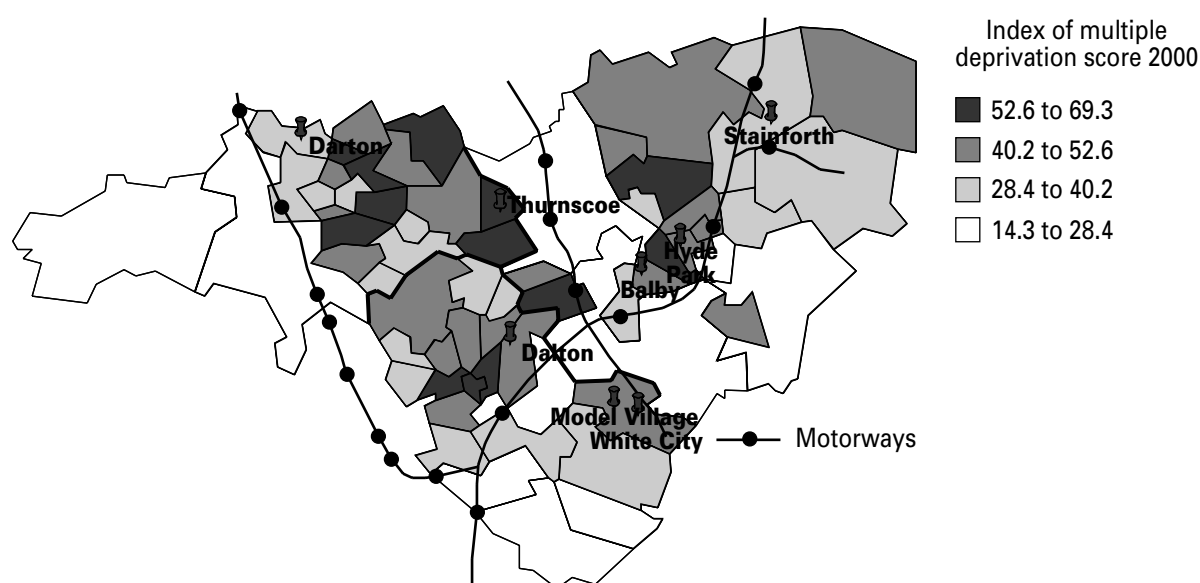
The study neighbourhoods

This study is focused on eight neighbourhoods in the now former South Yorkshire coalfield. In 1981 coal mining provided 44,000 jobs in South Yorkshire, 29,000 of which were lost over the following decade as a result of pit closures. The local labour market was further depressed by the unprecedentedly severe recession in the manufacturing sector of the national economy between 1981 and 1986. Many of our study neighbourhoods have followed a trajectory of decline over the past two decades, aspects of which are analysed in our earlier report (Green *et al.*, 2001).

Housing in the study neighbourhoods

Seven neighbourhoods (all except Darton) were selected for the baseline study in 2000 as typical of those which had declined since the mines were closed. Their location is shown in Figure 1. They are all in electoral wards with high levels of multiple deprivation. Although the Darton study neighbourhood was heavily dependent on mining employment in 1981 (Table 1), the impact of the wave of pit closures was offset by a very large programme of private house building over the 1990s. Darton is now located in an electoral ward with a low level of deprivation relative to other coalfield wards and was included for comparison.

Figure 1 Location of the study neighbourhoods



Source: Government Index of Multiple Deprivation 2000

Table 1 Employment profile of the study neighbourhoods in 1981

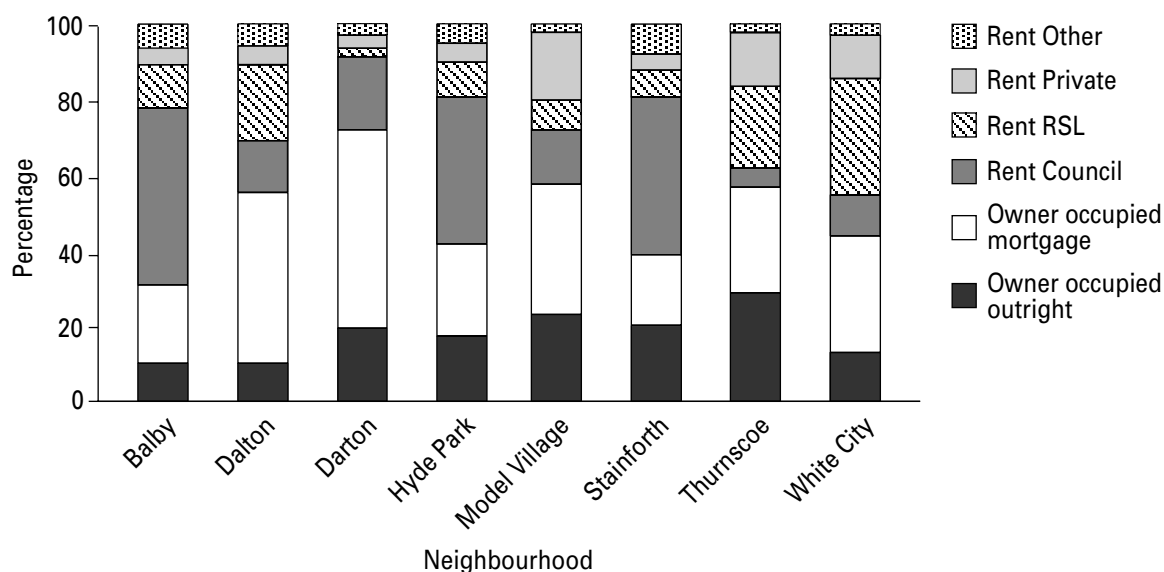
| Neighbourhood | (%) of male employment in coal mining, 1981 | Population of working age, male plus female, 1981 |
|---------------|---|---|
| Balby | 8.3 | 976 |
| Dalton | 14.3 | 565 |
| Darton | 56.8 | 987 |
| Hyde Park | 28.6 | 604 |
| Model Village | 38.5 | 771 |
| Stainforth | 63.8 | 1,272 |
| Thurnscoe | 77.6 | 987 |
| White City | 70.8 | 634 |

Source: Population Census 1981

In 1981 all neighbourhoods except Balby were heavily dependent on coalmining employment, some overwhelmingly so (Table 1). Seven of the eight neighbourhoods (all except Darton) were built as cottage estates for miners, containing a mix of terraced and semi-detached houses with generous gardens and public open spaces. In their heyday these were desirable places to live. Since 1990, four of the seven (Stainforth, White City, Dalton and Balby) have received substantial public investment in the housing stock and the urban environment – a total investment of £37 million at current prices. Since the early 1990s over £25 million has been invested in Darton by private house-building companies – predominantly in three- to four-bedroomed ‘executive style’ detached properties for owner-occupation. Partly as a result of these investments in new properties with more amenities and better design, the older terraced and semi-detached properties in the seven neighbourhoods have been relegated to the lowest rungs of the property ladder. Figure 2 shows the great variation of housing tenure in the eight neighbourhoods at the present day. Historical patterns of ownership linked to the mining industry were altered first by the Right to Buy legislation and then by the dynamics of regeneration. All houses in the three neighbourhoods with the highest outright ownership by occupiers – Thurnscoe, the Model Village and Stainforth – were owned by the National Coal Board (NCB). Most were sold off in the 1970s to sitting tenants. In Stainforth, the remaining stock was bought by the local authority, which retained and improved much of it. In Thurnscoe the balance was bought by a housing co-operative that, despite some sales, retains 20 per cent of the stock. The NCB also sold their housing stock in the White City, both to tenants and to a large private landlord. However, structural problems with the industrialised building system led to a buy-back of owner-occupied houses by the local authority and a redevelopment programme in partnership with an RSL.

Hyde Park and Balby were built as desirable cottage estates by the local authority in the interwar years. Many tenants bought their homes in the 1980s using Right to Buy provisions, though sales slowed in the 1990s when the neighbourhoods gained a poor reputation and house prices stagnated. In recent years, both Darton and Dalton have experienced major house building for sale to owner-occupiers. The proportion with mortgages is much higher than on the ex-NCB estates because households tend to be younger and house prices much higher.

Figure 2 The pattern of housing tenure, 2001 (percentages)



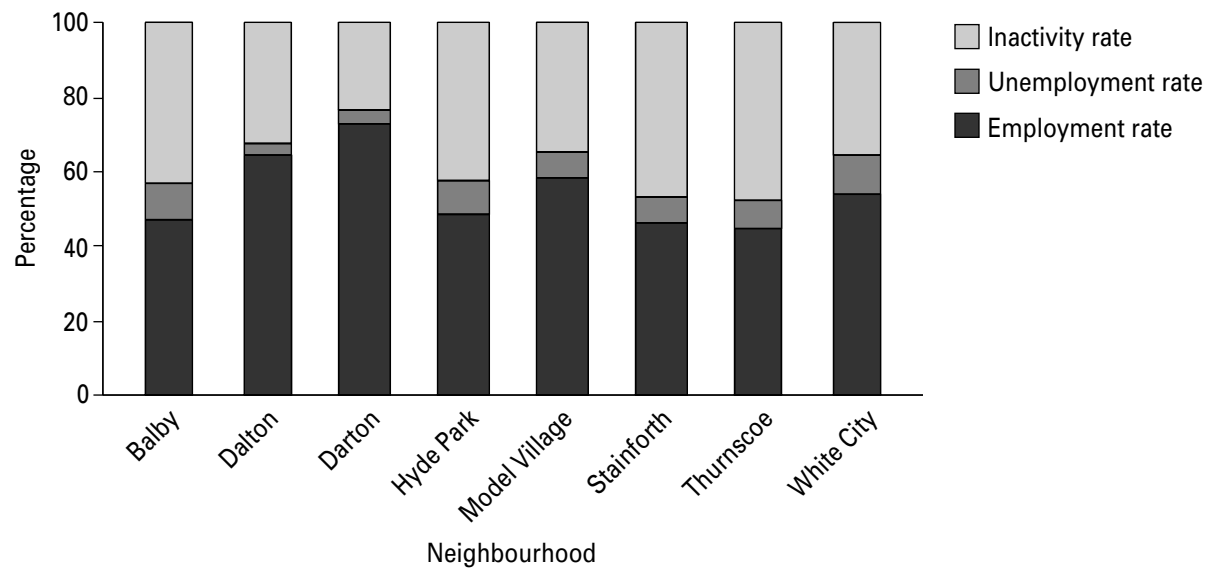
Source: Population Census 2001

Employment and non-employment in the study neighbourhoods

The decline of coal mining has strongly influenced the evolution of local labour markets. In 1981 male (and female) unemployment was relatively low in neighbourhoods where the dependency on mining jobs was relatively high (Darton, the White City and Thurnscoe), whereas the reverse was the case in Dalton and Balby. Over the following two decades the favourable unemployment position of neighbourhoods initially more dependent on mining has been eroded by two factors: greater increases in unemployment over the 1980s – reflecting the impact of pit closures; and smaller reductions in unemployment over the boom decade of the 1990s.

In 1981 inactivity rates tended to be higher in neighbourhoods more dependent on coal mining (reflecting the adverse health effects of mining employment) – and hence inversely related to unemployment. But two decades later high inactivity rates are associated with high unemployment rates – suggesting that inactivity now contains an element of disguised unemployment.² The present-day pattern of employment, unemployment and inactivity across the study neighbourhoods is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 Working-age employment, unemployment and inactivity rates (percentages), 2001 (males and females)



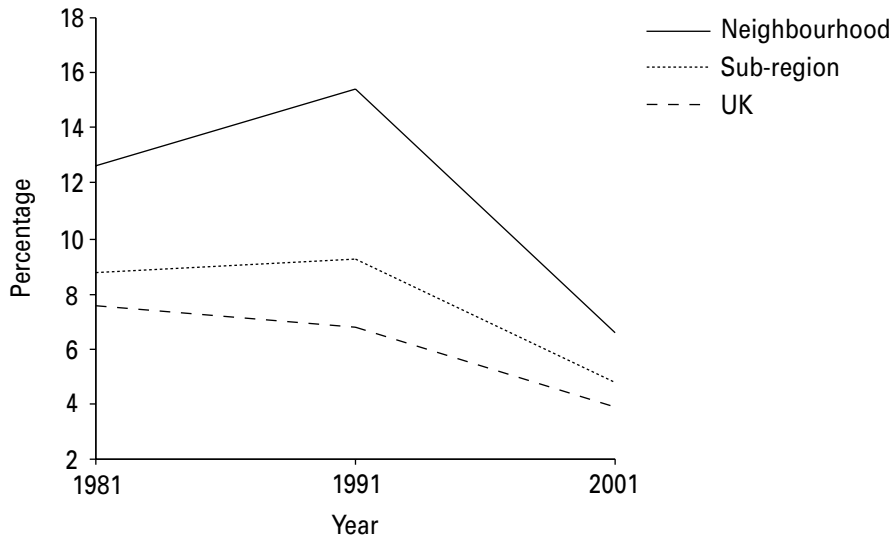
Source: Population Census 2001

The rate of non-employment (unemployment plus inactivity) is now relatively high in two neighbourhoods highly dependent on coal mining two decades ago (Thurnscoe and Stainforth). But it is also high in Balby, despite its initial low dependence on coal. And Darton, initially highly dependent on mining jobs, has achieved by far the lowest non-employment rate. These differences have come about because the influence of pit closures on neighbourhood trajectories of unemployment and inactivity has been moderated by the distribution of regeneration investment across the eight neighbourhoods, an impact which is analysed in more detail in Chapter 5.

In addition to charting the labour market performance of the eight neighbourhoods relative to each other, we can examine the labour market performance of the neighbourhood group as a whole relative to the sub-region and the nation. We can thus assess the extent to which the study neighbourhoods benefited from the rising tide of prosperity in the national economy over the 1990s.

Figure 4 shows for 1981, 1991 and 2001 the working-age unemployment rate for all workers in the study neighbourhoods, the coalfield sub-region and the national economy. Figure 5 shows the same information for inactivity rather than unemployment.

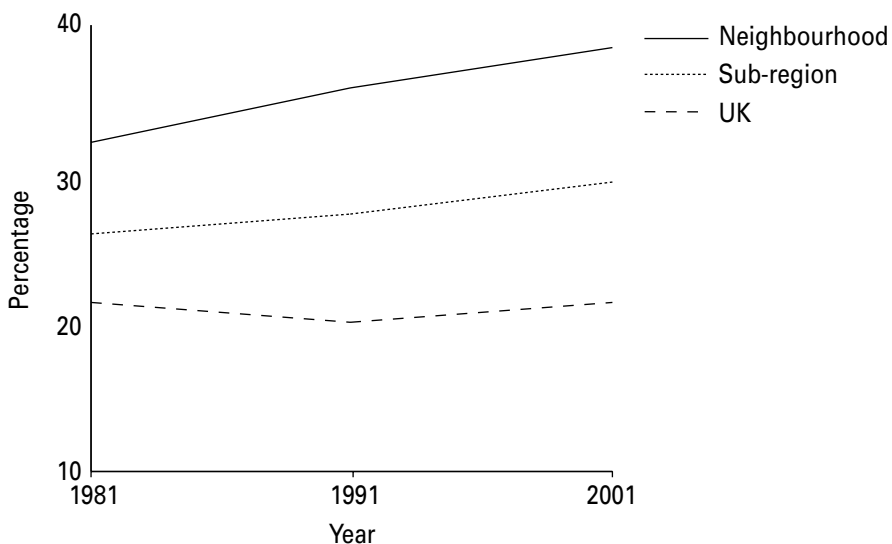
Figure 4 Working-age unemployment rates (percentages) in the study neighbourhoods, the sub-region and the UK, 1981, 1991 and 2001 (males and females)



Sources: 1981, 1991 and 2001 Population Census for neighbourhood and sub-region; Labour Force Survey and Lindsay and Doyle (2003) for UK

The decline in jobs in the 1980s increased the unemployment gap between the neighbourhood group and the sub-region and that between the sub-region and the national economy. The same pattern emerged in terms of inactivity (Figure 5).

Figure 5 Working-age inactivity rates (percentages) in the study neighbourhoods, the sub-region and the UK, 1981, 1991 and 2001 (males and females)



Source: As Figure 4

The year 1993 marks the dividing line between decline and recovery in the national labour market, and the beginning of the longest continuous period of economic growth in the post-war UK economy. As a group, the study neighbourhoods were left stranded by falling employment in the 1980s, but to what extent were they rescued by rising employment in the 1990s?

Figure 4 indicates a strong improvement over the 1990s in the unemployment position of the study neighbourhood group relative to both the sub-region and the national economy. Underpinning this improvement is a dramatic fall in male unemployment in the neighbourhood group by over 14 percentage points, and a modest reduction in female unemployment in the group of three percentage points.

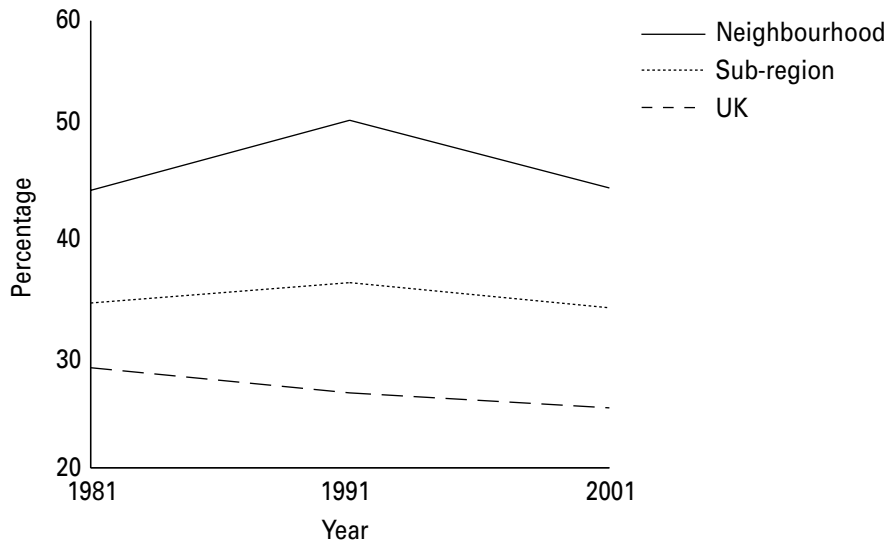
But a very different picture emerges when we look at inactivity rather than unemployment. Figure 5 shows that, in stark contrast to the unemployment pattern:

- over the 1990s total inactivity *increased* marginally in the national economy, by a little more in the sub-regional economy, and by more still in the neighbourhood group³
- the gap in total inactivity between the neighbourhood group and the sub-region *increased* over the same period (marginally, from 8.4 to 8.9 percentage points). The gap also widened between the sub-region and the national economy (from 7.3 to 8.1 percentage points).

The good news for the study neighbourhoods about the recovery of the 1990s is that the fall in the unemployment gap more than offset the increase in the inactivity gap. The excess of the neighbourhood non-employment rate (the unemployment rate plus the inactivity rate) over that in the sub-region fell from 14.5 percentage points in 1991 to 10.7 percentage points in 2001. And the excess over the rate in the national economy fell from 24.3 to 19.7 percentage points. In other words, growing prosperity in the national economy improved the non-employment position of the study neighbourhoods relative to both the sub-region and the nation.

The less good news concerns the scale of the labour market disadvantage that remains. The problem is evident when we compare the 2001 outcome with the 1981 position. As the two upper curves in Figure 6 indicate, the increase in jobs over the 1990s served merely to restore the large non-employment gap between the neighbourhood group and the sub-region that obtained two decades earlier (a gap of ten percentage points). The upper and lower curves show that rising prosperity nationally was insufficient to prevent the non-employment gap between the group and the country as a whole from widening between 1981 and 2001 (from 15.8 to 19.7 percentage points).

Figure 6 Total (male plus female) working-age non-employment rates (percentages) in the study neighbourhoods, the sub-region and the UK, 1981, 1991 and 2001



Source: As Figure 4

3 Modelling and measuring sustainability

The processes of neighbourhood growth and decline are multidimensional and complex. In order to progress beyond a description of the visible features of these processes, we adopt an explicit conceptual framework – a model – comprising two linked components: a ‘four capitals’ model of socio-economic development and a model of the housing market stressing the durability of the housing stock. The former provides a systematic way of thinking about how sustainable and unsustainable communities emerge. The housing element of the model gives an account of how labour and housing markets can interact to generate a self-reinforcing cycle of decay in environmental quality. It also gives an account of how residential movements lead the poor and the better off to become increasingly segregated in separate communities.

This chapter gives a brief overview of the linked elements of our model and goes on to describe the data we have used in applying the model. But it is important to bear in mind that the model offers a *stylised* account of how labour and housing markets shape neighbourhood development and well-being and not a comprehensive account of how the real world works. Some real-world causes and outcomes are omitted. Thus, for example, we expect factors other than income and the price of accommodation to influence residential movements, and that the neighbourhood trajectories described by the model can be influenced by public policies designed to counter neighbourhood decline.

The four capitals and sustainable development

The four capitals model rests on a distinction between the stock of assets (or capitals) of a community and the flow of services (benefits) which these assets provide and which in turn contribute to community well-being or welfare.

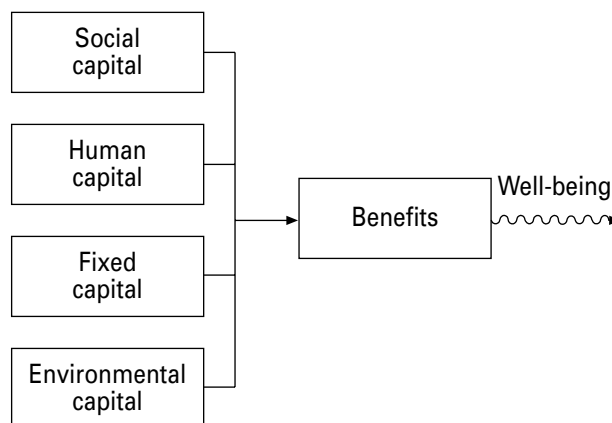
We identify four socio-economic assets – the four capitals:

- *fixed capital* – which is the produced means of producing other goods and services and is well defined and conventionally measured. Examples are houses, plant, machinery, and roads
- *human capital* – which we see as comprising the skills and knowledge embodied in people and, less conventionally, their health status
- *environmental capital* – which we largely equate with neighbourhood amenity, for example the quality of the local urban landscape

- *social capital* – which refers to those social norms and networks which promote co-operative behaviour (but which has proved difficult to define and measure – see *Isuma: Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, 2001).

The relationship between capitals and well-being is illustrated in Figure 7.

Figure 7 The four capitals and well-being



The useful services (benefits) which flow from the four capitals are not confined to those provided through private markets. Some are provided in this way – such as the command over goods and services represented by the wage income arising from the employment of human capital. But many are not – such as clean air, good health and a pleasant environment.

Capitals are typically complements rather than substitutes in the provision of well-being – thus a depletion of one asset can generally not be made good by investment in another. Also, there are spillover effects between each capital – for example, a deterioration in housing conditions can cause ill health or, a positive example, a new housing scheme can enhance community networks. Spillover effects are especially important because they are the mechanisms by which socio-economic decline and development become cumulative and self-reinforcing – they contribute to a virtuous circle of development or a vicious spiral of decline.

We think of the sustainability of a community in terms of what happens to the welfare of residents over time. Specifically, sustainability obtains when community welfare does not diminish over time. Of course, in any community in which the resident population changes we should think of sustainability in terms of the trajectory of per capita welfare rather than of some sort of aggregate sum of welfare. However, defining sustainability solely in terms of non-declining welfare is subject to several well-known difficulties (see Perlman *et al.*, 2003, ch. 4). Those most likely to be encountered in our study are that:

- as no lower limit is imposed on the level of welfare, a community would be identified as sustainable if welfare remains very low but does not get lower still
- identification is problematic in cases where there are short-term fluctuations in welfare about constant, rising or falling trends.

As there is no agreed analytical device or approach which can be used to resolve these difficulties, our identification of sustainable and unsustainable neighbourhoods is based on an assessment of numerical indicators of neighbourhood welfare made in the light of other qualitative data, rather than on numerical indicators alone.

Variants of this model of sustainability have typically been applied at the national and global level. Our focus is at the other extreme: on eight small neighbourhoods nesting within a sub-national region. This local focus gives rise to some factors which occur less or not at all at the national level. The set of neighbourhood residents will change through time because of population migration. And in so far as the characteristics of in-movers and out-movers differ from each other and from those of continuous residents, population migration will generate changes in those community assets which depend on personal characteristics – most obviously human capital, but perhaps social capital also.

Interactions between labour and housing markets

Demand changes and price responses

Because housing is a durable commodity, housing markets will respond differentially to positive and negative demand shocks emanating from the labour market. In areas where employment and incomes are rising, the market price of housing units will rise above the price of new construction, and, following Glaeser and Gyourko (2001), we predict that more housing units will get built with relatively small increases in price (at least in areas where the supply of building land and other inputs is not limited). We also expect investment in the renovation or improvement of existing dwellings to increase. In contrast, in areas suffering job losses and falling incomes, we expect to see only a very gradual fall in the stock of housing units as demand contracts – because houses are durable assets which depreciate only slowly – and, as a consequence, a relatively large fall in the price of housing units below the cost of new construction. In such areas there will be a strong downward pressure on house prices and a growing disincentive to invest in the repair and improvement of dwellings.

These demand and supply forces will tend to drive market rents in the same direction as the price of housing units: slowly upwards in expanding areas and rapidly downwards in declining areas. In the case of the social rental sector, to the extent

that administered rents do not follow the trend of market rents, the impact of falling demand on the social housing sector will show itself in terms of an increase in vacant, unlet, units – as an excess in the supply of units at prevailing administered rent levels.

Sharply falling house prices and market rents in declining areas will impose significant spillover costs on community assets. Thus:

- the private housing component of the fixed capital stock will deteriorate because of reductions in the repair and improvement of properties, and this in turn will degrade the quality of the urban landscape component of the environmental asset
- these adverse environmental effects will be intensified when prices and rents in the market sector fall to levels which induce the retirement and abandonment of housing units by owners, and when vacancy rates rise sharply in the social housing sector.

Using a model that recognises that housing is durable thus offers insights into some underlying causes and processes of the much discussed phenomenon of 'low housing demand'. (For such discussions, see, for example, Lowe *et al.*, 1998; Holmans and Simpson, 1999; Bramley and Pawson, 2002; and Lee and Nevin, 2003.)

Falling house prices and residential segregation

Falling house prices and rents will also have an impact on the stock of human capital in the area through the effects of population migration. Falling house prices are likely to be more attractive to the poor than the rich – either because housing costs are a higher proportion of the total spending of poorer households (so that the real income gain following the price fall is proportionately bigger for the poor), or because, when income changes, the demand for housing is inversely related to the level of income.

People on lower incomes will move into an area in which house prices and rents are falling. As Glaeser and Gyourko (2001) argue, the attraction is especially great for the poor who are already unemployed, as they gain access to cheaper housing by moving, without exposing themselves to the wage loss associated with falling employment. Although the outcome is that the poor live where they do because they are poor, a pure neighbourhood effect on poverty may also emerge by which the poor are confined to poverty because of where they live. Such an effect may result from several causes: postcode discrimination practised by employers and others; restricted access to the informal information about job opportunities which comes

from knowing other people with jobs; and perhaps, more generally, the emergence of shared values which serve to maintain or increase the risk of poverty.

Existing residents on higher incomes are likely to move out of declining areas. Not only may the physical and environmental decay which falling prices induce make richer residents want to live somewhere else, but, as Cheshire *et al.* (2003) suggest, better-off households may seek neighbourhoods with higher concentrations of other high-income households.

As levels of income and human capital are positively related, the overall result is that levels of human capital decline in areas suffering employment and income losses. Thus labour and housing markets interact to generate residential segregation by level of human capital. Such effects have been identified in the USA by Glaeser and Gyourko (2001).

Measurement

In order to apply the four capitals–durable housing model, we assembled empirical indicators for each of the eight neighbourhoods for:

- changes in the value of each asset
- changes in neighbourhood well-being
- the human capital and other socio-economic characteristics of in-movers, out-movers and stayers.

These indicators are based on primary data generated by two waves of a household survey. These data are supplemented by an additional survey of in-movers and out-movers designed to provide a more detailed picture of the characteristics and behaviour of movers, and by qualitative interviews with ten movers. In addition, we draw on two large-scale surveys of housing market conditions in the sub-region and the study areas undertaken in 2000 and 2002, and on labour market data for the sub-region and the study areas provided by the Population Censuses of 1981, 1991 and 2001.

Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys of residents

In 2000, 1,338 residents of the eight neighbourhoods were surveyed (Wave 1). In 2002/3 this sample was classified as either stayers, or out-movers within or without South Yorkshire. Stayers and movers within South Yorkshire were asked in Wave 2 a

similar set of questions to those in the Wave 1 survey, the latter being traced for Wave 2 with the assistance of the Health Authority. A proportion of the properties vacated by out-movers between 2000 and 2002/3 were demolished, but, where they were reoccupied, in-movers were also asked the same set of questions. In addition, Wave 2 questionnaires were sent to new properties built since 2000 and to properties vacant in 2000 but occupied in 2002. Details of the structure of the Wave 1 and Wave 2 survey responses are provided in Chapter 6.

Table A1 in the Appendix shows the dimensions of each of the four assets measured in the two waves of the basic survey, and the elements of our indicator of well-being. Following Parkes *et al.* (2002), we operate with a relatively narrow definition of well-being which equates to neighbourhood satisfaction. Table A2 in the Appendix shows the Wave 1 questionnaire design. Only 19 questions were asked in order to make it easy for residents to respond by post. Where possible, we imported validated questions from other surveys to allow comparisons with national benchmarks. The questions were designed to: (a) identify individual characteristics which would allow us, using methods described in Chapter 5, to measure the human capital and well-being of neighbourhood communities; and (b) indicate respondents' assessment of the social characteristics of their neighbourhood. These indicators were then combined (see Chapter 5) to provide measures of the social, physical and environmental capitals of the eight neighbourhoods. At Wave 2, all Wave 1 questions were repeated and two questions added – one on why respondents moved to their 2002/3 address and another on environmental attractiveness. Table A3 in the Appendix shows the design of the supplementary survey of movers.

The household and the individual

Responses to the Wave 1 and Wave 2 questionnaires were made by individuals in households. We have adopted the individual as the unit for the statistical analysis of the survey data. In order to check for any bias caused by drawing more than one individual from each household, we have compared our statistical results for unadjusted individual-level data with those for:

- household-level data – computed by averaging the responses of individuals from each household
- individual-level data, with respondents per household included as a control variable in the modelling exercise.

In the statistical modelling reported in Chapters 5, 7 and 8, there are no significant differences between the results for unadjusted data and those for data incorporating an adjustment or control for households with more than one respondent.

4 Housing markets in the sub-region and the study neighbourhoods

Over the 1990s a significant imbalance emerged at the sub-regional level between the increase in housing supply resulting from new construction and the growth in demand, and at the same time unemployment in the sub-region was falling and incomes rising. In this chapter we show that:

- the interaction between sub-regional housing and labour markets over the 1990s exerted a depressive effect on housing markets in our study neighbourhoods
- increased commuting – the counterpart of an increased separation between place of residence and place of work – is an important reason why local job gains do not show up in local reductions in unemployment and inactivity.

Housing supply and demand: the local effects of a sub-regional imbalance

In the South Yorkshire sub-region 23,600 new dwellings were completed between 1991 and 2001. Table 2 shows the breakdown of this total by sector.

Table 2 Dwellings completed 1991–2001, South Yorkshire sub-region

| | Private | Registered social landlord | Local authority | Total |
|------------|---------|----------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| Barnsley | 7,046 | 455 | 8 | 7,509 |
| Doncaster | 7,355 | 942 | 42 | 8,339 |
| Rotherham | 6,645 | 1,080 | 91 | 7,816 |
| Sub-region | 21,046 | 2,477 | 141 | 23,664 |

Source: Local Housing Statistics

Although official data on dwellings demolished in the sub-region between 1991 and 2001 are incomplete, several sources (Local Housing Statistics and Housing Investment Programme data) indicate that the annual average of demolitions during the 1990s was about 240. A plausible estimate of total demolitions over the decade from 1991 is thus about 2,600. The estimated net increase in the aggregate stock of dwellings is about 21,000. This estimate takes no account of additions to the stock through changes of use or conversions as there are no local data available for 1991–2001. These supply-side developments were significantly out of step with those occurring at the same time on the demand side of the sub-regional housing market. Although the sub-regional population fell by 19,000 between 1991 and 2001, the number of households increased by 15,000 (Table 3).

Table 3 Sub-regional population and households, 1991 and 2001

| | Population, 1991 (000) | Households, 1991 (000) | Population, 2001 (000) | Households, 2001 (000) |
|-----------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| Barnsley | 224 | 87 | 218 | 92 |
| Doncaster | 293 | 113 | 286 | 119 |
| Rotherham | 254 | 98 | 248 | 102 |
| Total | 771 | 298 | 752 | 313 |

Source: Population Census 1991 and 2001

This figure for households takes no account of concealed households – where two or more people who would normally constitute a household unit live within another household. Because concealed households and conversion gains offset each other they are unlikely to disturb the overall sub-regional picture in which the increase in the stock of dwellings over the past decade has very significantly outstripped the increase in the demand arising from household formation – about 21,000 as against about 15,000, respectively. This imbalance is an acute form of that identified by Lee *et al.* (2002, para. 2.26) for the Yorkshire and Humberside region as a whole over the period 1997–2001, where the annual surplus of new dwellings over household formation is estimated at 2.5 per cent.

Approximately 20,000 of the increase in the stock of new dwellings in the sub-region have been private, three- or four-bedroomed detached or semi-detached dwellings typically sited in greenfield areas close to ex-coalfield communities and pit villages. According to the sales staff and estate agents we have interviewed, over 85 per cent of these new private dwellings have been bought by local people from within the sub-region, many of whom have benefited from the economic recovery of the 1990s. Thus both the new dwellings and those who bought them contrast with the dwellings and residents typical of seven of our eight study areas.

During the 1990s, the South Yorkshire sub-regional labour and housing markets generated a distinctive configuration involving steadily rising incomes, falling interest rates and an increase in new dwellings significantly above the increase in household formation. Such conditions were generally conducive to an acceleration in the operation of a ‘filtering’ mechanism across an interrelated set of sub-markets comprising dwellings differentiated by quality. A subset of residents enjoyed rising incomes, low interest rates and a favourable price and choice prospect at the next level up in the hierarchy of housing quality – prices at the next rung up were relatively lower and choice was greater. As these residents ‘traded up’ by buying better properties in more favoured locations, an opportunity opened up for a movement up the property ladder for those initially at the next level down, and so on.

As a result, demand for dwellings at the bottom of the ladder contracted. As the neighbourhood profile set out in Chapter 2 indicates, dwellings at the bottom of the housing ladder are over-represented in the study areas – the typical study neighbourhood resident lives in a pre-First World War terraced house or an inter-war semi-detached house once owned by the NCB or the local authority.

The larger picture is that over the 1990s housing demand in seven of the study areas was depressed by an adverse filtering effect arising from over-supply in the sub-regional market combined with persistently high joblessness within the areas themselves. These factors caused prices to fall and the incidence of vacancy and disrepair to rise.

Table 4 gives a snapshot of the sub-regional housing ladder at two recent dates. The prices shown are advertised, asking, prices as displayed in the local press, from which a detailed picture of dwelling type can be assembled.

Table 4 Average advertised prices by dwelling type, South Yorkshire sub-region, 2000 and 2002

| Dwelling type | Size | 2000 price (£) | 2000 ratio of price of 3-bed terraced | 2002 price (£) | 2002 ratio of price of 3-bed terraced |
|---------------------------------|-------|----------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| Detached post-war | 4 bed | 91,500 | | 127,600 | |
| | 3 bed | 66,100 | 2.15 | 84,500 | 2.5 |
| Semi-detached inter-war private | 3 bed | 50,400 | 1.64 | 54,800 | 1.62 |
| Inter-war ex-LA/NCB | 3 bed | 31,600 | 1.03 | 35,900 | 1.07 |
| | 2 bed | 31,500 | 1.18* | 31,650 | 1.10* |
| Post-war semi/town | 3 bed | 44,800 | 1.46 | 51,260 | 1.52 |
| | 2 bed | 40,000 | | 44,718 | |
| Terraced pre-1919 | 3 bed | 30,700 | 1 | 33,670 | 1 |
| | 2 bed | 26,500 | | 28,750 | |

* As a ratio of the price of a two-bedroomed terrace house

Source: Survey of advertised prices in *Doncaster Free Press, Property Guide*, January 2000 and January 2002; *Barnsley Chronicle, Property Supplement*, February 2000 and January 2002; and *Rotherham Advertiser, Property Guide* and *South Yorkshire Times*, January 2000 and January 2002

Since 2000, the relative price of higher-quality post-war dwellings in the sub-region has risen significantly, whereas that of inter-war dwellings has either fallen or risen only marginally. This picture is confirmed by evidence from a larger Land Registry data set on actual sale prices, but only for a more aggregative classification of dwelling type – detached, semi-detached, and terraced dwellings. Table 5 shows the inflation rate between 1999 and 2001 in average sale prices by broad type in each of the three sub-regional local authorities.

Table 5 Increase in average sale price by dwelling type, South Yorkshire sub-region, 1999/2001

| | Detached (%) | Semi-detached (%) | Terraced (%) |
|-----------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Doncaster | 15.9 | 10.5 | -3.4 |
| Barnsley | 15.7 | 9.7 | 9.5 |
| Rotherham | 28.3 | 14.2 | 9.3 |

Source: Land Registry

Table 6 illustrates how the property ladder has evolved over the longer time period during which excess supply was building up in the sub-regional housing market. The data is for the Darton area of Barnsley (outwith the Darton study area) and relates to asking prices.

Table 6 Average advertised prices by dwelling type, Darton, 1992–2000

| | Terraced 2 bed (£) | Terraced 3 bed (£) | Detached 3 bed (£) |
|------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1992 | 25,725 | 26,950 | 69,950 |
| 1994 | 27,950 | 28,475 | 75,550 |
| 1998 | 27,350 | 18,950 | 71,350 |
| 1999 | 21,650 | 20,475 | 76,180 |
| 2000 | 21,225 | 19,045 | 75,960 |

Source: Compiled from the *Barnsley Chronicle*

Over the 1990s, not only has the relative price of bottom-rung dwellings fallen, but the nominal price has fallen also – by 17 per cent for two-bedroomed terraced properties and by 30 per cent for three-bedroomed terraces. This movement in the advertised price of dwellings at the bottom of the ladder during the 1990s is a reflection of that identified by Lee *et al.* (2002, table 2.15) as obtaining in Barnsley, Rotherham and Doncaster in terms of actual sale prices over the 1995–2000 period.¹ As would be predicted by the scale of the housing surplus in the three-local authority sub-region relative to that in the wider Yorkshire and Humberside region, the Lee *et al.* evidence shows that the relative fall in bottom-rung sale prices in Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham was significantly greater than the average across the 20 local authorities comprising Yorkshire and Humberside as a whole (–19 per cent, –12 per cent and –12 per cent respectively against a Yorkshire and Humberside average of –6 per cent).

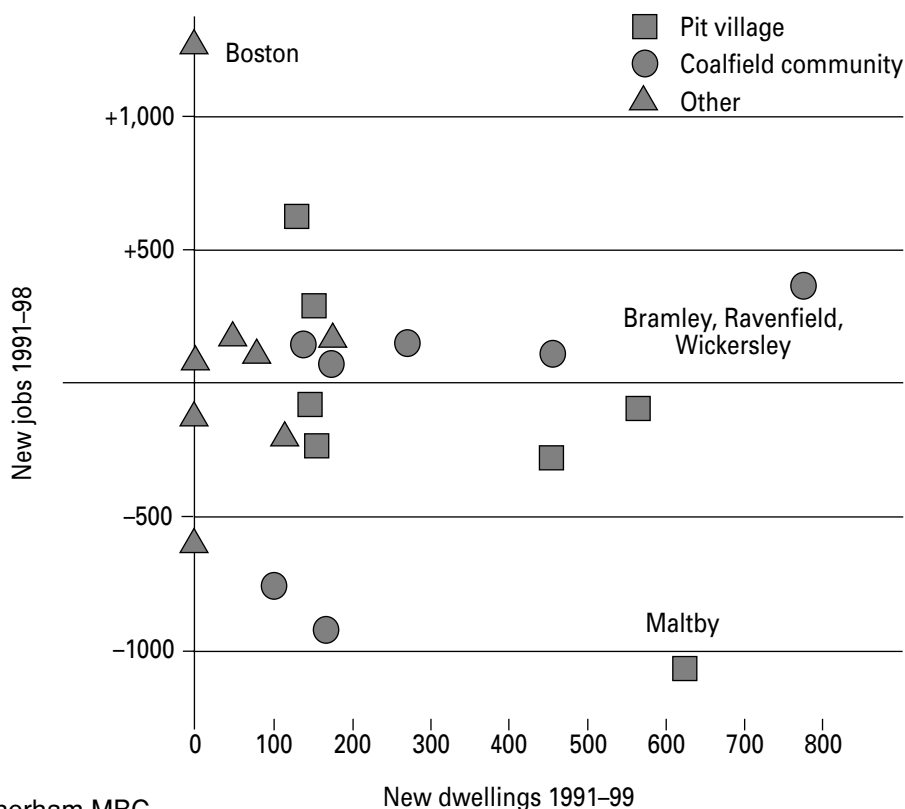
The filtering process arising from the interaction of labour and housing markets links housing markets at the sub-regional and local levels. Specifically, an increase in housing supply in the sub-region in excess of the demand arising from household formation has reduced demand in the most deprived neighbourhoods.

Housing, commuting and jobs

The features of the new private developments promoted by developers and demanded by purchasers are typically ‘a sense of community in a high-class self-contained village’ and a good environment ‘recreating the traditions of rural living with extensive landscaping, footpaths, cycle ways and woodland’. Thus a key spatial aspect of the filtering process described above is an increasing separation of place of residence from place of work. This is illustrated in Figure 8, which shows the distribution across wards of the 4,567 new houses built in the Rotherham part of the sub-region between 1991 and 1999, compared to the ward distribution of male job gains and losses over the same period. There is essentially no relationship between the location of job changes and new dwellings.

In a closed local labour market – where outward and inward commuting are negligible and the travel-to-work area coincides with the boundary of the locality – the impact of an increase in local jobs would be entirely local, reducing the number of unemployed or economically inactive residents (or both). But as cross-boundary commuting increases and travel-to-work areas expand, some proportion of the beneficial impact of local job gains will accrue elsewhere – and may accrue largely or wholly elsewhere.

Figure 8 New houses and job changes in Rotherham, 1991–99



Source: Rotherham MBC

Homes are now not tied to work as they were when the South Yorkshire coalfield developed, and commuting to work is now the norm. This is one reason why local job creation strategies alone will be ineffective – an array of subsidies, incentives and support can be used to induce existing employers to expand employment or attract new employers into the locality, but the way in which housing and labour markets now operate means that reductions in unemployment and inactivity will typically be enjoyed elsewhere. A high-profile example of these forces at work is the juxtaposition of 3,000 new call centre jobs in the Dearne Valley and persistently high levels of unemployment and inactivity in the nearby community of Thurnscoe East. This contrast is a local example of a pattern which appears to be repeated across the country – of neighbourhoods with persistently high rates of unemployment and inactivity next door to areas where jobs are plentiful (HM Treasury, 2000). The problems facing Thurnscoe East and many other areas like it do not reduce to a simple lack of jobs.

Conclusions

As we show in Chapter 2, the trickle-down effect on our study areas from rising prosperity in the national and regional economies was weak. Indeed, and perversely, rising incomes elsewhere in the sub-region combined with developments in the sub-regional housing market to the disadvantage of most study areas. Those residents of the sub-region who benefited from the long boom of the 1990s were able to climb the property ladder quickly due to the very rapid expansion of the stock of new private dwellings. The obverse was a slump in demand for properties on the bottom rungs of the property ladder – those characteristic of seven of the eight study areas. This depressive effect added to that arising from persistently high joblessness within the study neighbourhoods. A key spatial aspect of the filtering process evident in the sub-regional housing market has been an increasing degree of separation between place of residence and place of work, and a reflection of this is the close proximity of deprived communities to booming business parks.

5 Neighbourhood capital and well-being

This is the first of four chapters analysing the dynamic of neighbourhood sustainability by using the four capitals and durable housing model. The economic *raison d'être* of our eight study neighbourhoods vanished with the collapse of the coalmining industry, but their communities have survived into the new millennium. They are essentially urban in character and share many features of deprived communities elsewhere in the UK.

Our two key messages are:

- there is a strong relationship between neighbourhood capital and neighbourhood well-being
- despite the collapse of a common economic base, neighbourhoods now have different trajectories as residential areas: either sustainable, declining or regenerating.

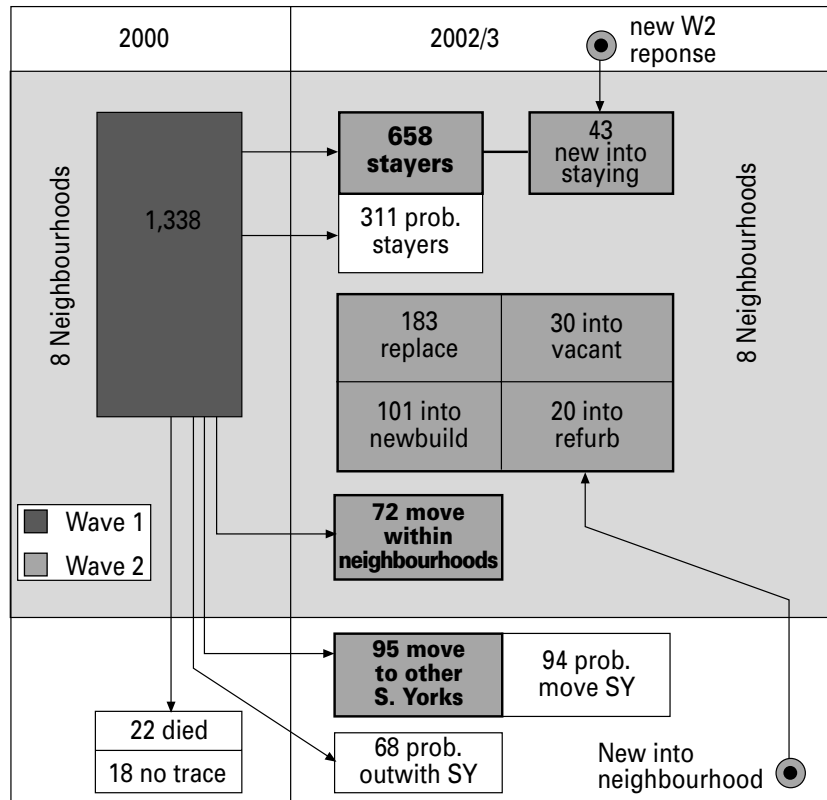
Sample neighbourhood populations

Much of our analysis compares the 1,338 residents responding to our baseline survey in 2000 with the 1,112 who responded in 2002/3. Figure 9 summarises the complex population dynamic.¹

We classify the 2000 sample population according to their status as revealed in 2002/3. Key distinctions are between the group revealed to be definite and probable 'stayers' (658 and 311 respectively), and those who moved – either within their neighbourhood (72), within other parts of South Yorkshire (95 definitely plus 94 probably) or beyond South Yorkshire (68 probably). Key groups in the 2002/3 sample population are again the 658 definite 'stayers', the 72 residents who moved house within the neighbourhood, 203 'migration' incomers, either joining existing households or moving into property vacated by out-movers, and, crucially, 121 'regeneration' in-movers to new or refurbished property. After accounting for 22 people who had died and 18 who were untraceable, the 2002/3 sample totalled 1,112.

Essentially, the capital values in our study are constructed from assessments made by these local residents. For example, trust in neighbours and friends is a major component of social capital. Such attitudes will be influenced by the neighbourhood context – for example, by the neighbourhood environment or by contact between neighbours. These are the important factors we wish to identify for regeneration

Figure 9 Neighbourhood dynamic, Wave 1 and Wave 2 responses



programmes. On the other hand, attitudes will be influenced by the socio-economic composition of residents – for example, poor women fear crime more than most because they are poor and because as women they feel more vulnerable than men, irrespective of where they live. It is therefore important to put the socio-economic status of our group of residents into the national context.

Human capital

Education

Seven of our eight neighbourhoods have relatively high levels of multiple deprivation, primarily because low levels of human capital (i.e. education and health) have excluded residents from the labour market. Table 7 shows that these traditional mining communities have relatively low levels of formal education compared with the nation, and with the average for 39 neighbourhoods constituting the New Deal for Communities (NDC) programme.

Table 7 Qualifications to at least NVQ Level 3

| | Men | | | Women | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| | England & Wales (%) 2001 | NDC (%) 2002 | Coalfield neighbourhoods (%) 2002/3 | England & Wales (%) 2001 | NDC (%) 2002 | Coalfield neighbourhoods (%) 2002/3 |
| Age band | | | | | | |
| 18–24 | 40 | 46 | 35 | 45 | 34 | 30 |
| 25–34 | 38 | 46 | 28 | 38 | 33 | 29 |
| 35–44 | 31 | 39 | 20 | 30 | 29 | 16 |
| 45–49 | 29 | 34 | 20 | 29 | 25 | 13 |
| 50–59/64 | 22 | 28 | 13 | 21 | 15 | 7 |
| Total (%) | 31 | 39 | 22 | 32 | 28 | 21 |
| Population of working age (18–59/64) | 15.8m | 6,277 | 405 | 14.9m | 8,452 | 553 |

Sources: Neighbourhoods: Wave 2 survey 2002/3; NDC: Household Survey, MORI, 2002; England and Wales: Population Census 2001

Table 7 also shows a significant gap between national and local attainment levels for younger people. Not shown in the table is a modest increase of 3 per cent in the overall proportion of local people with NVQ3 and above between 2000 and 2002/3.

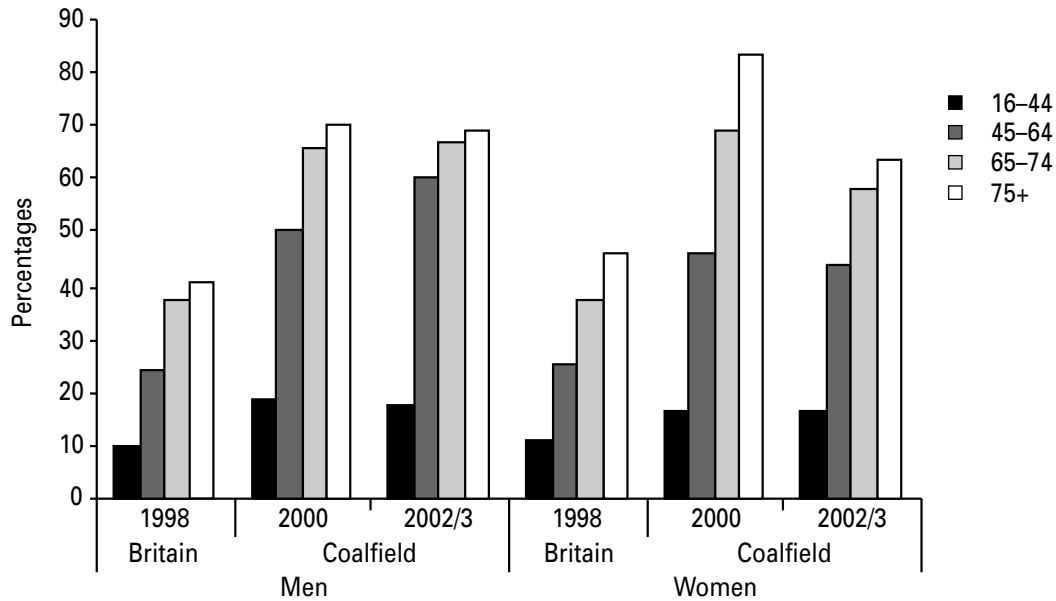
Health

Health is the second element of human capital. Coalfield communities have relatively high levels of limiting long-standing illness or disability. Our surveys revealed even higher levels in the eight study neighbourhoods. In a reversal of the national gender balance, we found younger local men with higher levels of illness than local women (Figure 10).

Set against a marginal increase in limiting long-standing illness at a national level, the relative position of the coalfield communities has not deteriorated, except for men aged 45–64². This group of men was of prime working age during the decade of pit closures and many have become economically inactive and taken state incapacity benefit.

There is great variation in human capital between neighbourhoods. This is shown (Table 8) by using odds ratios – a statistical device to compare a characteristic of one neighbourhood with the average for all eight neighbourhoods³. At one extreme, residents of Thurnscoe are the least likely to have an NVQ3+ qualification in 2002/3 (0.47:1.00), and much more likely to report a health problem (1.72:1.00) and to score their health low on the health thermometer (1.60:1.00). They are half as likely to be employed.

Figure 10 Limiting long-standing illness: Britain and coalfield neighbourhoods



Source: *Living in Britain*, 1998; Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys ($n = 1,338$ and $1,112$)

Towards the other end of the spectrum is the prospering suburb of Darton, where residents are 2.5 times more likely to be qualified to NVQ3 and above, are likely to report ill health at half the average rate and are more likely to be employed. Dalton is the most improved neighbourhood for employment, largely because of an influx of new owner-occupiers. Tenure clearly mediates the relationship between human capital and employment rates.

Table 8 Components of human capital and employment

| Study areas | Chances of residents having better qualifications or poor health (average value = 1) | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|-------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|--|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| | NVQ level 3 or more | | Employed (full time, part time, self) | | One or more health problems ^a | | Low health score ^b | |
| | 2000 | 2002/3 | 2000 | 2002/3 | 2000 | 2002/3 | 2000 | 2002/3 |
| Balby | 0.82 | 0.74 | 1.33 | 1.29 | 0.81 | 0.62 | 0.58 | 0.67 |
| Stainforth | 1.04 | 0.95 | 1.36 | 0.84 | 1.01 | 1.41 | 0.83 | 1.92 |
| Darton | 2.54 | 2.29 | 1.26 | 1.39 | 0.97 | 0.66 | 0.51 | 0.54 |
| Thurnscoe | 0.49 | 0.47 | 0.48 | 0.47 | 1.40 | 1.72 | 2.10 | 1.60 |
| Dalton | 1.07 | 1.13 | 0.83 | 1.77 | 0.90 | 0.69 | 1.15 | 1.09 |
| White City | 1.14 | 1.12 | 1.65 | 0.97 | 0.85 | 1.03 | 1.02 | 0.91 |
| Hyde Park | 0.81 | 1.15 | 0.87 | 0.93 | 1.49 | 1.18 | 1.42 | 1.35 |
| Model Village | 0.97 | 0.91 | 0.76 | 0.88 | 0.79 | 1.19 | 1.15 | 0.67 |

Statistically significant differences are indicated in bold

^a This is the health measure known technically as EuroQol 5D

^b This is the health measure known technically as EuroQol VAS

Social capital

We compared some elements of social capital in our neighbourhoods with the national picture by asking whether residents think people try to help each other ('reciprocity') or go their own way and by asking whether people felt safe. We found that local residents gave a more mixed response to neighbourhood reciprocity, and felt less safe than the national benchmark average when walking alone in their area after dark (Table 9).

Table 9 Reciprocity and safety compared

| | Men | | | Women | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Britain (%) 2002/3 | Neighbourhoods (%) 2000 | Neighbourhoods (%) 2002/3 | Britain (%) 2002/3 | Neighbourhoods (%) 2000 | Neighbourhoods (%) 2002/3 |
| Help each other | 31 | 13 | 14 | 33 | 18 | 16 |
| Mixture | 27 | 44 | 47 | 29 | 41 | 43 |
| Go own way | 42 | 48 | 39 | 38 | 40 | 42 |
| Very safe | 40 | 19 | 19 | 13 | 3 | 4 |
| Fairly safe | 42 | 43 | 44 | 37 | 28 | 31 |
| A bit unsafe | 13 | 25 | 27 | 29 | 37 | 39 |
| Very unsafe | 5 | 12 | 9 | 21 | 32 | 27 |

Sources: British Crime Survey 2002/3, special tables ($n = 9,029$); Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys ($n = 1,081$)

Odds ratios again show differences between neighbourhoods and also over time (Table 10). In 2002/3 for example, Balby residents were the most likely to report that 'local people go their own way' – nearly 1.5 times more likely than the neighbourhood average.

Table 10 Variations in social capital and safety

| Study areas | Chances of residents feeling low levels of reciprocity and safety (average value = 1) | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--|------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| | Locals go own way | | Unsafe at home and/or outside | | Low trust: vertical | | Low trust: horizontal | |
| | Wave 1 2000 | Wave 2 2002/3 | Wave 1 2000 | Wave 2 2002/3 | Wave 1 2000 | Wave 2 2002/3 | Wave 1 2000 | Wave 2 2002/3 |
| Balby | 1.67 | 1.48 | 0.96 | 0.95 | 1.13 | 1.42 | 1.29 | 0.83 |
| Stainforth | 0.92 | 1.22 | 1.63 | 2.01 | 1.23 | 1.76 | 1.01 | 1.00 |
| Darton | 0.71 | 0.65 | 0.32 | 0.22 | 0.63 | 0.64 | 0.68 | 0.63 |
| Thurnscoe | 0.63 | 0.69 | 1.93 | 1.28 | 0.83 | 1.23 | 0.89 | 1.04 |
| Dalton | 1.40 | 1.27 | 0.72 | 1.58 | 1.17 | 0.81 | 1.26 | 1.23 |
| White City | 1.28 | 0.90 | 1.62 | 0.96 | 1.11 | 0.77 | 1.11 | 0.61 |
| Hyde Park | 1.13 | 1.35 | 1.72 | 1.88 | 1.41 | 2.02 | 1.03 | 1.52 |
| Model Village | 0.72 | 0.79 | 0.95 | 0.63 | 0.75 | 0.40 | 0.89 | 1.62 |

Source: Wave 1 and Wave 2 surveys; adults of working age
Statistically significant differences are indicated in bold

Two years earlier Balby residents were even more likely to report that locals go their own way – by a factor of 1.67 of the neighbourhood average. In the example of Stainforth, residents maintained average levels of ‘horizontal’ trust – in family, friends and neighbours – whereas ‘vertical trust’ – in politicians for example – declined. In 2000 Stainforth residents were 1.23 times more likely than average to be low on vertical trust. By 2002/3 they were 1.76 times more likely.

Taking the neighbourhood as an accounting unit, the sustainable suburb of Darton has consistently high levels of social capital and feelings of safety. The Hyde Park neighbourhood has consistently low levels of both.

Well-being index

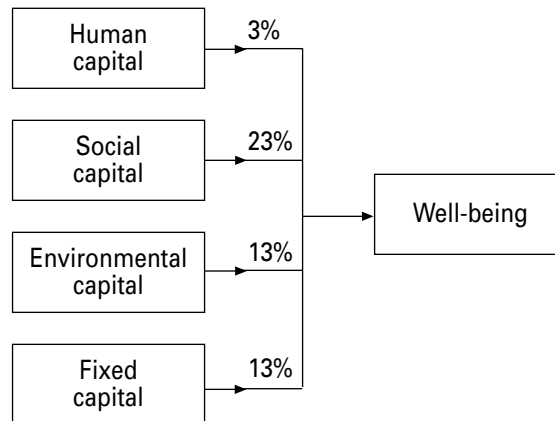
According to our model, a local community is sustainable when well-being is maintained or increasing over time. Broad definitions of ‘well-being’ abound. The founding charter of the World Health Organisation describes a state of health as ‘positive physical, social and mental *well-being*’ (emphasis added). For our purposes we sought a narrower definition – ‘people continuing to want to live in the same community both now and in the future’. Well-being, in this context, is a local community’s satisfaction with its neighbourhood. We have applied this definition of community satisfaction by combining the answers to three survey questions into an index of well-being. Our well-being index⁴ is the sum of:

- respondents’ overall satisfaction with their neighbourhood
- how respondents thought their neighbourhood had changed over five years
- respondents’ satisfaction with their home.

We then used statistical modelling techniques to compare capital values with levels of well-being. Figure 11 confirms a broad relationship between capital values and well-being, showing the relative weight residents attribute to the four capitals in 2002/3.

Social capital – trust, reciprocity and safety – accounts for 23 per cent of the variation in well-being, followed by environmental and fixed capital, which account for 13 per cent apiece. The pattern is similar to our findings in the baseline year of 2000. In both surveys, approximately 50 per cent of well-being is explained by the four capitals. Relative weights changed a little between the two surveys. Environmental capital appeared to become more important (up from 7 per cent in 2000 to 13 per cent), possibly because an additional question on the environment was included in the 2002/3 survey. There was a relative decline in the influence of physical

Figure 11 Capital values and well-being



infrastructure on well-being, though the housing stock, as before, was by far the most influential component of this capital value. Social capital remained the greatest influence, accounting for 23 per cent of the variance in 2002/3. Human capital accounted for only a marginal 3 per cent of variance. It may be that the effect of higher levels of human capital on well-being is offset by aspirations which rise with human capital and income. Klienman and Whitehead (Klienman and Whitehead, 1999) identify a stronger version of our result whereby higher income is associated with less satisfaction with a deprived area.

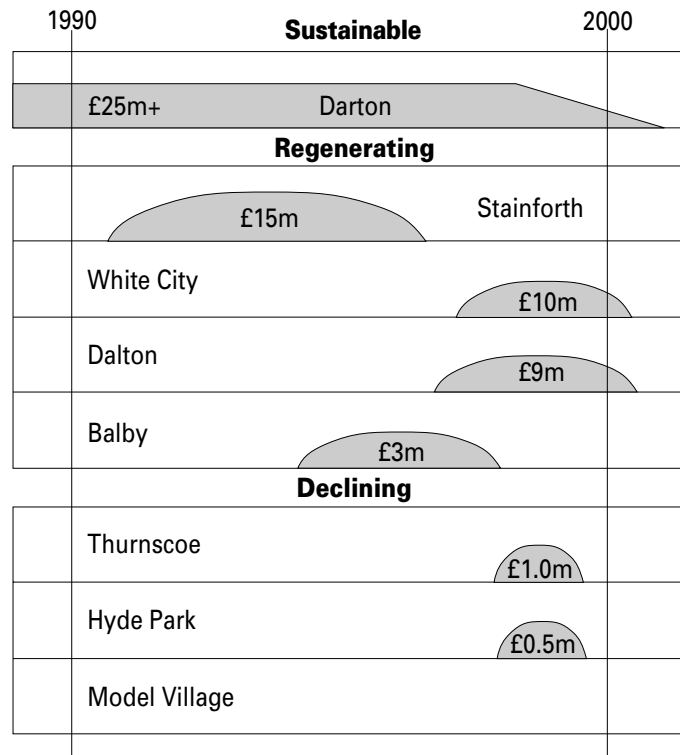
Trajectories

Finally, how has the equation between capital and well-being affected the trajectory of each neighbourhood? The 2000 baseline study concluded that though all eight neighbourhoods had been dominated by the mining industry until 1981, they were on different trajectories. The prospering suburb of Darton was clearly sustainable, transformed over two decades by new owner-occupied housing estates. Its population reported relatively high values for all four capitals and high levels of neighbourhood well-being.

We divided the other seven neighbourhoods in 2000 into two groups using two criteria. First, they were distinguished by levels of well-being. Second, they were classified by the level of capital investment over the previous decade (Figure 12).

In 2000 there was a match between levels of investment and levels of well-being. The four neighbourhoods of Stainforth, White City, Dalton and Balby had attracted between £3m and £15m of capital investment in the previous decade and their residents reported intermediate levels of well-being. The three neighbourhoods of the Model Village, Hyde Park and Thurnscoe had attracted very little capital investment and their residents reported low levels of well-being. On the basis of this

Figure 12 Regeneration and investment

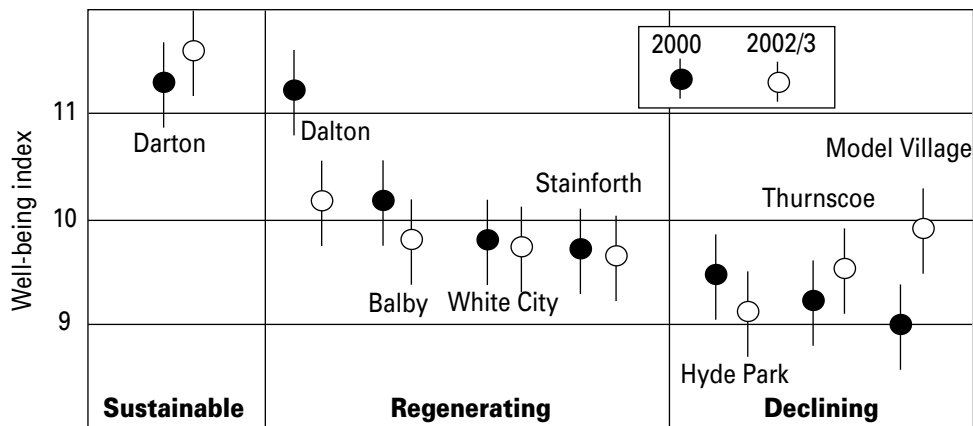


evidence we classified the first group of four neighbourhoods as ‘regenerating’ in 2000 and the second group as ‘declining’. We assumed that for the regenerating group, recent investment in neighbourhood capital would continue to enhance neighbourhood well-being. For the declining group, we assumed that failure to reinvest sufficiently in neighbourhood capital would continue to erode neighbourhood well-being.

The 2002/3 Survey was an opportunity to test these assumptions. In the event, neighbourhood trends in well-being were not wholly as anticipated. The circles in Figure 13 show mean levels of reported well-being in 2000 and 2002/3, with the tails indicating the 95 per cent confidence intervals around the mean.

Both in 2000 and 2002/3 the three-way classification of sustainable, regenerating and declining is largely reflected in the gradient of well-being – the exception is the Model Village in 2002/3. The trajectories hypothesised in the baseline study have come to pass in some neighbourhoods but not others. Continued high levels of well-being in Darton confirm its classification as sustainable. Well-being in Dalton, classified as regenerating, has fallen substantially. The declining status of Hyde Park is confirmed. Well-being in the two other neighbourhoods, classified as declining, remains low but, contrary to expectations, has improved a little despite low levels of investment.

Figure 13 Well-being, 2000 and 2002/3



The following chapters help explain these changes in well-being and in turn throw new light on the sustainability or otherwise of each neighbourhood. They also question the orthodox route to sustainability which gives priority to investment in fixed infrastructure, especially the housing stock. As Figure 11 shows, well-being depends critically on levels of environmental capital and especially of social capital. In turn, these capitals are drivers of a population dynamic that can lead to a vicious circle of decline or a virtuous cycle of sustainability.

6 The population dynamic of neighbourhoods

The central message of this chapter and the next is that population movements have an important influence on the trajectory of poor and declining neighbourhoods, leading either to further decline or to a reversal of fortunes.

Rationale

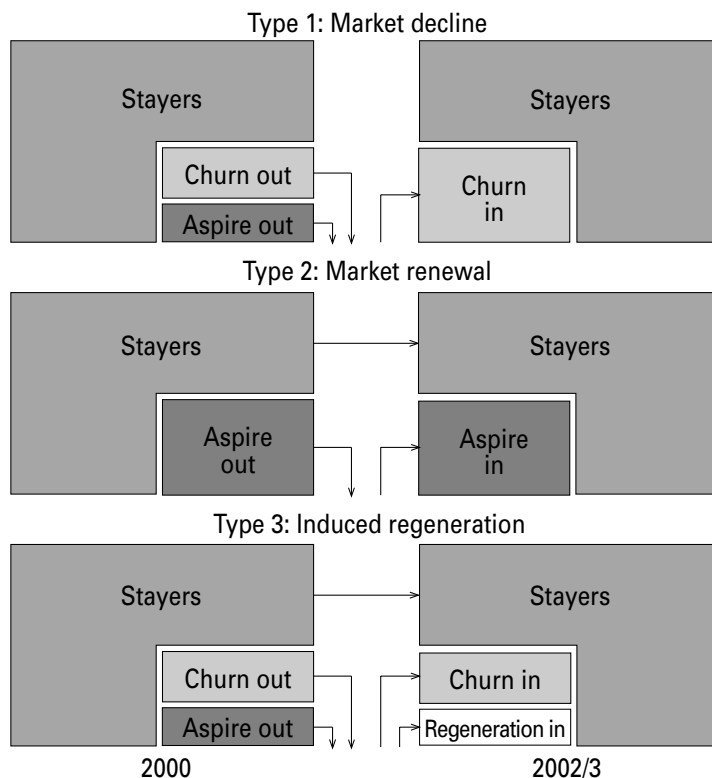
The viability of a residential neighbourhood depends on its attractiveness to mobile residents. *In extremis* streets will be abandoned when neighbourhood assets are so depleted as to be wholly unattractive to existing residents and potential incomers. More often, there are very many neighbourhoods, especially in the north of England, not yet abandoned, but facing this prospect unless there is an injection of resources.

We have explicitly addressed this issue by examining the immediate impact of regeneration investment on the composition of a neighbourhood population and the impact of subsequent waves of migrants to and from vulnerable neighbourhoods. Key investment decisions should be informed by evidence of this kind about population movements. Yet almost nothing is known of these virtuous/vicious circles. Although there is now a greater understanding (see for example Dieleman, 2001) of how life course events influence the mobility of individuals and households, such evidence is not systematically linked to neighbourhood types nor to outcomes of area-based intervention strategies.

Typical movers and neighbourhoods

We looked at the immediate impact of regeneration programmes on the populations of previously declining neighbourhoods. In doing so we distinguished between population movements associated with regeneration and those where there is no substantial intervention programme. Figure 14 schematically compares broad patterns of population movement in the three types of neighbourhood identified in the previous chapter. A label of 'Type 2: market renewal' is attached to the sustainable suburb of Darton, since sustainability here has depended on private sector investment. 'Type 1: market decline' is prefixed to the three declining neighbourhoods, since there is little public sector involvement and market forces prevail. 'Type 3: induced regeneration' is prefixed to the four neighbourhoods classified as regenerating since they were subject to an explicit regeneration programme orchestrated by local government.

Figure 14 Population movements in three types of neighbourhood



Those who stayed put between the years 2000 and 2002/3 are the largest block of residents, approximately 75 per cent of households in all three types of neighbourhood. The remaining 25 per cent moved out during these two years, a turnover broadly in line with the 11 per cent of English household heads moving annually (DTLR, 2002). However, critical to our analysis of neighbourhood dynamic are three distinct types of mover: first, 'aspirational'; second, 'churners' into or away from our study neighbourhoods; and, third, what we call 'regeneration movers'. The mix of these motives and the balance of migrant populations created are critical to the trajectory of each neighbourhood.

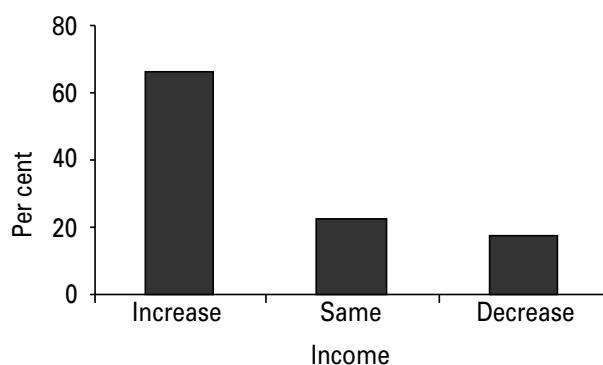
Aspirational movers

The relatively prosperous suburb of Darton is a convenient national and regional benchmark. Capital values are relatively high in relation to the other seven study neighbourhoods and close to the national average. Most householders are in work and most houses are owner-occupied. We have classified all the movers as aspirational. The majority of in-movers aspired to move into Darton and the majority of out-movers seem to have met their aspirations for an even better house elsewhere. Taking a regional perspective, the neighbourhood occupies a middle rung on the property ladder. It is a good example of (Type 2) market-led renewal, without the need for public intervention. Darton is on a sustainable trajectory.

The other seven neighbourhoods were the main focus of our enquiry because they require some form of public policy intervention to sustain them. We have already seen that at one time their housing stock was predominantly owned by the public sector – either by the relevant local authority or the National Coal Board. Now, the housing market is predominantly owner-occupied or privately rented. But privatising the existing housing stock has not of itself reversed the decline initiated by the shock of pit closures in the 1980s and early 1990s.

Three of these neighbourhoods, devoid of substantial recent investment in regeneration, can be classified as in (Type 1) ‘market decline’. In our earlier report we hypothesised that in these areas, because there is no great investment in neighbourhood assets, residents would aspire to a better area, and if they had the resources (of human capital) they would fulfil this aspiration by moving out. Our evidence provides some limited support for this proposition in that those who moved out, but within the sub-region, tended to report an increase in household income (Figure 15).

Figure 15 Change in out-movers’ self-reported household income, 2002/3



Source: Supplementary Survey 2003 ($n = 358$)

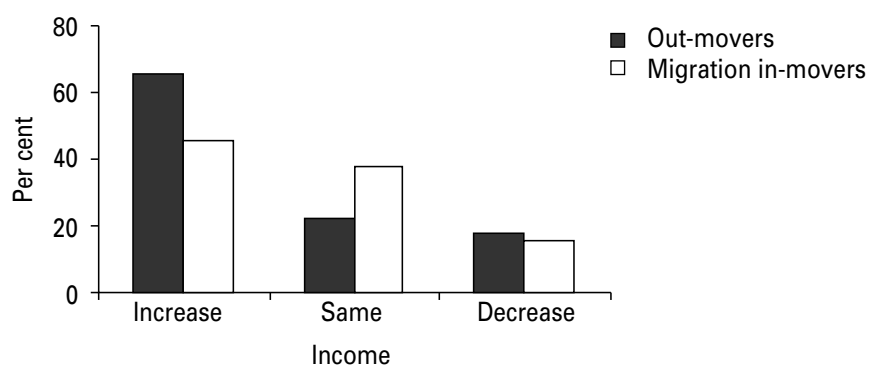
‘Churn’ movers

Our second proposition was that aspirant out-movers would be replaced by residents with fewer resources who choose to move into a neighbourhood perceived as one of the least desirable in the sub-region. Such a move would be a step down the ladder for these incomers. Here the evidence is less clear cut, suggesting instead a ‘churn’ as a counterpoint to clear moves up or down a property ladder. ‘Churn’ is not used pejoratively but rather as shorthand for a series of individual household moves of limited distance which redistribute households of similar socio-economic status between similar properties within similar neighbourhoods. In our case, ‘churn’ describes moves within the sub-region, mostly of fewer than five miles, by low-income households from one deprived neighbourhood to another.

In both declining and partially regenerating types of neighbourhood, ‘churners’ are the predominant type of mover. The migration in-movers identified in Figure 9 are ‘churners’ – those joining existing households or occupying vacated property. Sceptics may ask, ‘Why, what is the point of their moving?’ But there are three types of constraint on these movers.

First is income. Indirect evidence from our data indicates that most residents of our declining and regenerating neighbourhoods have incomes much lower than the national average, tending to limit their choice of housing location. The issue is whether recent changes in household income have widened or narrowed opportunities to move elsewhere. Figure 16 compares self-reported increases in the household income of migration in-movers to regenerating and declining neighbourhoods with that of out-movers.

Figure 16 Changes in household income, 2002/3: out-movers versus migration in-movers in declining and regenerating neighbourhoods



Source: Supplementary Survey 2003 ($n = 358$)

A lower proportion of migration in-movers report an increase in household income, a finding consistent with the proposition that incomers in general have fewer resources and more circumscribed housing options. Nevertheless, nearly half of these incomers report an increase in household income, prima facie running counter to the proposition. This is probably explained by an underlying national trend stimulated by UK government efforts to improve the size and scope of means-tested benefits for the poorest households. Incomes appear to have risen in nominal terms but probably not increased relative to the national average.¹ We have concluded that changes in income are not of paramount importance in mobility between our neighbourhoods and those nearby.

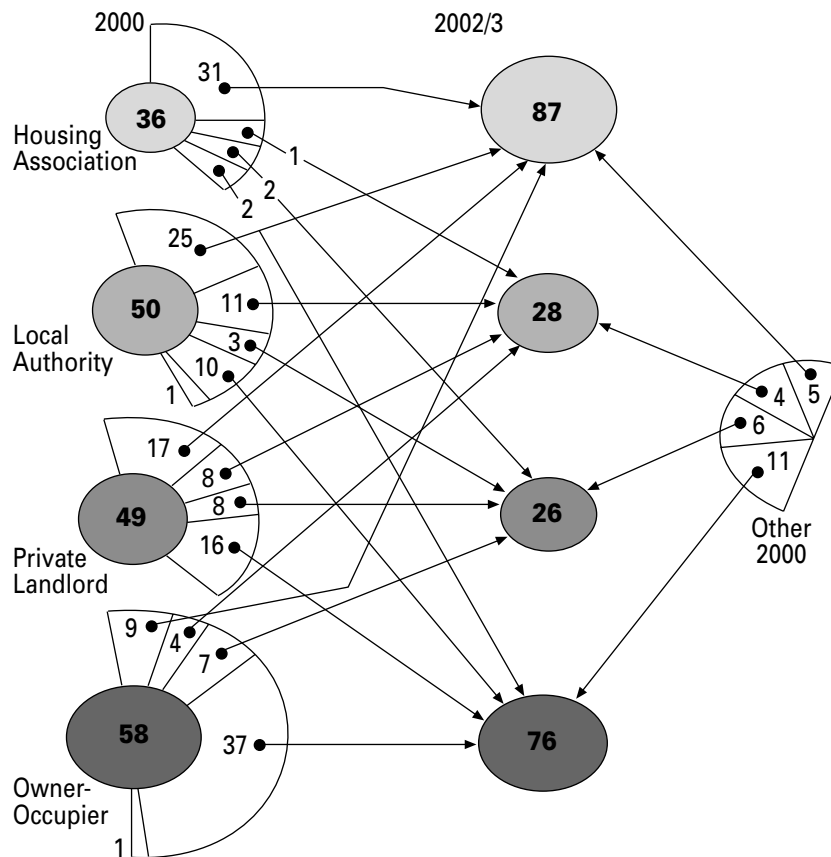
The second constraint on churn movers is the relative cost of relocating elsewhere. Most (three-bedroomed) houses in a typical study neighbourhood were priced at between £15,000 and £25,000 in the year 2000 and were selling towards the top end of this range in 2002. Though there is some scope for moving into an adjacent neighbourhood without increasing housing costs, higher house prices can be a deterrent to owner-occupiers moving further afield into areas with higher asset values. In short, the owner-occupied market restricts the options of those on low incomes.

There are few cost constraints of this kind in the social housing sector. On the contrary, social housing can enhance the opportunities of low-income residents. Public subsidies, attached to tenanted households or property, mean that these dwellings are located within the geographical boundaries of low- and medium-priced owner-occupied properties. Rents for predominantly new property managed by registered social landlords averaged £65 a week in 2000 and 2002 and for typical local authority stock they averaged £40 a week, both largely irrespective of location. Rents for private houses were also around £65 a week, limited in effect by the maximum housing benefit available. Consequently, in the rented sector, social or private, housing costs are generally no barrier to moving from one neighbourhood to another, and may indeed encourage a 'churn'.

Tenants who wish to move out of one of our deprived neighbourhoods have the non-market means to do so. Their incomes may not increase significantly but they often command a third type of resource: a 'cognitive map', a network of contacts and knowledge of the local housing system which facilitates the process of searching and securing a new home (Murdie, 2002). Though they may apply to join the formal waiting list of a social landlord, there is relatively easy access to a variety of tenancies in the large swathe of the sub-region classified as low demand. Figure 17 illustrates the ease of moving between tenures. Over half the moves into one of our neighbourhoods involved a change of tenure.

All the evidence points to churn rather than a ladder as characterising the predominant patterns of migration to and from our deprived neighbourhoods.

Figure 17 Tenure changes, 2000–2002/3 (in-movers)



Source: Supplementary Survey 2003 ($n = 220$)

Regeneration movers

Regeneration policies are often designed to promote a beneficial change in the composition of a resident population, coupling physical improvements with a change of housing tenure from renting to owner-occupation. There has been little research into the immediate impact of such compound interventions, let alone into the more complex iteration of population movements which follow. Our study throws some light on these processes.

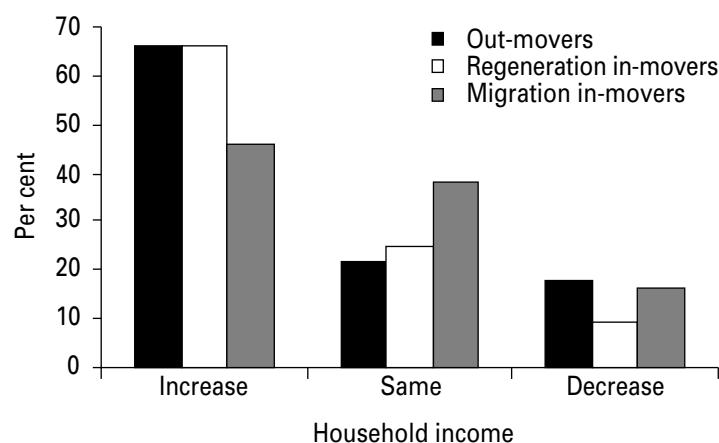
Our focus is on the two regenerating neighbourhoods of Dalton and the White City where residents moved into new or recently refurbished property between 2000 and 2002/3. Here the regeneration partnerships incorporated two major elements of social engineering into the programme of renewal. First, in rebuilding housing estates of largely rented property, the local authority and RSL afforded a ‘right of return’ to their previous tenants. Their view, and that of tenant organisations, was that the social capital embodied in a settled community should be retained as far as possible in the social networks of the new estates. The immediate impact was to

reproduce the previous asset mix – moderate levels of social capital and relatively low levels of human capital. Second, to achieve a community more balanced in human capital, new owner-occupied property was built later in roads adjacent to the social housing stock.

The timeline of these neighbourhood regeneration programmes is critical to our analysis. They were largely completed by the time of our initial baseline survey in 2000 with only a tail end stretching into 2003. Our survey of 2002/3 captured the population dynamic of the intervening years, both the immediate impact of this tail-end regeneration activity and the dynamic subsequent to earlier phases of the regeneration programme.

The picture is complex and the limited numbers of people in our study preclude detailed analysis. However, we can comment in the round on the category of regeneration neighbourhoods, and we have sufficient numbers to analyse the population dynamic of recent regeneration activity. We have a sample of 121 residents who moved into new (101) or refurbished (20) property between 2000 and 2002/3. Most of these residents moved either into new owner-occupied property which completed the rebuilding of Dalton, or into a mix of new and refurbished property developed by the South Yorkshire Housing Association in the White City. We classify them all as regeneration in-movers and it is evident from subsequent chapters that they exhibit different characteristics from those migration in-movers (or churners) who replace out-movers. Figure 18 compares the self-reported change in household income of these regeneration in-movers with that of out-movers and in-movers who were simply reoccupying vacated property.

Figure 18 Change in income of regeneration in-movers compared



Source: Supplementary Survey 2003 ($n = 358$)

These regeneration in-movers are more likely than churners, in and out, to report an increase in household income and only half as likely to report a decrease. However, the dynamic is different for the two tenure groups. Most incoming RSL households were in effect reporting an increase in state benefits, both for children and housing provision. State provision facilitated their move into good-quality family homes. On the other hand, an increase in income was often the catalyst for incomers buying new owner-occupied property.

7 Drivers of migration

This chapter has mixed messages. First, consistent with regeneration orthodoxy, new build in our deprived neighbourhoods does indeed initially attract both aspirational owner-occupiers with relatively high levels of human capital and aspirational tenants into RSL property. But second, over time, low levels of neighbourhood social capital tend to drive away those who aspire to a better life. The lesson is to pay attention not simply to the initial recipients of regeneration investment, but also to the second and third waves of migration, into and away from the neighbourhood.

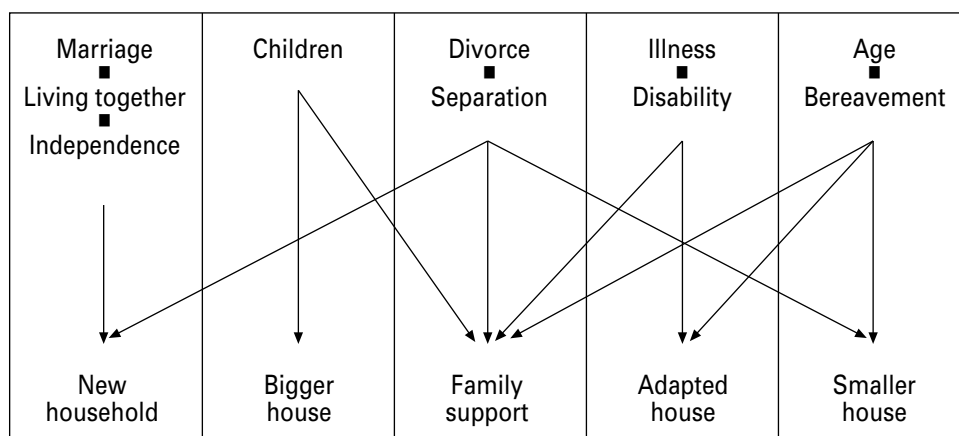
Residents tend to see themselves as agents of change rather than victims of circumstance. When asked 'Why did you move?', they gave a string of responses: for example, 'To move to a bigger house', 'A better neighbourhood', or 'To be near family or friends'. These responses suggest that residents, of even the poorest neighbourhoods, have a degree of control over their lives. Yet, objectively their choices are highly constrained, principally by income but also by health and qualifications.

Life course

Life course events, either voluntary, such as marriage, or involuntary, such as illness or death, often lead an individual or household to move house and/or seek support, predominantly from family rather than friends. New living arrangements are shown schematically in Figure 19.

In our seven deprived neighbourhoods, such moves differ from the mainstream (Clark and Huang, 2003) in three ways. First, the predominant group of churners, identified in the previous chapter, do not have an orthodox housing 'career' of moving up a ladder of housing amenity and tenure. Many moves were forced and

Figure 19 Life course events



40 per cent sought a cheaper house. Yet because of the range of options available in low-demand areas, 53 per cent reported a move to a bigger house and 80 per cent to a better house. There is no premium on space and little of the 'room stress' identified by Clark and Huang as a key to mobility.

Second, there is greater reliance on a neighbourhood support network of family and friends. Contact with family members is an integral part of daily life for the majority of residents. Most speak to family members (not living with them) every day, with another quarter speaking to them two or three times a week. The birth of a child or fall-out from separation or divorce brings even greater reliance on these relationships, practical (such as childcare) as well as emotional. Following the pit closures, family members tended to disperse within the sub-region rather than cluster within tight-knit communities: hence the majority of moves to neighbourhoods nearby.

Third, moves related to illness, disability and death feature significantly, as might be expected in neighbourhoods characterised by relatively high levels of disability and relatively low life expectancy. Sixteen per cent of residents, predominantly older householders, cited smaller accommodation as an important reason for moving, often preferring a bungalow because of actual or anticipated physical disability. Yet again, social networks featured strongly at times of illness. For a significant minority, illness, disability or death of a family member is the main reason for their moving. One woman simply moved 'to look after dad when my mother died'. Another wrote, 'my son lost his wife in childbirth and I wanted to be near to help with the grandchildren'.

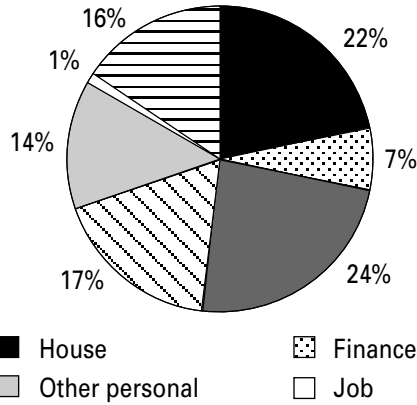
Out-movers

Residents were asked to choose one of 11 options as their principal reason for moving out of their neighbourhood. Figure 20 compares their responses to the national benchmark of those who moved 'within the same region'.

Location is of paramount importance. 'A better area' was given as the principal reason for moving by 24 per cent of those moving from our neighbourhoods compared with only 11 per cent of all English movers. Of those who actually moved beyond one of our neighbourhoods (as distinct from moving house within), the percentage citing a better area as the principal reason for moving rises sharply to 32 per cent. 'A better area' nearly always signifies higher levels of social capital and fewer social problems.

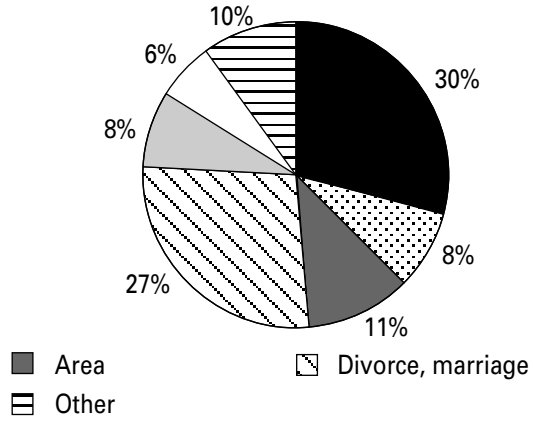
Figure 20 Principal reasons for moving out: study neighbourhoods compared with the national picture

(a) Reasons for moving: from coal neighbourhoods



Source: Wave 2 Survey
(*n* = 167)

(b) Reasons for moving: in England



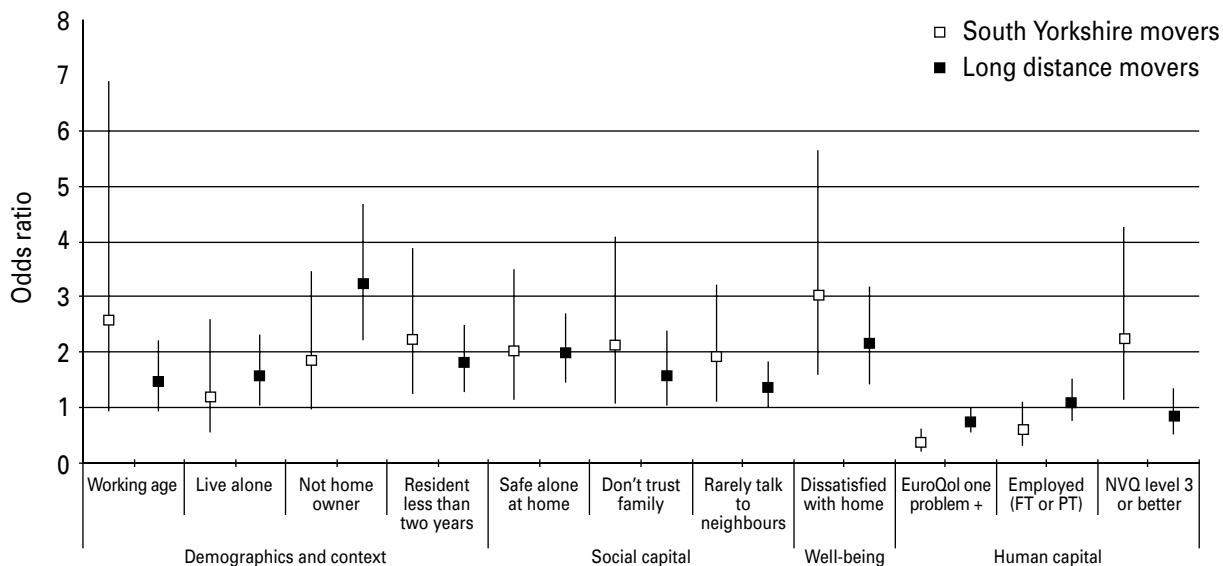
Source: 2000/1 Survey of English Housing
(*n* = 5,539)

Indeed, low social capital is a more important driver than life course events in determining the local population dynamic. Figure 21 uses odds ratios to take a retrospective look at residents' responses in the baseline year 2000 and then models the distinguishing features of those who subsequently moved, compared with those who stayed put. The odds (or chances) of out-movers having an attribute or attitude compared with stayers are given for each variable.

Long-distance movers (to outside the South Yorkshire sub-region) tend to be aspirational. They embodied significantly higher levels of human capital – two-thirds less likely (1:0.35) to have a health problem and twice as likely (1:2.33) to be qualified to NVQ3 level or better. These were relatively footloose people, less likely to be employed than either stayers or movers within the sub-region, and the most dissatisfied with their previous circumstances. They aspired to move elsewhere and had the means to do so.

Low social capital is a powerful driver for all out-movers. Prior to their move they were twice as likely as stayers not to feel safe home alone at night, less trusting of their families and much less likely to have talked with neighbours more than once a week. Since these elements of social capital are linked to well-being, there were high levels of dissatisfaction with their previous home among out-movers. Movers within the sub-region were twice as likely as stayers to be dissatisfied with their previous home, whereas long-distance movers were three times more likely to be dissatisfied.

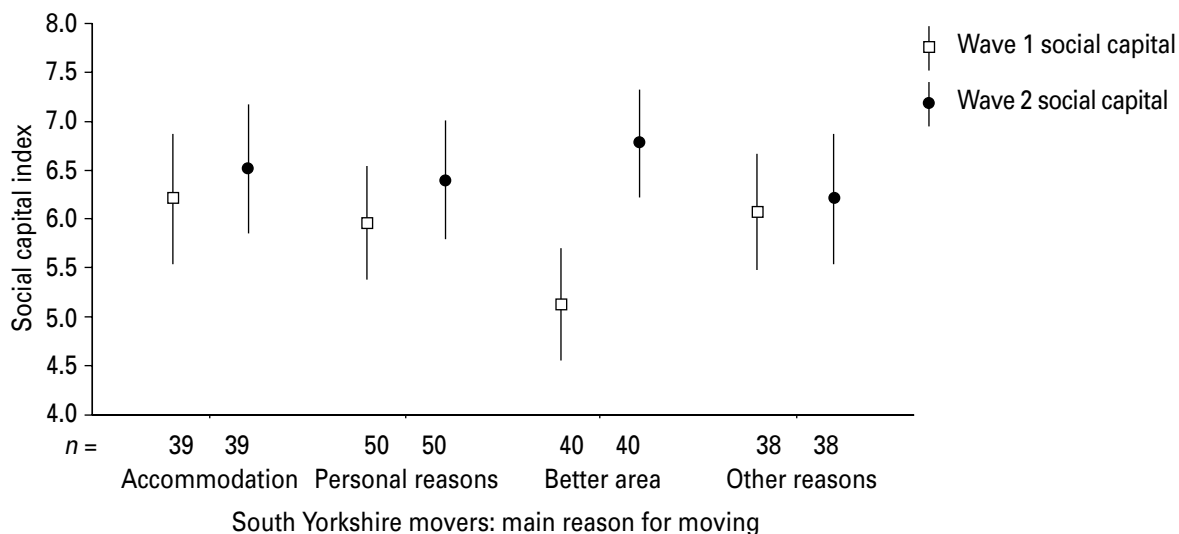
Figure 21 Key drivers of mobility



Source: Wave 1 Survey ($n = 1,338$). Destination categories applied retrospectively from NHS records. The bars to the boxes indicate the 95 per cent confidence intervals about the odds ratio. The vertical scale denotes the odds ratio – the chances of movers having more or less of the characteristic compared with stayers who are given a baseline value of one

Social capital as a ‘hidden’ driver is compared in Figure 22 with the explicit reasons for moving given in Figure 20. Here the vertical scale is an index of social capital formulated from responses to questions on trust and reciprocity in our surveys in 2000 (Wave 1) and 2002/3 (Wave 2). The symbols give the mean for each wave and the bars to symbols show the 95 per cent confidence interval around the mean. The horizontal scale classifies the 167 residents who moved out between the two waves of survey, by their most explicit reason for moving.

Figure 22 Explicit and hidden reasons for moving out



All classes of mover score higher on the social capital index in their new homes in 2002/3 than they did in their previous homes in 2000. Those giving ‘a better area’ as their main reason for moving report the biggest difference. ‘A better area’ embodies both the attraction of their new neighbourhood and reaction against the social conditions of their previous neighbourhood.

Residents are reacting against dysfunctional social relationships – an assessment of neighbourhood social capital – rather than concerns about the environment or the physical infrastructure of the area. In many journalistic reports residents will blame ‘bad elements’ coming in from outside. Here the blame attaches squarely to neighbours. Typical comments are in Table 11.

Table 11 Social drivers out

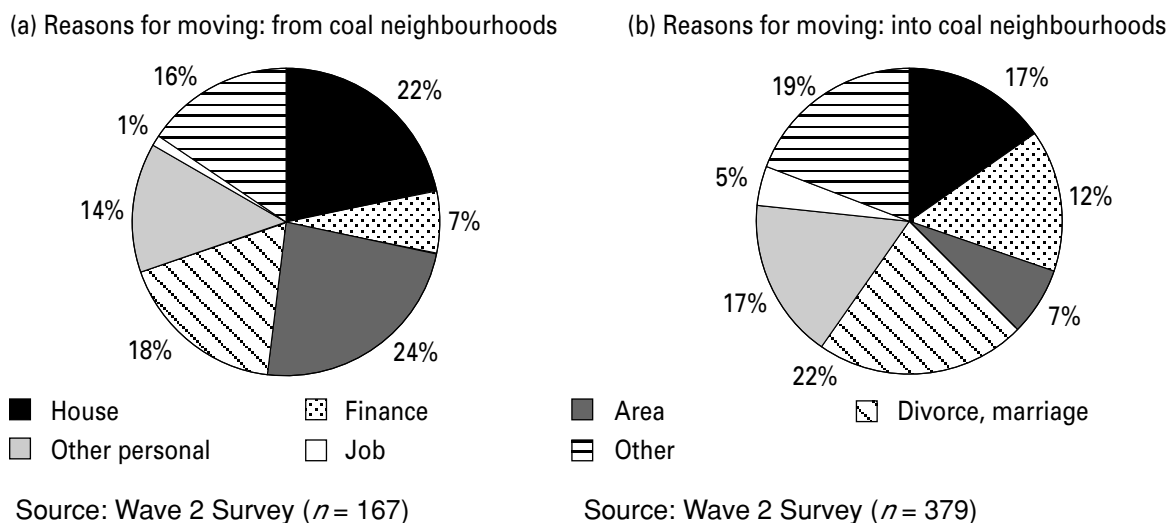
| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Noise | <p>‘My first neighbours sold drugs, were very noisy and partied all night. Next ones were very noisy and slammed doors.’</p> <p>‘Trouble from neighbours being noisy, shouting and swearing.’</p> |
| Drugs | <p>‘To be nearer my children and for new job. Area I lived in was very rough with lots of drugs being taken in very near vicinity to my home.’</p> <p>‘High risk of drugs where we lived in Hyde Park.’</p> |
| Insecurity | <p>‘I left a tied house; wanted to be in a nicer area; needed to feel safe. Felt unsafe; youths wandering around all night and day.’</p> <p>‘My wife was scared in the house and scared to leave the house walking – she would only go out if in the car.’</p> <p>‘Fed up with being a victim of crime and having drug users as neighbours.’</p> <p>‘My kids were getting bullied and the neighbours broke into my old house.’</p> |

In-movers

Because we had no previous survey information on movers into our study areas, we were not able to detect hidden drivers. We relied solely on residents’ explicit accounts, which tended to emphasise positive reasons for moving to a new neighbourhood. Figure 23 gives the main reasons given by in-movers compared with out-movers and, by reference back to Figure 20, compared with the national average.

There is a significant difference between in-movers and out-movers in the importance of ‘area’ as the main reason for moving. Only 7 per cent of in-movers cite a better area as their main reason compared with 24 per cent of out-movers and 11 per cent of all movers nationally. Our deprived neighbourhoods have a poor reputation, both within and beyond their boundaries. Incomers from the sub-region and especially from the same local authority area (the majority) will have been aware of this poor reputation.

Figure 23 Main reasons for moving into a study neighbourhood: in-movers compared with out-movers



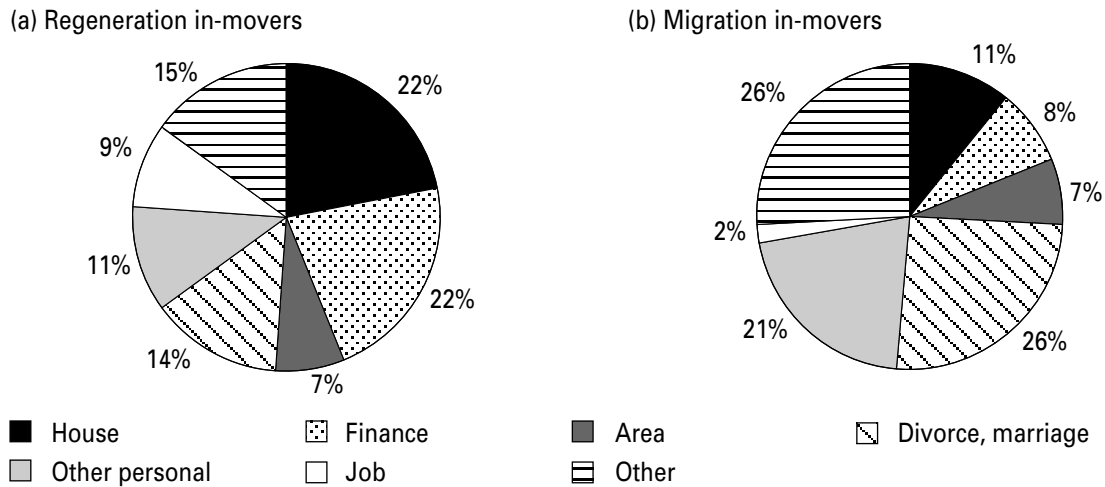
Yet still they moved in. Why? There are key differences (Figure 24) in the reasons given by regeneration and migration in-movers.

The regeneration group is more likely (9 per cent) than any other (and twice as likely as the national benchmark) to cite work as a main reason for their move. They are also much more likely to give marriage/living together/living independently as a reason for their move and less likely to cite personal reasons. There is no evidence that social problems in their previous neighbourhood were a significant driver and so ‘a better neighbourhood’ features much less (7 per cent) as a main reason for moving in than for those moving out (24 per cent in Figure 23).

Migration in-movers (either into established households or replacing out-movers) have a very different combination of reasons for moving. Like regeneration in-movers only 7 per cent cite ‘a better neighbourhood’ as their main reason for moving and the supplementary survey shows they attach less importance to a better house. Also like regeneration in-movers, neither the social problems of their previous neighbourhood nor the prospect of better social relations in their new neighbourhood feature as key drivers. Personal and life course events weigh more heavily and in this respect mirror the drivers associated with out-movers. Of all the groups, these migration in-movers are most likely to report difficult life course events – divorce, illness and bereavement.

Our supplementary survey elaborates these reasons for moving. For regeneration in-movers the main driver was the size and tenure of their new house. Figure 25 shows regeneration in-movers rated ‘better housing’ (80 per cent) and ‘wanting to buy’

Figure 24 Main reasons for moving into a study neighbourhood: regeneration compared with migration in-movers



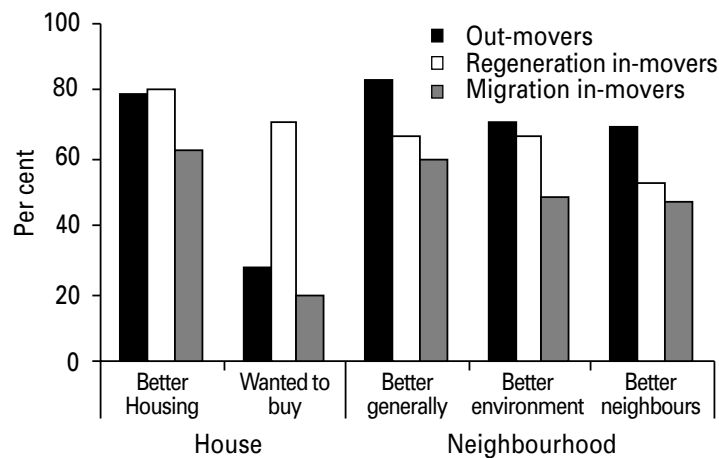
Source: Wave 2 Survey ($n = 121$)

Source: Wave 2 Survey ($n = 258$)

(71 per cent) as the two most important reasons for moving in. The build-for-sale initiative appears to have been successful in attracting younger people in work wanting to get onto the first rung of the owner-occupied property ladder. A classic example is a young man who reported:

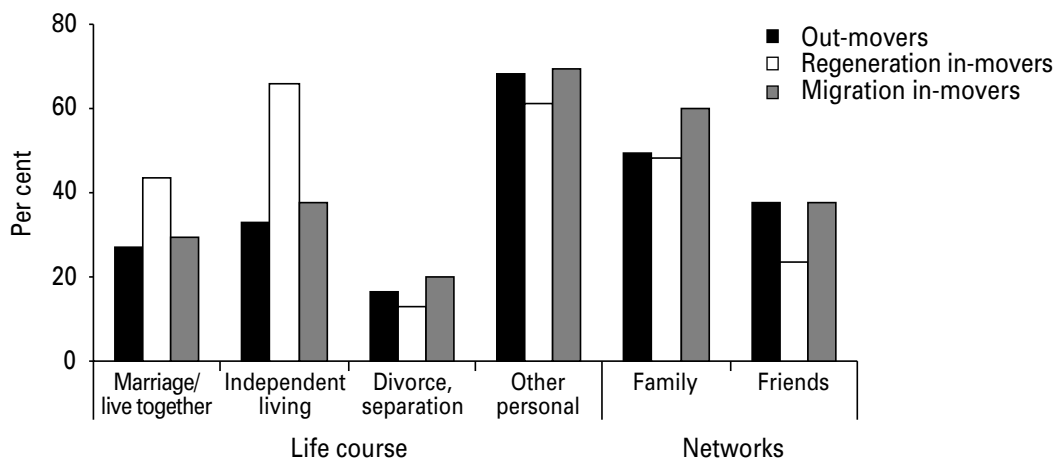
‘Having returned from university and moved back with my parents, I wanted to move on and buy my own place. Saw my present home at a very cheap price; felt happy I would be able to cope with the mortgage and thought it would be a good move financially.’

Figure 25 Important reasons for wanting to move into neighbourhood



Source: Supplementary Survey 2003 ($n = 362$)

Figure 26 Important reasons for moving: life course and networks



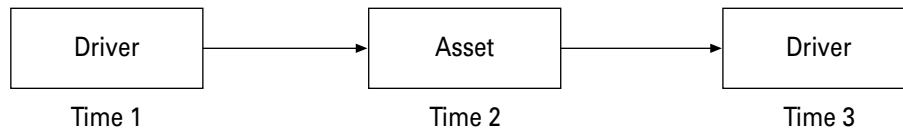
Source: Supplementary Survey 2003 (*n* = 326)

Negative life course events (Figure 26) were more important for migration in-movers than for other groups. A fifth reported divorce or separation as an important reason for moving and most (70 per cent) cited personal reasons. Beneath these statistics are human stories of frailty and duress which drive people into our neighbourhoods, which by reputation are some of the least attractive in the sub-region.

Typically a young woman in her early life course reported, ‘Me and my boyfriend moved in together as he was homeless and had been staying with me and my parents. So we had to find somewhere to live together’. Towards the end of life’s course, illness and bereavement are major drivers and family support a major attraction. One man ‘needed to be near someone to assist me in daily life after my wife left me’, and a woman said, ‘I am disabled and need to be near my daughter and needed to be in a disabled bungalow’.

Social capital: both asset and driver

The immediate impact of regeneration programmes is evident, but what is the population dynamic over two years and beyond? How do individual housing careers impact on a neighbourhood as a whole? We can construct a fuller housing career from supplementary surveys and qualitative interviews. These throw light on the longer-term impact of regeneration projects undertaken by RSLs. Following the first wave of new tenants, the mix of neighbourhood assets became problematic. The value of fixed assets did not erode: the housing stock remains in good condition. However, social capital eroded to such an extent that it became a negative driver for many tenants. Figure 27 illustrates how social capital over time is both an asset and a driver.

Figure 27 Social capital as asset and driver

The sequence is illustrated in human terms by a woman who had moved into and then away from a small RSL estate.

‘When I lived in the old houses it wasn’t that bad. My troubles only began when I moved into one of the new houses, the reason being I had new neighbours. The children just wrecked the new houses and were very cheeky and the parents never did much to stop them. They turned a blind eye which made me move again. My children were very unhappy and so was I. I wasn’t the only one moving.’

We have shown how low levels of social capital encourage households to leave a neighbourhood, and how these same households initially report higher levels of social capital in their new neighbourhoods. If maintained this stock of social capital will help attract more incomers. The next chapter will explore this complex interplay of people and place.

8 Impact of migration on neighbourhood capital

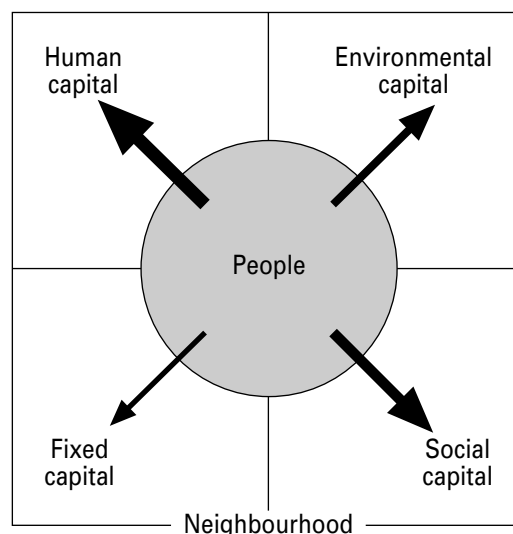
This chapter focuses on how a changing population makes an impact on neighbourhood capital and well-being. The first key message is that migration increases the level of both social capital and well-being in a neighbourhood. The second message is that regeneration programmes which encourage an influx of new owner-occupiers raise, at least in the short term, levels of human capital and neighbourhood prosperity.

People and place

People or place? Which is most important in determining the sustainability of our ex-coalmining neighbourhoods, and indeed of former industrial suburbs in many cities and towns in the UK? In the past, place was of paramount importance. Coal mining gave our neighbourhoods both a rationale and a strong identity. Nowadays, people are more important in determining neighbourhood sustainability because of the physical separation of workplace and living space. The rationale for our ex-mining neighbourhoods, and for inner-city suburbs originally built to service industry nearby, is now to provide relatively cheap accommodation and, to a lesser extent, social support. These are essentially residential areas and their future depends on the willingness of people to live there.

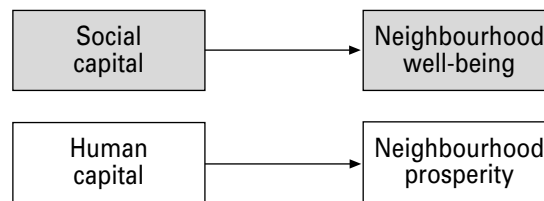
Figure 28 illustrates how people contribute to their neighbourhood capital and the relative contribution residents make to the four elements. They mediate environmental and fixed capital assets to a lesser degree, social assets more so and human capital to a very large degree. Migration changes the composition of a

Figure 28 People and place



neighbourhood population. It has a major impact on the human capital of the neighbourhood since health and qualifications clearly attach to individuals. It also has the potential for a significant impact on social capital since a predisposition to trust or reciprocity also attaches to individuals, though as relational assets they also attach to neighbours and the neighbourhood. It follows from the links established in Chapter 6 that increased levels of social capital will lead to greater neighbourhood well-being and increased levels of human capital will lead to greater neighbourhood prosperity. Figure 29 summarises these two propositions.

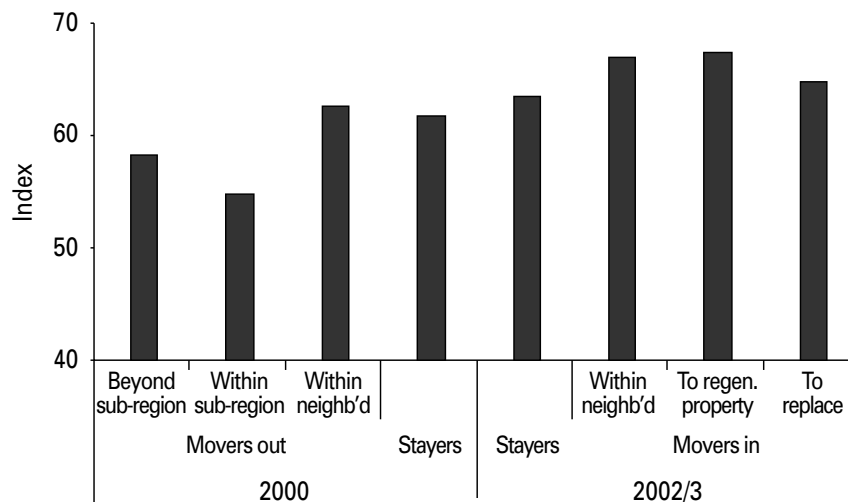
Figure 29 Capital changes and impacts



Social capital and well-being

Social capital increases with migration, whether from or into our study neighbourhoods. Our composite index of social capital records relatively high levels of social capital for all classes of in-mover on top of more modest increases for those who stayed put between 2000 and 2002/3. Figure 30 summarises the big picture across all neighbourhoods.

Figure 30 Migration and change in social capital



Index of Social Capital (scale 0–90) constructed from responses to Wave 1 Survey (*n* = 1,338) and Wave 2 Survey (*n* = 1,112)

Out-movers, whether to South Yorkshire (54.9 on the social capital index) or beyond (58.1), reported relatively low levels of social capital in the baseline year of 2000. Of itself, the subtraction of malcontents would be sufficient to raise average levels of social capital in our study neighbourhoods between 2000 and 2002/3. In addition, those residents who moved house within their neighbourhood (often in reaction to problems with their close neighbours) reported an increase in social capital (from 62.8 to 67.1) between 2000 and 2002/3. Stayers reported a modest increase from 61.8 to 63.6. In-movers replacing out-movers reported relatively high levels (64.8) and movers into regeneration property highest of all (67.6). The net effect was an increase in the social capital index across all neighbourhoods from 60.9 in 2000 to 64.6 in 2002/3.

As anticipated, well-being has also increased. Table 12 shows that, using odds ratios, on all elements used to construct our well-being index, movers per se are less negative (with a single exception¹) than stayers. All movers are generally less dissatisfied with the area and home, fewer think the area has deteriorated and fewer say they will not stay. Statistically significant differences are shown in bold.

Table 12 Differences in satisfaction and well-being: stayers and movers

| | Chances of being dissatisfied and having a low well-being score | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|--|
| | In-mover regeneration (<i>n</i> = 121) | In-mover migration (<i>n</i> = 256) | Out-mover to SY (<i>n</i> = 167) |
| Dissatisfied with area | 1.01 [0.65, 1.57] (0.97) | 0.71 [0.49, 1.01] (0.06) | 0.38 [0.24, 0.62] (<0.01) |
| Thinks area has deteriorated | 0.32 [0.19, 0.55] (<0.01) | 0.52 [0.37, 0.73] (<0.01) | 0.50 [0.33, 0.74] (<0.01) |
| Will not stay | 0.89 [0.56, 1.43] (0.64) | 0.95 [0.66, 1.38] (0.80) | 0.55 [0.34, 0.89] (0.02) |
| Dissatisfied with home | 0.28 [0.09, 0.92] (0.04) | 0.73 [0.41, 1.29] (0.27) | 0.62 [0.32, 1.21] (0.16) |
| Low well-being index score | 0.64 [0.35, 1.17] (0.15) | 0.76 [0.50, 1.16] (0.21) | 0.44 [0.26, 0.77] (<0.01) |

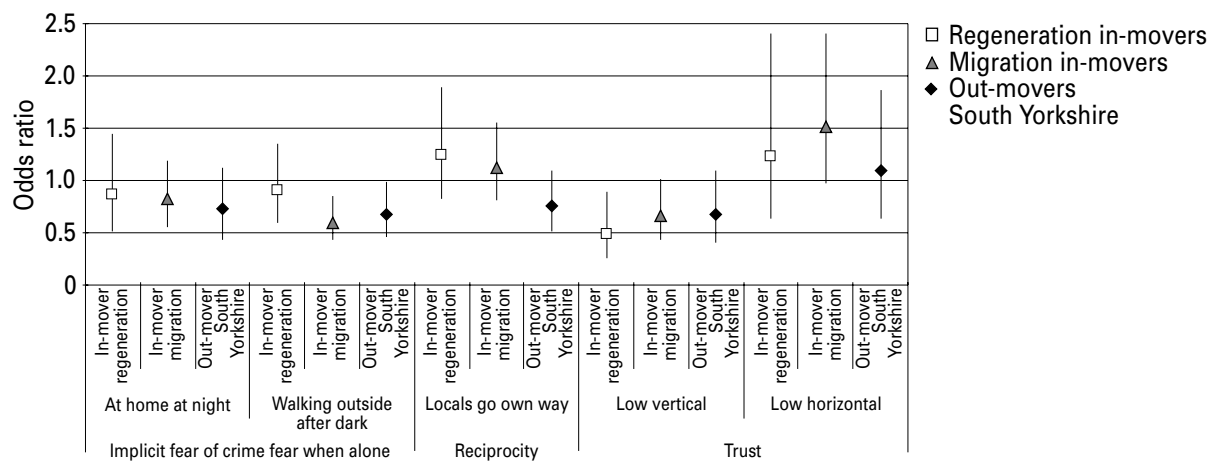
Source: Wave 2 Survey. Odds ratios (base: stayers; *n* = 658) with 95 per cent confidence intervals and significance probability at Wave 2 survey (2002/3). Generally low odds ratios (less than 1.00) show that movers were less dissatisfied (or more satisfied) with their neighbourhoods than stayers. Statistically significant differences are indicated in bold.

Thus regeneration in-movers are only a quarter as likely (0.28) as those who stayed to express dissatisfaction with their homes, and only a third as likely (0.32) to think their new neighbourhood has deteriorated. Those moving into new property in the neighbourhood (migration in-movers) are also less likely to be dissatisfied – they are only half as likely (0.52) to think their new neighbourhood has deteriorated.

There are two contradictory dynamics which will have a longer-term impact on neighbourhood sustainability. First is the halo effect of moving house. Having invested time, energy and resources in making a move, residents are inclined to give their new home and neighbourhood the benefit of the doubt. In time, like established residents, they will begin to harbour doubts. In these fine judgements are the embryonic drivers for future mobility.

Second, as a counter-trend, though movers per se have relatively low levels of ‘bonding’ social capital, it should increase as they get to know their neighbours. Robert Putnam (2000) makes a distinction between bonding capital which relates to your own kind – family, friends and neighbours – leading to horizontal trust, and linking capital which connects you to the outside world of employment and civil society, leading to vertical trust. Figure 31 shows how, compared with stayers (benchmark value = 1.0), both sets of in-movers (and also out-movers) rate high² on vertical trust and low on reciprocity and horizontal trust.

Figure 31 Migration and elements of social capital

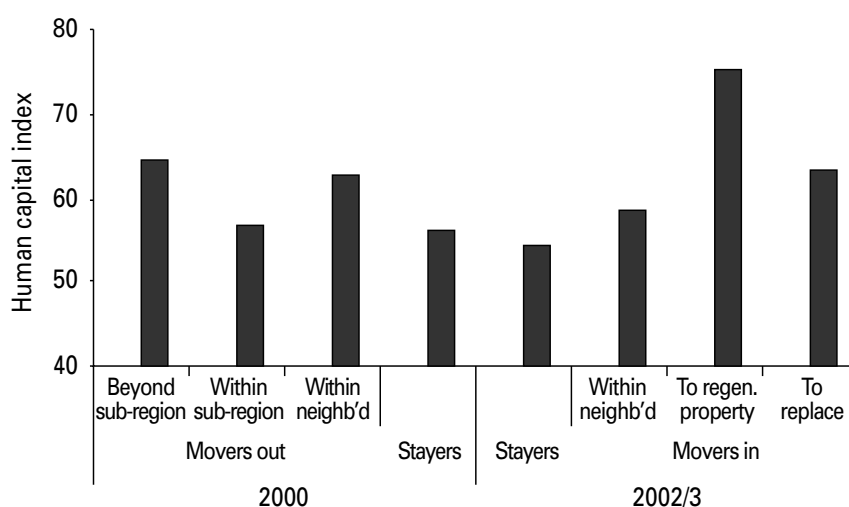


Odds ratios (base: stayers (n = 658)); upper and lower bars to symbols show 95 per cent confidence intervals

Human capital and neighbourhood prosperity

The export of aspirant out-movers is counterbalanced by regeneration in-movers to produce no significant net effect on human capital across our eight neighbourhoods as a whole. In declining neighbourhoods with little investment in regeneration, and few regeneration in-movers, there is an erosion of human capital. In regeneration neighbourhoods there is an increase in human capital, primarily because of incoming owner-occupiers of new property. Figure 32 summarises the big picture across all neighbourhoods.

Figure 32 Migration and change in human capital

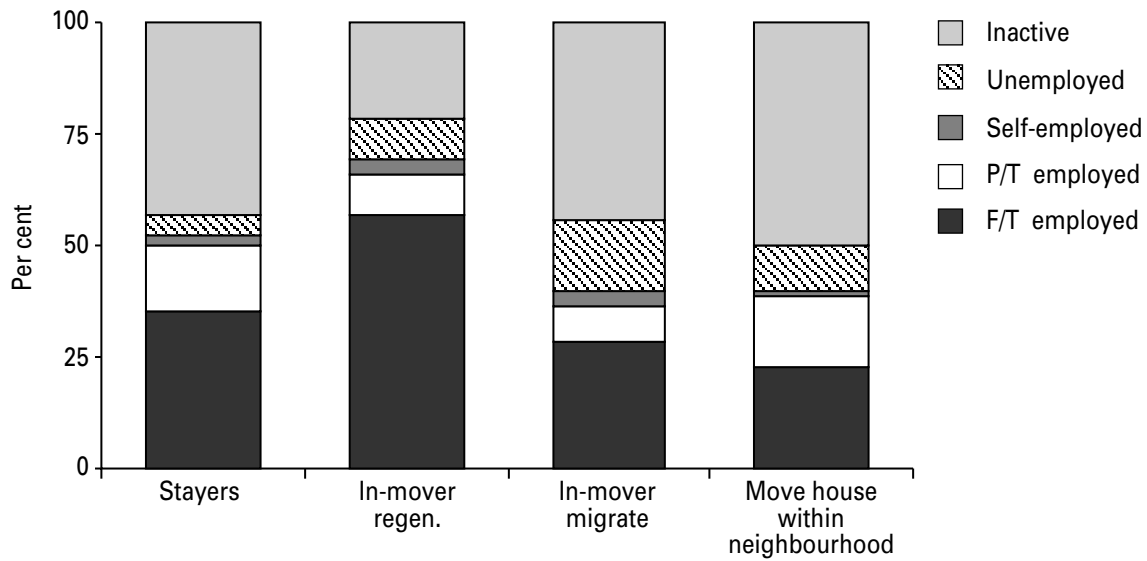


Index of Human Capital (scale 0–90) constructed from responses to Wave 1 Survey ($n = 1,338$) and Wave 2 Survey ($n = 1,112$)

Those moving away from the sub-region reported significantly higher levels (64.6 on the human capital index) of human capital than stayers (55.9) in the baseline year of 2000. Stayers reported an erosion of human capital (expected as health declines with age) between 2000 and 2002/3 as did those residents moving within one of our neighbourhoods (from 62.5 to 58.4). Incomers, especially into regeneration property (75.3), brought in train significantly higher levels of human capital. All these separate migration impacts on human capital tend to neutralise each other. The net effect is an insignificant rise from 57.2 to 58.9 in levels of human capital across all eight neighbourhoods.

Higher levels of human capital should lead to improved neighbourhood prosperity. The stock of human capital in a neighbourhood is the fitness of its residents for work. Work generates income and prosperity. Regeneration in-movers confirm this pattern. They have much better health and more qualifications than other residents and are very much more likely to be in full-time work. Figure 33 underlines this sequence.

Figure 33 Employment status, 2002/3

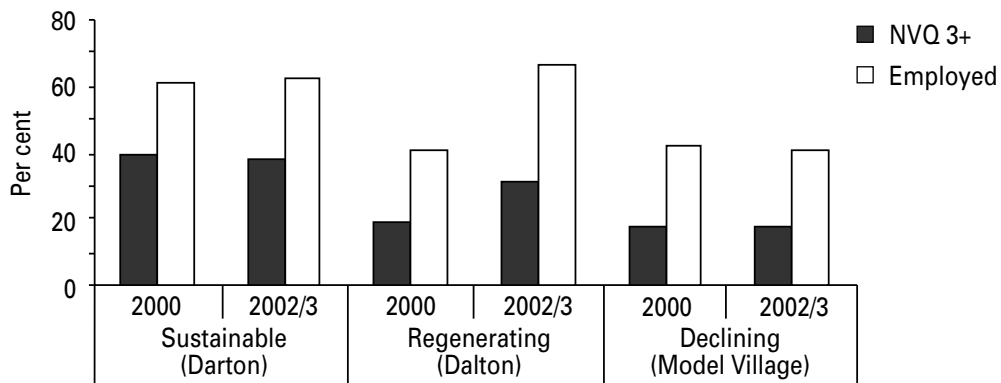


Source: Wave 2 Survey ($n = 928$: working age only)

Conversely, a net reduction in human capital will lead to greater exclusion from the labour market, reinforcing the deprivation of declining communities. Migration in-movers with higher qualifications than stayers, but similar or lower levels of health, are less likely to be in a full-time job and more likely to be economically inactive. Here there may be a tenure effect because social housing tenants, disproportionately represented in this group of migrants, though more likely to be younger and therefore better qualified, are nevertheless often deterred from working by the benefit trap. Least qualified are those who move house within the neighbourhood. These are the least likely to be in full-time (23 per cent) or part-time work (16 per cent). More than half (51 per cent) are economically inactive.

The differential mix of migrants that characterises sustainable, regenerating and declining neighbourhoods will have a differential impact on the composition of human capital and in turn on socio-economic status. Though numbers are too small to allow us to be certain of the precise effect in each neighbourhood, Figure 34 highlights the impact of migration in neighbourhoods which typify the three-way classification of sustainable, regenerating and declining.

Figure 34 Effect of migration on the elements of neighbourhood prosperity



Source: Wave 1 Survey 2000 ($n = 447$) and Wave 2 Survey ($n = 400$)

Since qualifications cannot be undone, and only a very small proportion of residents newly qualify in any one year, changes over the period 2000 to 2002/3 in the proportion of our neighbourhood populations with NVQ3 or greater are almost all due to migration. Similarly, though Chapter 5 reveals a modest underlying increase in national employment, the changing proportion of employed residents in our study neighbourhoods will also be largely the result of migration. Sustained prosperity is conditional upon attracting incomers with high levels of human capital.

9 Conclusions

In this chapter we first rehearse briefly our principal findings about the causes and processes of neighbourhood decline and regeneration. We then go on to policy implications. We assess several alternative strategic responses to neighbourhood decline in the light of the evidence we have assembled on causes and processes. We do not make detailed policy recommendations. Our aim instead is twofold: to evaluate broad policy options and to identify the principal components of the option we favour.

Outcomes and causes

Unemployment and inactivity in the study neighbourhoods

Two and a half decades ago coalmining jobs guaranteed a measure of economic prosperity in the study neighbourhoods. The influence of subsequent pit closures on the evolution of unemployment and inactivity in the neighbourhoods has been moderated by the impact of regeneration investment.

The job losses of the 1980s – caused by deindustrialisation and pit closures – increased the unemployment and inactivity gaps between the neighbourhood group and the sub-region and between the sub-region and the national economy.

The strong growth in jobs over the 1990s slightly favoured the neighbourhood areas relative to the sub-region and the nation, but did no more than restore the pattern of significant labour market disadvantage that obtained in 1981.

Housing markets in the sub-region and the study neighbourhoods

Two and a half decades ago the housing stock in the study neighbourhoods was dominated by rental properties built by local authorities and the National Coal Board. This pattern has been substantially altered by the sale of NCB properties, the Right to Buy legislation and private investment in owner-occupied dwellings.

During the 1990s the South Yorkshire sub-regional labour and housing markets developed a distinctive configuration involving:

- steadily falling unemployment and rising incomes, coinciding with falling interest rates
- an increase in new dwellings significantly above the increase in household formation.

Those residents of the sub-region who benefited from the long boom of the 1990s were able to ascend the property ladder quickly due to the very rapid expansion of the stock of new private dwellings. As a consequence, the demand for properties at the bottom of the quality ladder – those characteristic of our study areas – stagnated. This depressive effect added to that arising from persistently high joblessness within the study areas.

Neighbourhood capital and well-being

Our earlier findings that levels of human capital (health and qualifications) are lower in the study neighbourhoods than in the nation as a whole, leading to lower rates of participation in the labour market, have been confirmed. Levels of social capital remain comparable to those prevailing nationally, though fear of crime is much higher than national benchmarks.

There is also confirmation of our earlier findings that well-being is influenced critically by levels of social capital (explaining 23 per cent of the variance across individuals in all neighbourhoods), environmental capital (explaining 13 per cent) and physical capital (also explaining 13 per cent and with the quality of the neighbourhood housing stock having the largest influence). Levels of human capital continue to exert little influence on neighbourhood well-being.

The sustainability trajectories hypothesised in our baseline study in 2000 have come to pass in some neighbourhoods but not others. Continued high levels of well-being in Darton confirm its classification as sustainable. Well-being in Dalton, classified as regenerating, has fallen substantially. The declining status of Hyde Park is confirmed. Well-being in the three other neighbourhoods classified as declining remains low but, contrary to expectations, has improved in two of them despite low levels of investment.

The population dynamic of neighbourhoods

Migration in and out of the sustainable, market renewal, type of neighbourhood (represented by Darton) consists of people who are upwardly mobile with the aspirations and means to move to a better house in a better neighbourhood. Such migrants are a much smaller fraction of movers to and from regenerating and declining neighbourhoods.

Much of the migration in and out of the regenerating and declining neighbourhoods represents a churning process – involving short-distance moves between similar properties in similar neighbourhoods.

Movers into new and refurbished properties in regenerating neighbourhoods report higher income profiles than other in-movers to such neighbourhoods.

Drivers of migration

The support network of family and friends, illness and disability are more prominent factors in residential moves out of the study neighbourhoods than nationally.

Low social capital is a key driver of moves out of seven of the eight study neighbourhoods and much more important locally than nationally. And those who moved long distance (outside the South Yorkshire sub-region) have significantly higher levels of human capital.

There are sharp differences between the factors motivating people who move into new or refurbished property in the study neighbourhoods and those motivating people moving into established households or replacing out-movers. For the former, job and marriage/cohabitation arrangements are most important, whereas life course events involving divorce, illness and bereavement matter most for the latter group.

New build and refurbishment on RSL estates attracts aspirational tenants with high human capital at the first round. But a subsequent erosion of social capital on such estates has undermined their attractiveness.

The impact of migration on neighbourhood capital

Migration has increased social capital in the study neighbourhoods – in-movers report higher levels of social capital than stayers and out-movers. The assessment of neighbourhood social capital by in-movers may be subject to a fading halo effect, which may in turn be counterbalanced by a growth in trust and reciprocity.

The impact of migration on human capital differs between neighbourhoods. For the neighbourhoods as a group, the flow of aspirant out-movers is counterbalanced by the flow of regeneration in-movers. But in declining neighbourhoods, with little investment in regeneration and few regeneration in-movers, migration results in an erosion of human capital. In contrast, sustainable areas are successful in replenishing their human assets, recruiting incomers who are relatively healthy and prosperous.

Policy implications

Responses to decline

The value of a neighbourhood as a place to live depends on the access which it affords to other valued resources and services such as job opportunities, schools, environmental amenity, aspects of the social environment and so on. In a neighbourhood where value thus defined is in continuous decline – and the trend in property values signals that this is so – the resident population will fall through net emigration. For such a neighbourhood there are several possible adjustment strategies, including the following:

- *Scenario 1: market adjustment cushioned by welfare support.* Under this scenario the neighbourhood will continue to be a place of residence for a diminishing group – those who place a low value on accessibility or a high value on cheap low-quality accommodation, or who wish to move out but are unable to do so. All others will move out. The living standards of remaining residents would be supported by mainstream (national) welfare subsidies, such as Income Support, provided regardless of place of residence, and also by welfare subsidies which are tied to place of residence to some degree – principally social housing provided at below market rents. Under this scenario the aim of public intervention is to offset the adverse consequences of neighbourhood decline on the living standards of residents.
- *Scenario 2: a programme of public investment* in neighbourhood assets designed to halt and reverse the decline in area value. Under this scenario public intervention seeks to reverse the underlying causes of neighbourhood decline.

The costs and effectiveness of responses

Scenario 1: market forces plus welfare support

This scenario – especially the variant excluding area-targeted welfare support – is favoured by those taking the view that there is no good reason, individual or social, why people should remain in a neighbourhood whose value is in decline, and that migration out of such places benefits the individual and costs society nothing.

Scenario 1 describes the experience of Thurnscoe and Hyde Park where regeneration investment has been limited or insignificant. It has proved both costly and inequitable. Thus:

- labour market participation is low relative to the neighbourhood group and lower still relative to the sub-region and the nation (Chapter 2)
- levels of human capital – measured by qualifications, labour market status and health status – are low relative to those in the other study neighbourhoods (Chapter 5)
- levels of well-being – for which residents' overall evaluation of the neighbourhood is a proxy – are also low relative to those in the other study neighbourhoods (Chapter 5).

More observable are the tangible signs of decline – physical decay in the built environment and abandoned properties which mark out the neighbourhoods as unattractive places to live. The durability of the housing stock ensures that these costs are not short-lived but last for many years.

A specific and well-recognised problem with subsidies tied to area of residence is that geographical poverty traps may be created as a by-product – as income gains are contingent on the individual having a low income and being resident in a deprived place. Our evidence on the role of the social housing sector suggests that this is a real problem. Evidence from RSL tenants indicates that both social capital and environmental amenity have decayed as the RSL sector has expanded, and that a socially dysfunctional neighbourhood is a prime reason for moving from RSL properties. Not only is there a first-round poverty trap effect – arising from the selection process built into the RSL rationing mechanism, but a second-round effect also – arising from adverse area effects in RSL estates (Chapter 6). We thus have some evidence that RSL investment, designed to cushion the impact of market decline, imposes additional costs of its own.

Under this scenario it is hard to see any compensating benefit – except, arguably, the access to cheap housing for those on low incomes. But whatever benefits the poor derive from cheap, low-quality housing in neighbourhoods like Thurnscoe and Hyde Park may be more than offset by adverse neighbourhood effects – the chances of anyone poor remaining poor may increase as the number of poor neighbours increases. We would argue that market adjustment softened by welfare support should not be relied on if there is an alternative response which offers a better ratio of social benefits to costs. We believe there is.

Scenario 2: the investment response

We have three general points to make about Scenario 2:

- it offers a strategy of response and adjustment to area decline which is significantly less costly and more equitable than any feasible alternative
- there is empirical evidence to provide some general guidance for the design of an investment strategy for neighbourhood regeneration
- given the way in which sub-regional and local housing markets can interact, it is crucially important that investments within declining neighbourhoods are not undermined by excess supply in the wider housing market within which the neighbourhood is located.

We propose a neighbourhood investment programme in social capital, environmental amenity and housing which is roughly balanced according to their relative measured impact on the self-reported well-being of residents (Chapter 5, Figure 13). The direct and immediate pay-off to such a programme would be increased well-being in deprived neighbourhoods. In addition, there would be a longer-run benefit arising from a gradual desegregation of presently vulnerable neighbourhoods achieved via a shift in the factors influencing decisions about where to live taken by those with high and low human capital. Thus:

- an induced increase in property values would weaken one of the selection mechanisms (falling property values in the market sector) that sort poor people into deprived neighbourhoods¹
- investment in social capital addresses the factor which bears most heavily on the decision of those with higher levels of human capital to move out of deprived neighbourhoods (Chapter 6)
- regeneration programmes in deprived neighbourhoods providing new build for owner-occupation are attractive to those with higher levels of human capital (Chapter 6).

Our evidence on adverse interactions between sub-regional and local housing markets (Chapter 4) indicates that the pay-off to a programme of neighbourhood investments will be much reduced by any significant degree of excess supply in the wider sub-regional housing market. For a given increase in the demand for housing in this market – based in turn on changes in the demographic and economic determinants of housing demand – planning and land-use policies must strike a

balance between new construction and demolition such that the net increase in the housing stock does not significantly outstrip the increase in demand. If this policy requirement is not met – as has been the case in South Yorkshire – an externally induced decline in housing demand in deprived neighbourhoods will undermine any programme of neighbourhood regeneration. A direct implication is that a neighbourhood regeneration programme must be set within a consistent sub-regional strategy and cannot be exclusively local.

A more specific implication for the South Yorkshire sub-region and comparable localities elsewhere – where the increase in the stock of new housing is high relative to the growth of demand – is that an appropriate rate of housing demolition is a necessary component of an effective strategy for the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods within the sub-region. Of course demolition is not sufficient as a policy in such localities, but it is necessary. The necessity is not the need to tidy up declining neighbourhoods, but to avoid the damaging spillover costs that are generated by surplus housing – which range from environmental decay caused by the physical deterioration and abandonment of housing units to increased residential segregation between poor and rich induced by falling house prices and rents. As these adverse effects are greatest where the excess supply of housing is greatest demolition policy should target properties for which demand is weakest.

Notes

Chapter 2

- 1 We define the sub-region as comprising the Barnsley, Doncaster and Rotherham local authority districts (LADs). This is smaller than the South Yorkshire sub-region as a whole, which also includes the Sheffield LAD, but is large relative to the group of eight study areas – in 2001 the population of working age of the eight areas as a group was less than 2 per cent of that of the sub-region.
- 2 As is the case across UK regions: see Fothergill (2001).
- 3 The rise in male inactivity which underpins this trend is a reflection of that identified in the national economy over the same period – see Dickens *et al.* (2001, ch. 1).

Chapter 4

- 1 The Lee *et al.* data are based on a more aggregative classification than that in Table 6 – all terraced dwellings compared to all dwellings.

Chapter 5

- 1 Of the 1,338 residents responding in 2000, 825 responded again in 2002/3. Of the 513 who did not respond, 40 had died or there was no trace. From NHS records, 311 of these respondents continued to live in the same house (probable stayers), 94 had probably moved within South Yorkshire and 68 had probably moved away from the sub-region.
- 2 The number of Survey respondents in the 65+ age groups is relatively small and no trend comparisons can be drawn.
- 3 For this and all other estimates of odds ratios, multinomial logistic models were employed to determine the effect of the identified characteristic after accounting for other influences.
- 4 The index is simple yet statistically robust with a large measure of internal coherence.

Chapter 6

- 1 The most recent report covering the same period (Department of Work and Pensions, 2003) concludes that real incomes of the poorest segment of the population rose in the same (1996/7 to 2001/2) period.

Chapter 8

- 1 Regeneration in-movers are slightly less satisfied (1:1.01) with the area than stayers.
- 2 More precisely, fewer report low vertical trust, and more report low levels of horizontal trust.

Chapter 9

- 1 Another sorting mechanism is the rationing mechanism of the RSL sector. A weakening of this may require a radical overhaul of social housing provision involving a much greater dispersal of social housing across deprived and prosperous neighbourhoods, or a complete detachment of the housing subsidy from a particular property in a particular place.

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Appendix: The survey questionnaires

Table A1 Measuring capitals and well-being

| Assets and well-being | Elements measured |
|------------------------------|---|
| Social capital | Contact Trust Participation |
| Human capital | Employment Skills Health |
| Fixed capital | Housing Workplaces Facilities Shops Roads |
| Environmental capital | Parks Street scape Open space |
| Well-being | Satisfaction with neighbourhood Change in satisfaction with neighbourhood Satisfaction with home How likely to stay in neighbourhood |

Table A2 The Wave 1 and Wave 2 questionnaire*

| Section | No. | Question | Scale points | No. of variables | Source |
|-------------------------------|--------|------------------------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Demographics | A | Address | | | |
| | B | Name | | | |
| | CD | Date of birth | | | |
| | 1 | Sex | 2 | | |
| | 2 | No. in house | | 1 | |
| | 3 | Tenure | 7 | 1 | Census/GHS |
| | | Length of residence | 6 | 1 | |
| | 4 | Satisfaction with area | 5 | 1 | EHS/MORI |
| Well-being and sustainability | 5 | Change in area | 5 | 1 | EHS/MORI |
| | 6 | Satisfaction with home | 5 | 1 | EHS/MORI |
| | 18 | How likely to stay | 4 | 1 | EHS/MORI |
| | 19 | Future of area | Open | | MORI |
| Physical capital | 7a+c-h | Satisfaction with facilities | 5 | 7 | MORI/Dearne |
| Environmental capital | 7b | Environmental attractiveness | 5 | 1 | New |
| Social capital | 8 | Neighbours help | 3 | 1 | BCS |
| | 9 | Safe at home at night | 4 | 1 | BCS |
| | 10 | Safe out at night | 4 | 1 | BCS |
| | 11 | Contact | 9 | 3 | MORI |
| | 17 | Trust neighbours/friends | 5 | 6 | World Values |
| Human capital | 12 | Limiting illness | 2 | 1 | Census/GHS |
| | 13 | Health status | 3 | 5 | EuroQol |
| | 14 | Health thermometer | 100 | 1 | EuroQol |
| | 15 | Skills and qualifications | 6 | 1 | Labour Force Survey |
| | 16 | Economic status | 10 | 1 | Census |

*Table A2 shows the design of the Wave 1 survey. At Wave 2 all Wave 1 questions were repeated and two questions added – one one why respondents moved to their 2002/3 address and another on environmental attractiveness.

Census = 1991 Population Census; BCS = British Crime Survey; EuroQol = European Quality of Life Survey; GHS = General Household Survey; EHS = English Housing Survey

Table A3 The supplementary survey of movers

| Section | Question no. and question | Scale points | Number of variables |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Demographics | A Date of birth | | |
| Factors important in move | 1 Characteristics of dwelling moved to | 5 | 4 |
| | 2 Personal and family circumstances | 5 | 3 |
| | 3 Characteristics of location of dwelling moved to | 5 | 6 |
| | 4 Financial and work circumstances | 5 | 5 |
| | 5 Any other circumstances | Open | |
| Previous location and address | Previous location | | 9 |
| | Previous address | | |
| Tenure of previous dwelling | Tenure type | | 8 |
| Change in household income | Change in income since 2000 | 5 | |
| Social contact | Frequency of contact | 9 | 3 |
| Proximity to work | Distance to place of work | 4 | |