

Creating and sustaining mixed income communities





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Creating and sustaining mixed income communities

A good practice guide



*Published for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation
by the Chartered Institute of Housing*

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The Chartered Institute of Housing is the professional organisation for people who work in housing. Its purpose is to maximise the contribution housing professionals make to the wellbeing of communities. The Chartered Institute has 19,000 members across the UK and the Asian Pacific working in a range of organisations, including housing associations, local authorities, arm's-length management organisations, the private sector and educational institutions.

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Glossary

Affordable housing This is made up of **social housing** where rent levels are set in line with the government's rent influencing regime, and **intermediate housing**: a mix of low cost home ownership schemes (e.g. shared ownership) and other reduced cost rental arrangements primarily in the form of key worker housing.

Barker Review Kate Barker's review of housing supply commissioned by HM Treasury and ODPM: *Delivering stability: securing our future housing needs*, March 2004.

BREEAM This refers to the Building Research Establishment's Environmental Assessment Method to determine the environmental performance of both new and existing buildings. It is regarded by the UK's construction and property sectors as the measure of best practice in environmental design and management. Performance is assessed in relation to: management, energy use, health and well-being, pollution, land use, ecology, materials and water.

Brownfield land This is 'previously developed land that is unused or may be available for development'. It includes both vacant and derelict land

and land currently in use with known potential for redevelopment.

Building for Life standard This is a commitment to the quality of new homes made by the House Builders Federation, CABI and the Civic Trust. Gold and silver awards are made to new public and private housing developments which meet high design standards and contribute towards place-making.

Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment CABI is an executive, non-departmental public body, funded by ODPM and DCMS, to act as a design champion for the built environment.

Decent home A government standard for a home that is warm, weatherproof and has reasonably modern facilities.

EcoHomes environmental assessment An environmental assessment method for homes. EcoHomes considers the broad environmental concerns of climate change, resource use and impact on wildlife and balances these against the needs for a high quality, safe and healthy internal environment.

English Partnerships The national regeneration agency, helping the government to support high quality sustainable growth in England.

HomeBuy Schemes which enable existing social tenants, those on housing waiting lists, key workers, and other first-time buyers to buy a share of a home and get a first step on the housing ladder. Funding for these schemes began in April 2006. There are three *HomeBuy* products available. *Social HomeBuy* enables tenants of local authorities and housing associations to buy a share in their current home at a discount. *New Build HomeBuy* enables people to buy a share of a new built property and *Open Market HomeBuy* enables people to buy a property on the open market with the help of an equity loan.

Lifetime Homes standards The Lifetime Homes concept was developed by a group of housing experts under the auspices of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation Lifetime Homes Group. Lifetime Homes have 16 design features which increase the flexibility and adaptability of a house or flat. Many of these features were subsequently covered by Part M of the English Building Regulations.

- Local Development Frameworks (LDF)** The local development documents, set out in the form of a portfolio, which collectively deliver the spatial planning strategy for the local planning authority area.
- Millennium communities** New developments mixing homes, shops, workspaces and community facilities. They incorporate good public transport links, innovation in building technology, energy efficiency and ecological and environmental strategies. They aim to create good, sustainable jobs as well as education and training opportunities and are worked up in close consultation with the communities they relate to.
- Mixed development** A well integrated mix of land uses with decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes.
- MINC** Mixed income new community
- Regional Housing Board** The Sustainable Communities Plan introduced new regional arrangements to help deliver sustainable communities, including the creation of a Regional Housing Board in each of the nine English regions. The Board is responsible for drawing up the Regional Housing Strategy and making recommendations to the minister about the Regional Housing Pot.
- Registered social landlord (RSL)** Technical name for social landlords, most of which are housing associations, that are registered with the Housing Corporation. They own or manage around 2.24 million homes for sub-market renting or shared ownership.
- Right to acquire** A scheme which enables some housing association tenants to purchase their rented home with the benefit of a discount, subject to a government-specified maximum amount depending on the local authority area. The scheme only applies to properties built or acquired by housing associations, both charitable and non-charitable, with public funds from 1 April 1997 onwards.
- Right to buy** A scheme under which most council tenants and some housing association tenants may buy their homes at a price below the full market value. Only properties that are suitable for occupation by elderly or disabled people, or are let in connection with the tenant's employment, are exempt. Discounts are available depending on the number of years' residence, up to a maximum that varies by region.
- Section 106 agreement** A legal agreement signed between the developer and local authority under the Town and Country Planning Act 1990. It ensures that local planning authorities can require developers to make a contribution towards social housing or public facilities such as schools, open space or other infrastructure improvements.
- Shared equity** A means of helping people into home ownership. The buyer purchases a share of their home, with the remaining share being held by another party, for example a housing association. When the homeowner comes to sell the home, the other party is entitled to some of the proceeds of the sale.
- Social housing** Housing provided by registered social landlords or the local authority at a rent lower than market rent.
- Social housing grant** Capital grant provided by the Housing Corporation to fund registered social landlords to fully or partially fund investment in social housing.
- Social rent** Rent below market levels paid to the local authority or a RSL.
- Stock transfer** Process under which a local authority transfers some or all of its housing to a housing association.
- Sustainable Communities Plan** A programme of action, published in February 2003, to tackle the shortage of housing in London and the south east and low demand in the north and Midlands.
- Tenure** The nature of the structure by which people own or rent their home. Categories are usually broken down as follows: Owner-occupied, private rented, local authority or RSL.



Introduction

Purpose of the guide

The government is embarking on a major housing improvement and development programme which represents a significant departure from previous initiatives.

The intention is to ensure that the needs of all sections of the community are met through the refurbishment of existing estates, as well as through new construction of sustainable communities. These are communities which succeed now, economically, socially and environmentally, and respect the needs of future generations.

An important dimension of this strategy is the need to create mixed income communities which successfully integrate different housing types, sizes and tenures in areas with good links to the surrounding urban fabric and which provide access to the full range of services, facilities and jobs.

The primary objective is to enable people of different ages, lifestyles and incomes to share the benefits of well-designed housing and the external environment, which meets their needs now and in the future. In particular, this means that careful attention needs to be paid to the initiation and planning of new housing to ensure that local needs and housing market conditions are fully assessed and delivered on the basis of a clear vision. This is no easy task since the creation of sustainable communities requires the long-term collaboration of a number of public and private agencies, the establishment of integrated systems of management and a delivery process which fully engages with existing and future residents. If successful,

the outcome will be places to live which offer genuine choice and opportunity for families and individuals from a variety of income groups, backgrounds and lifestyles.

A central aim of this guide is to show the extent to which achieving mixed income developments is an important prerequisite for sustainable communities. Because of the limited data available on household incomes, tenure is often used as an alternative. We are aware that all tenures are occupied by people with varying incomes and that these change over time as they move through different stages of the life cycle. While tenure can be determined, at least in the early

stages, through the planning process, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to 'manage' income levels in any particular development.

As privately owned property is increasingly seen as a commodity with a commercial value, factors such as location, size, amenities, and condition become of increased importance and will rise or fall in value according to demand. For instance, high value one- or two- bedroom units in a central location may well transfer from owner-occupation to being traded in the 'buy to let' market; inferior properties in a less favourable location may well be let at market rates *en bloc* to the local authority.

What makes a sustainable community?

- A flourishing local economy to provide jobs and wealth.
- Strong leadership to respond positively to change.
- Appropriate size, scale and density, and the right layout to support basic amenities in the neighbourhood and minimise the use of resources (including land).
- A well integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes.
- A safe and healthy local environment with well-designed public and green space.
- Housing and other buildings which, both individually and collectively, meet different needs over time, and which minimise the use of resources.
- Good quality local public services for all age groups, including education and training opportunities, health care and community facilities, especially for leisure.
- A diverse, vibrant and creative local culture, encouraging pride in the community and cohesion within it.
- A sense of place, but well connected to its surroundings.
- The right links with the wider regional, national and international community.
- A network of safe, well-designed streets and public spaces.
- Good public transport and other transport infrastructure both within the community and linking to urban, rural and regional centres.
- Effective engagement and participation by local people, groups and businesses, especially in the planning, design and long-term stewardship of their community, and an active voluntary and community sector.

(Adapted from ODPM, 2003a)

In setting out the good practice guidance we argue therefore that achieving successful and attractive places to live (sometimes called liveability) should be the primary objective. This requires a clear vision which builds in the highest quality to all aspects of the development process from inception to long-term management processes, but which also reflects the needs and aspirations of the people to be housed.

Our intention is not to suggest a model approach which works in all situations, but to identify good practice where this has resulted from a full assessment of local circumstances. As each location varies socially, economically and environmentally, so the solutions will vary to meet differing sets of needs and aspirations. We argue, therefore, that key stakeholders should have as much autonomy as possible to devise local responses, within the broad policy context of achieving mixed and sustainable communities.

Who should use this guide

This guide will be of interest to anyone involved in the planning, design and management of housing and particularly those involved in creating sustainable communities. Users will include central government, organisations such as urban development corporations, agencies such as the Housing Corporation and English Partnerships, local authorities, registered social landlords (RSLs), the design professions and private housebuilders.

It is hoped the guide will develop a better understanding between the professions involved of the complex interrelationships

of factors that contribute towards achieving successful communities. In our view, successful outcomes depend on getting a wide variety of factors 'right' from the beginning and ensuring that these are sustained throughout the development process and beyond. What is right in any particular context requires a careful assessment of local circumstances in relation to local, regional and national policy. The sustainable communities agenda challenges all professionals to think holistically and to draw on the expertise of their own profession and others.

Preparing this guide

The guide is informed by detailed research based on published sources and from a series of case studies carried out especially for this publication.

Our research coincided with the publication of a series of reports on aspects of mixed income and tenure also commissioned by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF). These and other sources are summarised in **Appendix 1**.

Nine case studies were selected from a variety of locations in England and Scotland and each was researched through interviews with officers of the key agencies involved and residents. The case studies are summarised in **Appendix 2**.

Because of the differences in approach adopted in the devolved administrations of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, this guide is primarily designed for those engaged in housing and sustainable communities in England.

Structure

Chapter 1: discusses the arguments for mixed communities and the rationale underpinning them. It goes on to review key aspects of central government policy in planning and housing documents and concludes by identifying themes, issues and challenges for the future.

Chapter 2: explores good practice in assembling a strategy (vision) through a discussion of: clarity of aims and objectives, understanding the neighbourhood profile, strong leadership, investment partnering arrangements, the procurement process, and achieving integrated neighbourhoods and a sustainable vision.

Chapter 3: examines good practice in delivering strategy by discussing development and design tools, different types of tenure mixing, social and environmental sustainability, viability and risk management.

Chapter 4: investigates good practice in delivering partnership and participation through partnership arrangements, community involvement, management approaches and wider structures for partnership and participation.

Chapter 5: concludes with a discussion of the main challenges which need to be overcome if genuinely mixed developments are to become the norm in all areas where new development is taking place or where interventions are occurring in mono-tenure neighbourhoods.



CROWN
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1 Why do we need mixed income communities?

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Well-designed housing in a pleasant environment, designed to meet the needs of the whole community now and in the future. Residents will call it home.

An aspiration

The creation of socially mixed communities has been a policy aspiration sought by many governments of different political persuasions and can be traced back at least as far as the post-war New Towns programme. Since 2003 government policy is designed to

deliver a significant increase in housing construction in four growth areas in the South East and address market failure and poor conditions in the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder areas in the Midlands and North of England. Additional resources are being targeted at diversifying large areas of social rented housing in metropolitan areas.



Caterham Village

While government policy favours the creation of mixed communities in order to increase social cohesion, there is little detailed guidance on what constitutes mix and affordability and how these can be sustained in the longer term. These are issues which are normally resolved at the local level through detailed negotiation between local authorities, registered social landlords (RSLs) and private housebuilders with varying degrees of success.

Evidence from our case studies, and from other JRF-sponsored research, suggests that achieving a mix of incomes and tenures is one of several important components of a successful development. The primary objectives in most new developments and in the diversification of existing estates is to engage experienced developers and RSLs in a collaborative effort to deliver a high quality residential environment, together with appropriate infrastructure, services and facilities. Linked to these objectives is the need to set up an effective management system which will sustain the area in the longer term.

Achieving a balanced mix of incomes is often an implicit policy objective, rather than being clearly stated or defined. An important task in new build developments is to devise ways of funding the infrastructure and services so that they can be provided at the same time as the housing is built. The Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) is currently reviewing the potential contribution of planning gain supplements to funding infrastructure as part of the Government's response to the Barker Review.

Evidence from other countries, such as the Hope VI programme in the USA (Berube, 2005) suggests that wider issues such as the quality of schools and the availability of employment, also need to be addressed when planning housing development.

Design and planning

The following guidance argues that the design and planning of new housing developments is a crucial consideration because it is at the planning stage that key decisions are made about density, mix, the design of individual houses and the layout of the estate as a whole. Many of these early decisions will determine the future viability of the development and the quality of life it will sustain. The design process will also influence a variety of factors such as the size of units, mix and appearance of different housing tenures, the extent to which the development is integrated in the wider urban context and other aspects such as community safety and the extent to which residents from different tenures integrate or live separate lifestyles.

Early decisions will determine the future viability of the development and the quality of life it will sustain.

However, evidence from other studies suggests that design and layout have only a limited impact on whether the development becomes a strong, socially integrated community. But well designed housing in a pleasant environment, designed to meet the needs of the whole community now and in the future, will tend to attract residents for the long term, who may also wish to move within the development when their household size expands or contracts.

Engage experienced developers and RSLs in a collaborative effort to deliver a high quality residential environment, together with appropriate infrastructure, services and facilities.

The housing needs of all sections of the community should be included.

It is also important to ensure that the housing needs of all sections of the community are included, in terms of size, numbers of bedrooms, disabled access and a mix of densities. This should apply to all tenures. Evidence suggests that households with children interact more effectively with their neighbours and help support local schools, health facilities and other services. Overall, the masterplanning and design process are crucial because these aspects are the most difficult to change at a later date.

What are the advantages of creating mixed communities?

Income and tenure

An important issue to be addressed at the beginning is the relationship between income and tenure. Much central and local government policy tends to conflate income and tenure and assumes that by achieving mixed tenure, a range of incomes will also be represented in any particular development. Because of the difficulties of getting detailed statistics on household income, mixed tenure is often used as a proxy since data on tenure is much more easily obtainable, for example from the Census. Our approach has been to use indirect evidence on incomes obtained from the asking prices of open market housing, the presence of affordable housing (such as shared ownership) and rent levels and the proportion of tenants on housing benefits for the social rented sector.

A further issue for consideration is the extent to which the quality of a particular development, or its location,

for example near a city centre, makes it attractive to particular sectors of the market and therefore forces up prices in the longer term. This may have the effect of widening income differentials and attracting more transient tenure groups, such as those renting on the open market. Likewise, local lettings policies may result in particular income groups predominating in the rented homes. Thus the effect of recent and proposed national policy to make it easier for residents to move between tenures may make it more difficult to manage the mix of tenures in the future.

This report argues that achieving a mix of tenures in an existing or new housing development is an important element of a broader policy designed to produce higher quality housing with appropriate provision for all sections of the community. Deciding on what mix of incomes is appropriate in a particular location is much more difficult to achieve and then sustain in the longer term because of fluctuations in the national and local housing markets. While there is some evidence that a relatively narrow range of income groups are more likely to interact as members of a local community, it is also argued that different lifestyles may only produce relatively weak ties between neighbours.

Evidence on the links between the distribution of income and housing tenure suggests that the more affluent sections of the population occupy owner-occupied housing while the proportion of those who are unemployed or on low incomes tends to be higher in the socially rented sector (Hills, 1996). Unemployment rates tend



Providing a full range of housing size and types will encourage the development of a sustainable mixed community

to be higher amongst black and minority ethnic groups and there are strong arguments to say that these groups should not be segregated into particular areas of relative deprivation. Trends suggest that these disparities between wealth and tenure are becoming more polarised (Stephens *et al.*, 2005).

Tackling deprivation

Much research has been carried out into the impact of area effects – the extent to which individuals and households are adversely affected by negative social, economic and environmental aspects of the area in which they live (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2004). While area effects are difficult to define there is considerable

evidence that high concentrations of deprivation reduce the quality of life of all residents of an area. Unemployment rates and ill health tend to be higher, crime and vandalism more prevalent and the quality of schools and educational attainment are lower. In addition, the most deprived areas often lack access to employment opportunities, a broad range of shops, health facilities, and entertainment, which the better off areas take for granted. The quality of the local environment and the provision of environmental services is also often well below standards taken for granted in more affluent areas. In response, government policy has targeted these areas through initiatives such as the New Deal for Communities and

The attractiveness of areas emerges as a key to success. There is no magic recipe of particular designs or layouts, and the conclusions of this study do not put tenure at the centre of the policy debate (Groves *et al.*, 2003: 50).

Benefits of mixed income developments

The potential benefits of mixed income developments can be summarised as:

- Residents of all ages, ethnic groups, household sizes and social classes have the opportunity to interact and to develop weak (or strong) ties.
- The potential for negative area affects, such as low aspirations, low educational attainment and low-level crime is reduced.
- Local schools can attract pupils from a wide range of backgrounds.
- Mixed income areas may be able to attract and support a higher level of local services, leisure activities, shops and related facilities.
- Residents have the possibility of moving within the development in order to accommodate changes in household size, income levels and space needs, and can also maintain social and family networks.
- Higher average levels of disposable income may create additional employment opportunities for local residents.

the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund. In addition, Sure Start, increased expenditure on primary and secondary education, improved post-16 training opportunities and widening participation in higher education have had a considerable impact.

These initiatives have considerably improved living conditions and life chances in the most deprived areas but it is also necessary to apply the same approach in less deprived areas. Issues such as schools, crime and the availability of jobs should be important considerations in all residential areas undergoing change.

In reviewing both the UK and US experience, Berube (2005) concludes that government should address both individual disadvantage and adverse area effects and that interventions must produce improvements in neighbourhood conditions to significantly improve residents' life chances. Area effects, he argues, may have a greater impact on young children than on older children and adults. He concludes with three main recommendations:

- Strategies to achieve mixed communities must apply to both new developments and existing neighbourhoods. In closing the gap between areas of affluence and poverty, greater economic diversity and the delivery of improved public services should receive as much attention as the quality of housing.
- The achievement of mixed communities requires a careful assessment of local market conditions.

- A strategy towards mixed communities must be sustained in the long term, it should apply to all areas and must be fully embedded in all aspects of housing, planning and regeneration policy.

Neighbourhoods that work

In evaluating Bournville – a neighbourhood that ‘works’ – Groves *et al.* conclude that ‘It is a combination of a number of key factors, which are layered in time and interact over time and in particular locations, that determine how neighbourhoods work’:

Providing a full range of house sizes and types, ensuring a high quality external environment and enabling households to move within the development, as well as attracting newcomers, are all important aspects of providing ‘housing of choice’.

What is the rationale for mixed communities?

Motivation

A variety of motives are advanced for achieving mixed communities and within this debate there is often a lack of clarity as to which apply in any one situation. Different justifications may also apply at different scales and according to the history of previous development on the site. Tunstall and Fenton (2006) identify three core objectives:

- The proposed mix may be a side-effect of the short-term goal of getting new development built. House builders and RSLs may be motivated by profit, the desire to attract subsidy



A safe and healthy local environment, with well designed public and green spaces, is one factor in building a sustainable mixed community.

or be committed to delivering social housing.

- The proposed mix may reflect the desire to prevent or reduce the concentration of social housing or low-income households as part of a strategy to achieve improved services and to reduce the need for more public investment in the future.
- The proposed mix may be an end in itself in order to increase social cohesion between income, age and ethnic groups.

In addition, there is a strong philosophical argument based on social equity that there are social and economic benefits arising from the intermixing of residents with different age, gender, ethnic origin, household size, lifestyle and employment status.

The different stakeholders and funding bodies engaged in housing provision will often hold, implicitly or explicitly, different views about the desirability and rationale for mixed communities. Thus it will often be in the detailed negotiations around development agreements that differences of opinion will be resolved.

How is the policy context changing?

Government policy in England has strongly endorsed the principle that new housing developments and existing social rented estates should become mixed income communities. This principle is now being embedded in a wide range of housing, planning and development policies.

Housing, planning and development

The broad direction of housing policy has been to encourage local authorities to require the provision of affordable housing

through Section 106 agreements and to embed the need for mixed communities in planning policy. There has been considerable debate about the need for a planning gain supplement to be charged to developers on each unit constructed at the beginning of the development process in order to fund an adequate level of infrastructure and local services.

At the national level in England, Planning Policy Guidance Note 3 on housing (ODPM, 2002) is being amended so that Local Development Documents (LDD) will need to set out ‘the broad balance between the numbers of different household types to be provided across the plan area over the plan period’ (ODPM, 2005a).

Documents should also contain policies on affordable housing, reflecting different housing market conditions. In general, local authorities can negotiate a proportion of affordable housing on developments of more than 15 dwellings or sites of more than 0.5 hectares. Local housing assessments can be taken into account in determining planning applications. The government’s overall rationale for its change in policy is that:

Part of what makes a community sustainable is a well-integrated mix of decent housing of different types and tenures to support a wide range of households of different sizes, ages and incomes. Government policy is to create sustainable communities that offer a wide range of housing and are socially inclusive. The Government does not consider that different types of housing and tenures make bad neighbours. Planning has an important role to play through the provision of an appropriate

*mix of housing which addresses the needs of households, including in terms of what they can afford.
(ODPM 2005a)*

In the draft version of Planning Policy Statement 3, published in December 2005, the creation of ‘sustainable, inclusive, mixed communities in all areas’ is one of three primary objectives of housing policy (ODPM, 2005b). The DCLG also intends to publish further guidance on identifying sub-regional housing market areas, planning for mixed communities and managing delivery. Further guidance is also anticipated on the planning gain supplement.

The Urban Task Force first advocated the need for mixed and sustainable communities in its seminal report of 1999. In its second report (Urban Task Force, 2005) it reasserts the need for high quality design and masterplanning and includes the recommendation:

- To ensure communities are mixed in terms of tenure, income and ethnicity:
 - set a target to transform all social housing estates into mixed tenure communities by 2012
 - use the many small unused sites within already built-up areas to increase the supply of affordable housing close to local amenities and open space by using public funds to lever in a variety of housing types of different scales, costs and sizes that respond to the needs, aspirations and budgets of ordinary households
 - improve city conditions through better

The desire to achieve mixed communities should not be seen as an end in itself but as one important precondition for achieving successful and sustainable places to live. These residential environments should not only be well designed and well managed, but also provide access to the full range of high quality services including leisure and employment opportunities.

schools, greater policing and more neighbourhood management

- renovate, modernise and build in-fill housing within the existing framework by reshaping units and adding new high quality units to older neighbourhoods.

The DCLG is paying increasing attention to the issue of creating mixed tenure communities and is likely to strengthen national policy guidance in this direction in the coming months. A number of private finance initiative (PFI) schemes are being finalised which incorporate a range of tenures and it is likely that a number of mixed community demonstration projects will be announced in the near future.

How can access to different forms of housing tenure be increased? *Homes for all*

In *Homes for all: a five year plan from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister* (2005c) announced significant changes to housing policy designed to increase the quantity and quality of housing. As well as promising to increase the supply of all housing and to ensure a high proportion achieves a decent standard, many of these changes are designed to encourage those who can afford it to become partial or full home owners. The key changes announced in *Homes for all*, and subsequently through the consultation on low cost home ownership, are:

- The *HomeBuy* scheme will enable social tenants, key workers and other first time buyers to buy a share of a home and get a first step on the housing

ladder. It aims to help around 100,000 households to own their own home by 2010. 20,000 of these households will be helped into home ownership following an agreement with three lenders to provide private finance for equity loans.

- A competition has been held to commission a £60,000 house which it is hoped will create 1,000 homes on publicly owned land by 2007, one third of which will be for first time buyers.
- There will be three *HomeBuy* products to offer people a choice in the type of home they can buy:
 - *Social HomeBuy* will enable tenants of local authorities and housing associations to buy a share of their current home at a discount
 - *New Build HomeBuy* will enable people to buy a share of a newly built property
 - *Open Market HomeBuy* will enable people to buy a property on the open market with the help of an equity loan.
- Around 1.7 million tenants have used the *Right to Buy* (RTB) to acquire their properties since 1980. Approximately 100,000 housing association tenants have acquired their properties through the *Right to Acquire* (RTA). These schemes will continue for those who have been tenants for more than two years.

The thrust of government policy is about creating new opportunities for low income households to become owner occupiers and making it easier for tenants to 'staircase' into owner occupation. At



New mixed communities need to be well integrated with local facilities.

the same time, the intention is to double the investment in social housing from the 1997 base and to build an additional 10,000 units a year by 2008. Over £1 billion is committed to housing, transport and infrastructure in the four growth areas in the South East.

Whether these provisions are sufficient and appropriate to the task in hand is not the subject of this report. But it should be noted that the broad direction of government policy – to encourage as many as possible into full or partial home ownership – will make it increasingly difficult to control the tenure mix of developments in the future. Experience of 25 years of the RTB demonstrates that it tends to be the more desirable properties in more attractive areas which are bought. It is also these properties which gain in value most rapidly and are then often sold on as soon as the RTB restrictions are lifted.

Buy to let

A more recent development has been the growth of the buy to let market where individuals or companies buy properties in order to benefit from the rise in property values and in the growth of the private rented market. Several of our case studies have experienced a rapid growth in this sector and respondents express concern about the adverse effects this can have on attempts to create a strong, integrated community. A related development is for companies to purchase a portfolio of properties in a new development and to lease them on to local authorities at market rents for those in greatest housing need. Over time this can substantially alter the tenure mix and can result in concentrations of deprivation in certain neighbourhoods.

What policy changes are happening at the local level?

Partnership and leadership

At the local level local authorities are becoming increasingly aware of the changing national policy context and are gradually moving away from the approach which encouraged single tenure housing development, with Section 106 negotiations on larger sites producing separate developments of affordable housing with distinct design features and separate management arrangements. Consortium developments between private developers and RSLs are now more common, based on a single masterplan and development agreements between stakeholders. In the growth areas and London, English Partnerships is playing a much bigger role in carrying out

land assembly, remediation (reclamation and restoration of derelict land) and providing an overall coordination role. The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) is working closely with the Housing Corporation and other agencies to raise design awareness and to ensure that high quality residential developments are fully integrated. Simpson *et al.* (2005) argue strongly that there should be a renaissance of the local authority's strategic housing role by providing an evidence base for determining housing requirements and in steering the housing delivery process.

How should mixed communities be created and delivered?

Creating successful mixed communities is a major challenge for the parties involved and the future sustainability of the development depends on many variables, which cannot be foreseen at the outset. Local housing market conditions, the quality of internal space standards and design, the location and access to schools, shops and other facilities can all have a bearing on whether a development prospers or falls into a cycle of decline.

Attitudes

Evidence suggests that developers tend to be either 'enthusiastic' or 'reluctant' in their commitment to mixed tenure; the vast majority now accept that this objective is now a necessary part of national and local planning policy (Rowlands *et al.*, 2006). They go on to record that:

Mixed tenure is only one tool which can be employed in a range of measures to promote social mix. As seen elsewhere, meaningful social interaction is grown organically rather than planned and even this is insufficient to prevent concentrations of poverty and deprivation.
(Rowlands *et al.*, 2006: 60)

Research carried out into the social effects of mixed tenure has found that residents are largely unaware of either problems or benefits of living in a mixed development, indeed they often perceive where they live as 'nothing out of the ordinary' (Allen *et al.*, 2005). A report from the think tank Demos concludes:

The most important finding is probably that the mixed or unmixed nature of the estate is usually only a minor or non-existent issue for most residents, owners and tenants. More than half of residents of mixed tenure estates perceive no problems or benefits arising from mix; they are agnostic.
(Jupp, 1999: 79)

The report advocates the mixing of tenures at least within the same streets, rather than in separate zones. Residents living in mixed street developments tended to be much more favourably disposed towards the whole development.

Family housing

One of the major areas of difficulty with mixed income communities in central and inner city locations is a lack of provision in the private sector for families with children. Silverman *et al.* (2005) found that

Key issues in creating and delivering mixed communities

- The selection of developers and RSLs which have a good track record and which are committed to the concept of mixed communities.
- A strong commitment from the local authority so that negotiations surrounding land assembly, planning permissions and Section 106 agreements are resolved without unnecessary delays.
- Clear guidance in the Local Development Framework, the local housing needs assessment and other documentation which sets out the mix of tenure and range of sizes of units to be achieved.
- High quality development briefs and masterplans which will deliver an appropriate form of development to meet local housing needs and address additional services and facilities to be provided.
- Arrangements for phasing, marketing and letting the development.
- Provisions for managing the development so that as far as possible all tenures are treated equally and are also able to participate in management decisions.



A mix of housing tenures and sizes at Attwood Green. Many developments lack sufficient large, family-sized homes.

in four schemes investigated there was a lower proportion of families in the open market housing than the city-wide average and that over half intended to move because of concern about wider issues such as the quality of schools and the escalating cost of family-sized units.

Mixed developments, particularly when near city centres, tended to attract single occupiers and childless couples and developers tended to use this evidence as a justification for building predominately one- and two-bed units in similar areas. In some of the case studies investigated for this guide there were growing disparities between the social rented housing, with relatively large numbers of families with children, and the open market housing, which was under-occupied or transferring gradually into the investment, buy to let category. Where this happened, there

were suggestions that households without children often had different standards and negative expectations about noise and disturbance caused by children.

If mixed developments are to genuinely reflect all parts of the community, including families of all sizes, in social renting and the open market sector, policies need to be developed which require agencies to provide medium-range, well-designed houses and flats which families on middle incomes can afford. As Meen *et al.* note 'temporal and group dynamics are important to help understand neighbourhood processes. Analysis needs to be sufficiently aware of cohort effects, for instance of young households, forming families requiring schooling, empty-nesting and then ageing and how the local community's degree of 'mixed-ness' has to retain the flexibility required to work for each of these different life-cycle stages' (Meen *et al.*, 2005: 62).

Which kinds of areas should be the priority for mixed tenures?

While some advocates have argued that all areas should be subject to social and income mixing strategies, including the more affluent suburbs, we argue that the priority should be those areas currently undergoing change or development for the first time. These would include the sustainable communities growth areas, such as the Thames Gateway, housing market renewal areas, and interventions into large, mono-tenure areas of social housing. Our case studies have explored examples from all these kinds of areas. Policies and approaches may differ

markedly, not least because different forms of subsidy exist in different areas, but the broad intentions of creating strong, mixed developments should remain the same. Where possible, we have indicated in the following sections how good practice varies according to the context and levels of need in each type of area.

How can tenure mix be maintained in the longer term?

Much of what has been said so far suggests that there are significant challenges to be faced in initiating and delivering mixed tenure developments. An effective, long-term system of management is an essential requirement. It is important that the organisation and process of management is determined at an early stage and, indeed, should be part of the initial vision underpinning the development. Much good practice exists in this respect and it is discussed in detail later in the report. In particular, management processes should ensure that, as far as possible, each tenure group is treated equitably and fairly, while adhering to the overall vision for the scheme and ensuring long-term sustainability.

General principles for maintaining mixed tenure in the long term

- Early decisions need to be made between the local authority, the private developer and one or more RSLs about the structure and organisation of the management function, its terms of reference, and its powers to manage internal and external spaces.
- Responsibilities, and a lead organisation, should be identified to avoid conflicts over roles and responsibilities.
- The management organisation should have a local presence in the form of a neighbourhood office which is easily accessible and well known to residents.
- Involving local people from all sectors in management processes can have real benefits (Knox and Alcock, 2002).
- Decision making needs to be robust to maintain the original vision, while also being flexible so that it can respond to changes in national and local policy, and to local levels of need and changes in the housing market.
- The lead organisation should carry out regular reviews of the development to assess changes in tenure and to investigate ways of ensuring the original objectives are being adhered to. It may be possible to maintain the mix through the repurchasing of some properties which have moved into owner-occupation, to increase intermediate tenures such as shared ownership or to encourage HomeBuy arrangements.
- The management organisation should have responsibility for the housing and private and public amenity space to avoid dual standards in maintenance.
- Systems of governance should be established whereby issues relating to local schools and local services (such as health services) can be taken up at a high level with the relevant agency, particularly where these may impact adversely on housing quality.
- Residents should be made fully aware of covenants and tenancy agreements before they become tenants and/or owners. They should also be informed of the extent of tenure mixing (Andrews and Reardon Smith, 2005).
- Lettings and nomination policies should be fully reviewed in order to assess whether they promote the broader vision of the development, for example giving people with local connections priority or enabling households to move to larger or smaller property within the same development.
- Service charges should be affordable and evenly distributed between tenures.
- There should be a clear strategy for tackling anti-social behaviour and low-level crime.



2 | Good practice in assembling the strategy

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Introduction

A clear sense of what those involved would like to achieve in the long term (the vision) is a necessary precondition of any successful sustainable mixed income development. Shared aims and objectives, established in the context of local housing needs and conditions, local leadership to carry through those aims and objectives, and high quality design that integrates the development into the surrounding area and evenly distributes the different tenures throughout the development are key factors here.

Factors which are critical to ultimate success are appropriate financial arrangements, including adequate levels of funding, the ability to procure the necessary land for the development on suitable terms and robust investment partnering that endures over the course of the development.

In assembling the strategy, a long-term view should be taken in the early stages of the development process, incorporating an assessment of the future needs of residents as well as their present needs, and the establishment of post-development management arrangements to ensure the longevity of the original aims and objectives of these developments.

A strategy for sustainable mixed communities should also incorporate objectives that will produce a good mix of housing in terms of size and tenure, where social housing is evenly distributed, indistinguishable from owned or privately rented housing, situated in a mixed-use neighbourhood that is well-integrated into its wider physical context, with facilities and services that will allow the community to be sustainable over time. Moreover, there must be a sense that neighbourhoods represent an effective long-term investment, and a commitment

Case study

Attwood Green, Birmingham

- Birmingham City Council published the *Central Area Estates Development Framework* in 1999 – a visionary document which adopted many of the design and development principles that were later to appear in the Urban Task Force Report (1999):
- encouraging housing choice by creating a variety of housing types and tenures
- ensuring that public and private housing is mixed and complements each other, avoiding differentiation of design.



to managing an investment over the long term should underpin management approaches, regardless of tenure or the income profile of occupants. These ultimate goals need to be embraced by all stakeholders, whether public, private, voluntary agencies or residents.

To achieve these goals, the following factors are essential.

Shared aims and objectives

There should be a shared sense, between all the development partners, of the desirability of establishing a mixed income sustainable community, both in terms of the overall design that will facilitate such a community and in terms of the infrastructure and services that will allow the community to be sustainable.

The challenge here is to maintain a sense of the final goal over the lifetime of the development and beyond (see below) and to ensure that it reflects the aims and ambitions of all parties.

Understanding the neighbourhood profile

A precondition to developing sustainable mixed communities is a clear understanding of the local housing market and local conditions, including socio-economic profiling.

Current policy requires local authorities to develop housing strategies which include an analysis of housing markets across all sectors including any mismatch between supply and demand, affordability, comparing house prices and rents and

local incomes and the performance of key delivery agents (ODPM, 2003a).

The housing market assessment process is somewhat broader, encompassing a framework for a better understanding of housing demand issues and how housing markets operate at a sub-regional level, requiring an understanding of changing housing demand and supply. The merger of Regional Housing Boards and Regional Planning Boards in England announced in May 2005 is intended to encourage regions to take a more strategic view of their housing and investment needs. All these sources provide a context but often exclude detailed assessments of the needs of individual neighbourhoods in order to guide decision making on the matters of the proportions of affordable or private housing, and the mix of house types.

In circumstances where the development is intended to diversify tenure, differences of scale and considerations of space and funding will be critical.

Neighbourhood profiling raises issues of supply and demand and most of the case study developments were in relatively buoyant housing markets which guaranteed the sale of the private housing: this was the case in Northampton, Kent, and Birmingham. Royal Quays in Newcastle was not such a market and despite this was a success, largely due to the additional funding available for the housing association properties that attracted renters and buyers to the scheme.

The challenge here is to anticipate likely changes to supply and demand in the local housing market, both in owned housing

The 2005 report of the Urban Task Force called for communities that are, 'well designed and connected, support a diverse range of uses in a sustainable urban environment, are well-integrated with public transport and are adaptable to change'. (Urban Task Force, 2005: 4)

Case study

Leadership in Glasgow's Crown Street Regeneration Project

The Crown Street Regeneration Project was formed in 1990 and was made up of a partnership between the Glasgow Development Agency, Glasgow City Council, Scottish Homes and the local community. The long-term aims of the project were to make the Gorbals an attractive area where people wanted to live in a balanced and sustainable community, to boost the local economy and to integrate the new development into the social, economic and physical fabric of the city.

From the beginning there was a strong commitment from the City Council and Glasgow Enterprise (GE) to make Crown Street a 'demonstration project' of how successful regeneration can be achieved in areas of deprivation. Having a powerful champion of the scheme in Mike Galloway, the director of the Crown Street Regeneration Project, meant that stakeholders and residents were brought together to ensure that the original objectives (and masterplan) were implemented in full. GE contributed GRO-grant to 'gap fund' private housing in the early phases (i.e. the site originally had a negative value).

Thus commitment to the original vision, an exceptional masterplan by a leading UK architect, extensive public consultation, and high quality housing in tune with Glasgow's cultural history, have collectively established a development which produces quality housing which also works socially, economically, aesthetically and practically in terms of parking, access, open space and community safety. Perhaps the important factor is that the vision has been sustained despite changes in staffing and the replacement of Crown Street Regeneration Project by the New Gorbals HA working closely with Glasgow Enterprise as lead agency.



but also in the demand for affordable housing. Changes in demand for different kinds of housing – larger family units for example – should also be anticipated. The struggle to encourage the provision of private family housing on developments that are close to metropolitan centres was noted in Silverman *et al.* (2005), and remains a problem in some of the case study areas, where one- and two-bedroom flats are being developed for private owners alongside family housing for tenants and shared owners. Similarly, most new-build housing for shared ownership is made up of one- or two-bedroom flats. The issue of the identification of social housing units by size is one that might increase the difficulty of establishing a sustainable community.

Local leadership

All schemes need to have effective structures in place to ensure that local leadership can be exercised. The context within which such leadership can be exercised should allow local autonomy because it is important that one agency can assume responsibility for the overall strategic direction: whether this is the local authority, an RSL or a private developer. It is also important that people are aware of the lines of responsibility in post-development management: who to report complaints to; who to contact in an emergency; who has responsibility for common areas and open spaces.

Leadership also requires clarity about the level of service that will be provided and how different demands from owners and tenants can be reconciled. As leadership in

developing mixed communities involves working with stakeholders who may be unaccustomed to working in a partnership role, relevant factors include:

- a leadership style that is strong and committed but also inclusive and participative, avoiding autocratic and inflexible approaches
- clarity of mutual expectations about roles and responsibilities: it is crucial to agree at the outset what these expectations are and to establish realistic objectives

Case study

Hulme, Manchester

Taking the lead in the redevelopment of Hulme, the city council generated the necessary funds for Phase 1 of the development through intensive lobbying of central government, and processing land sales and planning permission with great speed. High quality low rent housing was achieved through nil land valuations and maximising HAG grant (now Social Housing Grant), and the chairman of AMEC, the private developer in Hulme, provided the impetus for the adoption of urban design guidance.





The supermarket in Crown Street, New Gorbals, serves the local community and is also an informal meeting place.

- the extent to which other partners are prepared to invest resources and time in the partnership; it is important to establish the level of commitment to initiatives and the extent to which different partners must be willing to invest in particular schemes
- the pace of development; avoiding pushing partners too quickly but not being held back by the slowest (adapted from Russell, 2001: 23)
- capacity building: identifying other community leaders and providing suitable training schemes and skills development.

The advantage of strong leadership, either from one agency assuming responsibility for the overall strategic direction of the development, or from one individual taking that responsibility, was illustrated in several of our case studies, where the importance of public sector leverage was crucial.

The challenge here is to have sufficient flexibility and local autonomy within agreed working arrangements to allow a leader or champion to emerge.

Robust investment partnering

Clearly identified stakeholders, including carefully selected developers with a good track record of working in mixed developments, and good working relationships between them, are key factors in developing successful mixed communities.

The public sector must consider potential partners from the outset in order to not only ensure best value, but to secure partners who have the relevant experience and skills for the project. When developing project specifications the attributes and skills required from developers should always be kept in mind. (BURA, 2005: 16)

The challenge here is to overcome the institutional barriers that may exist between different organisations, to have incentives in place to encourage the realisation of the agreed aims and objectives, and sufficient flexibility in terms of cost and working arrangements to avoid blockages in the development process.

An effective procurement process

The basis on which the site is bought (procured) has a significant effect on the outcome of the development.

Land ownership by one visionary public (or private) authority allows a far greater degree of control over the process in a buoyant development market. This is the case at Upton, in Northampton where the site owner English Partnerships, has

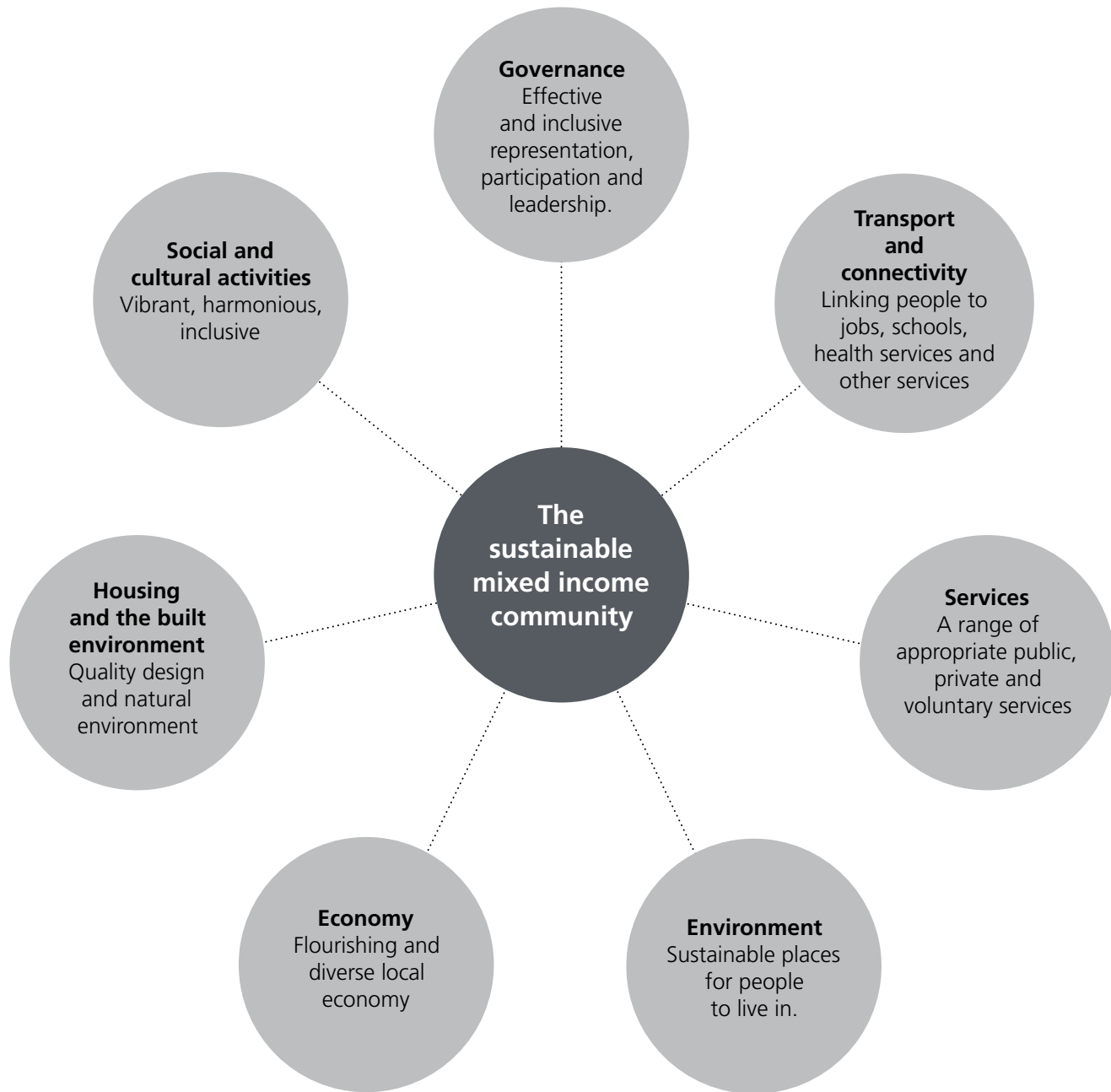
been able as ‘facilitator’ to guide the development framework and subsequent masterplan and detailed design code. At Kings Hill, land ownership by a private developer with a clear vision of the whole development has guided the masterplanning and the detailed design of the scheme.

However, in a difficult housing market, land ownership does not necessarily confer greater control over the detail of development, but does enable development to be kick started and the overall framework for development to be determined.

- In Hulme, Manchester City Council was able to value the concrete pedestrian deck blocks (the Crescents), at nil land value, thereby enabling the chosen RSLs to demolish and redevelop them within the contemporary restrictions of the housing association grant.
- In Caterham, the private developer owned the land, wanted to build housing rather than commercial property and a consultation exercise supported that view.
- Land is retained by English Partnerships at Upton and in the case of Attwood Green most of the city council-owned land and the housing has been transferred to Optima Community Association.

Clearly, the ability to plan and control the development varies according to the ownership. Where land is released in small parcels on the larger developments, there are more favourable outcomes in terms

Figure 1: Essential elements for a sustainable, mixed income community



Source: adapted from Egan, 2004.

of sustainability as these elements can be incorporated into each section of the site as it is developed, rather than taking the risk of having insufficient funds to insert facilities and services at the end.

The challenge in procurement is to achieve a balance of influence that takes into account the requirements of the affordable housing provider and the private developer without compromising the desirable outcome of establishing mixed communities, and to do this regardless of who owns the land.

Integrated neighbourhoods

Mixed use developments which link into the surrounding area and incorporate a broader programme of economic and social regeneration are most likely to lead to sustainable communities. In the case studies, there was widespread recognition that simply changing tenure and improving design would not lead to longer-term regeneration. The interaction between residents from different income bands may be a desirable outcome of mixed tenure developments but the overall economic and social sustainability of a development is also dependent upon the ease with which its inhabitants can gain access to the world beyond its boundaries, and the availability of facilities and services near their houses. The production of an attractive neighbourhood with open spaces, local services, leisure facilities etc may be as important as the tenure mix. Figure 1 represents some of the key features necessary for the development of an effective, sustainable, mixed income community.



This retail centre, with pedestrianised streets and a range of local shops and facilities, is part of the mixed tenure community of Kings Hill, West Malling.

A mixed income community is more than a housing estate, and its impact will depend upon its relationship to the wider area it is in. A longitudinal study of three mixed income neighbourhoods found that residents moved in not just for the housing but for the wider neighbourhood itself (Allen *et al.*, 2005).

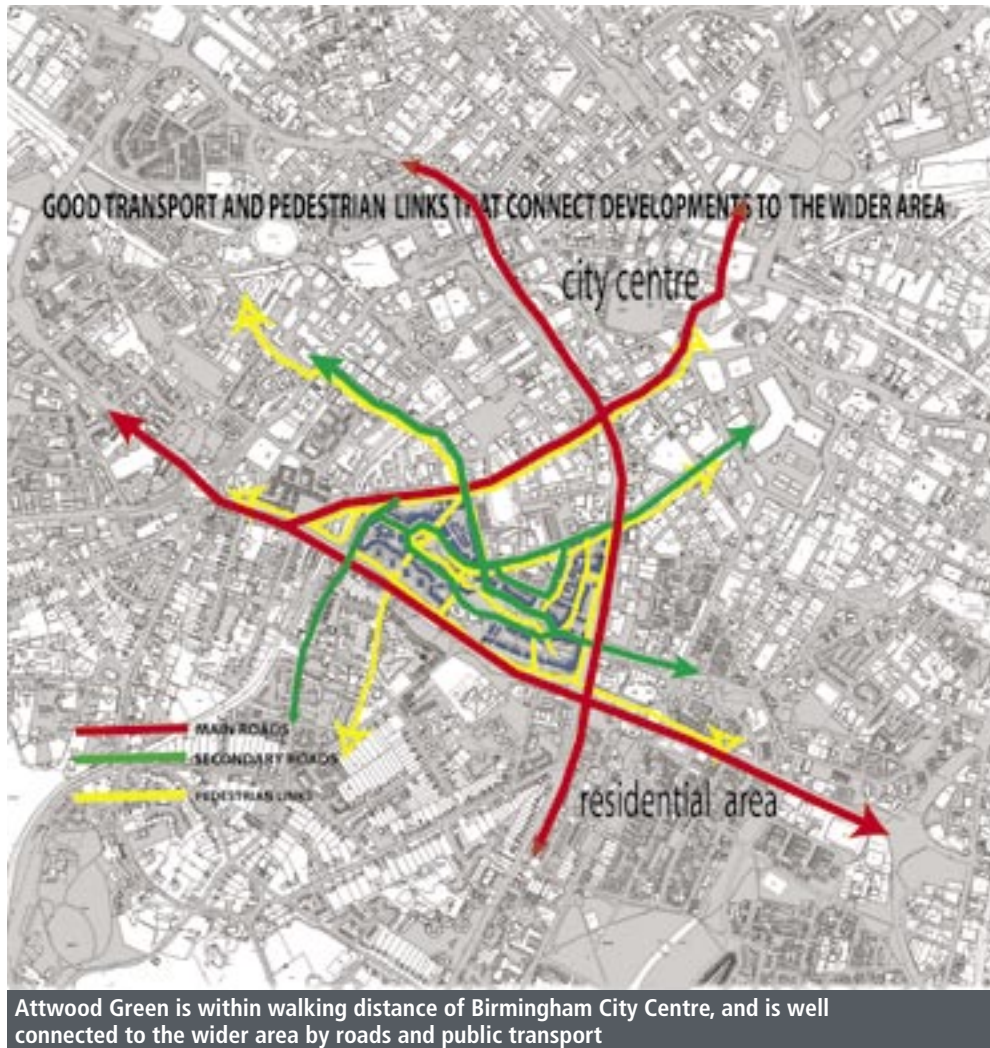
Good quality schools and children's play spaces have been found to provide significant places in which residents from different tenures can mix (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006: 19). Other types of facilities and resources such as shops, community centres and sports facilities add quality to a neighbourhood. They are also social spaces where near neighbours and friends from different tenures and income bands can develop social ties (Jupp, 1999: 48), and also provide spaces in which different income groups come into contact with each other as part of a mixed use as well as mixed income neighbourhood.

Evidence from our case studies has highlighted the following significant relationships between the development and its surrounding context:

- **Transport and pedestrian links:** these connect the development to its wider area and give lower income residents access to employment, shops and other resources and facilities. Public transport links are particularly important for tenants without use of a car although cost is an important factor here and evidence of residents sharing

taxis because it was cheaper than public transport was noted in one case study. Future mobility patterns need careful modelling though.

- **Integration not isolation:** this is particularly important in former council housing estates where high quality streets and transport links can help to reduce the stigma that the estate may have acquired.
- **Shops:** the nature of retailing is changing and while local shops are important to those with no cars and/or reduced mobility, they are becoming more difficult to sustain. Providing easy access to a supermarket is becoming increasingly important for all residents. Allen *et al.*'s longitudinal study of three mixed income neighbourhoods found that it was the district centres that were most vulnerable to change (Allen *et al.*, 2005: 40). A masterplan that provides a realistic catchment area for a supermarket and makes flexible provision for local shops and services is most likely to be sustainable in the long term. The proponents of 'traditional neighbourhood design' recommend that shared facilities are no longer planned at the 'heart' of new neighbourhoods, but are rather dispersed around its edge, in order to ensure their viability.
- **Green spaces:** access to well-managed and maintained green space is most important to the overall quality of a development. Green spaces also provide opportunities for social interaction. Large parks and other facilities do not have to be provided





Non-housing facilities, such as this cricket pitch and Caterham Barracks Community Trust building, are important points of social interaction.

within the mixed income community itself. For example, the Ocean Estate in Stepney, London, is next to Mile End Park, an award winning example of inner city regeneration.

- **Community halls and centres:** although community halls and centres tend to be used by a minority of residents, they can act as important points of social interaction (Jupp,1999). This is particularly true if they are supported by a community development officer. The community centre at Royal Quays in Newcastle, which the RSL supports, has provided an important point of contact between different groups of residents. It is vital that facilities should attract a variety of income groups if they are to function as an effective community resource.

The challenge to developing integrated neighbourhoods with appropriate services and facilities lies in the critical mass of population that can support them. Whereas neighbourhood planning in the

1940s and 1950s presupposed a level of self sufficiency in terms of communal services and facilities, contemporary mixed income communities have to be realistic about the facilities that even large developments can support and services and facilities that will attract people from outside the immediate area will be an advantage.

The population required to support a supermarket varies according to its floor area and the average disposable income in the area. Economies of scale are also being gained in the health service as doctors' surgeries are becoming part of group practices. The local pub is also vulnerable to decisions made by corporate owners, as are local coffee shops when the major chains take over. This creates a challenge for urban designers and spatial planners, since there are few facilities that are not part of a larger corporate network whose future is determined outside the local community. Whereas other studies of mixed communities have pointed out

that shared facilities do not provide a point of first contact for residents from different income bands or tenure groups, they nevertheless play an important role in providing places where previously formed relationships may be cemented. Table 1 sets out examples of the services and facilities provided in each of our case study areas.

A further challenge here is to be found in the provision of facilities and services that meet the changing needs of the residents. For example, good secondary

schools as well as primary schools in the neighbourhood, youth facilities, facilities and services for the elderly, and continuing employment opportunities.

A commitment to the long term

Sustaining the original vision will only occur if there is continuing commitment to the original aims and intentions, and a strategy for the management of the area after it has been built.

In terms of management, the need to take a long-term view in order to protect the effective long-term investment represented by these neighbourhoods was acknowledged by several interviewees. As a private developer stated: ‘the biggest headache with mixed income communities is post-occupational management’ (Interview). One RSL manager commented:

One of our strengths is that [our organisation] has been around for 110 years, so we are not going to walk away from developments. So we say to our residents ‘We are not going anywhere, we will be here for the long term, that is important to us.’

Of course, taking responsibility for managing their investment over the long term is what has always underpinned the management approach of social housing providers, and it is interesting that this approach has been adopted by private sector developers in some of our case studies. The use of covenants to control behaviour on Kings Hill, the management

Provision of services and facilities in the case study areas

Case study	Non-housing uses
Caterham Village	Supermarket, nursing home, cricket pitch, health club, skate park, enterprise hub, restaurant, arts centre
Grahame Park	Library, community centre, nursery day centre, shops, new village green
Hulme	Hulme is part of a major regeneration initiative which covers two wards and has a wealth of social facilities. Entertainment and employment uses remain an issue
Kings Hill	Business park, supermarket, golf club, day nursery, community centre, pub, shops, hairdresser, beautician, estate agents, building society, restaurants, cafes, university campus, two primary schools, medical centre, local parks
New Gorbals (Crown Street)	Business centre, local shopping centre including supermarket, budget hotel, small local office accommodation, light industrial units, local park, library, resource centre, leisure centre, swimming pool
Ocean Estate	Shops, mosque, community centre
Park Central (Attwood Green)	14 commercial units, 2 supermarkets, hotel, community centre (existing primary school), new park
Royal Quays	Shops, community centre, park and major leisure centre adjacent
Upton	Urban boulevard with flexible ground floor uses to incorporate retail and commercial uses, retail provision on the periphery of the site, primary school

company proposed on Upton, and the use of management agreements on other developments are examples here. In Grahame Park, there is widespread recognition among the development partners that more effective management structures will be crucial to the success of the scheme and the intention is to establish a Community Development Trust with a £1 million capital endowment to maintain public amenities.

It is critical to these schemes that, post-completion, there are proper management schemes in place to ensure the upkeep of the development. And to ensure that the changing needs of residents are accommodated.
(Interview, RSL manager)

The use of masterplans and design codes might ensure the longevity of the original intentions, and the government is currently sponsoring seven pilot schemes to 'see how codes can provide greater certainty, speed and high quality development' (HM Treasury / ODPM, 2005: 8, see page 37 for a discussion of the impact of design codes).



3 | Good practice in delivering strategy

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Introduction

Once the vision for the mixed income community has been agreed between the development partners, more thought needs to be given to delivery 'on the ground'. The overall quality of the development produced is critical to its success, both at the point of sale and letting and into the future. As a study of developers' attitudes to mixed income communities notes:

Among the most important elements for the sustainability of estates are their design qualities. The design of an estate is one of its lasting advertisements for a developer. Furthermore, design plays an important role in exacerbating or reducing noticeable tenure differences. (Rowland et al., 2006:64)

its inception. It is produced through a chain of decisions that result from the interactions between the development context, the specific objectives that have been identified for the particular scheme, the policy context, the market, the financial arrangements and the aspirations of the neighbouring communities and the end users, if such can be identified. In addition the standards used by the different development partners, public and private, have to be reconciled.

A strategy needs to be adopted in order to achieve the vision. This strategy, particularly if the development is large-scale, may be in place for a number of years. It will need sufficient flexibility to

Housing design can exacerbate or reduce notable tenure differences. Good design quality needs to be embedded in a development from its inception.



accommodate changing market conditions and needs on the one hand and to incorporate a set of clear principles that will guide the development beyond its physical completion and first occupation on the other. The strategy should cover all aspects of delivery that are necessary for the production of a successful mixed income scheme. Depending on the scale of the development, this will include a business plan, a clear and transparent partnership policy and arrangements for governance, and may also include a social and economic programme. The discussion in this section focuses on the physical aspects of development.

Development and design tools

There are different ways of guiding development and contemporary practice is constantly refining these. Furthermore the terminology used to describe each type of document varies locally. Those set out below are derived from our investigation of our best practice case studies. A hierarchy of documents is suggested, but the exact form and remit of these may obviously vary from scheme to scheme and is dependent on the scale of the proposed development. The hierarchy is unlikely to be produced sequentially and there may be several rounds of negotiation before a scheme is both financially viable and meets all the required policy objectives. In several of our case studies masterplans were produced and then substantially changed or completely replaced, for example on the Ocean Estate.



The Grahame Park masterplan

A development framework could cover the following issues:

- rationale and overall vision
- history, context and funding
- specific opportunities, issues and objectives
- strategic context
- general planning policies and principles
- urban design principles
- development issues e.g. phasing, constraints
- overall ambitions for the scheme e.g. numbers and mix of housing overall, other types of facilities
- proposed timetable for development.

Development framework

Where a site is large the use of a development framework or strategy provides a guide for the development as a whole. The adoption of a framework can be used to provide a measure of certainty for the future partners or developers who may be involved in smaller sites or parcels of land within the development. The production of a development framework provides an opportunity for community involvement in the initial stages of the process, without the need to negotiate in detail. Similarly the framework can be used as one of the documents to support an application for outline planning permission. At Attwood Green, where the local authority was the lead partner, Birmingham City Council adopted the development framework as supplementary planning guidance.

The development framework will be supported by proposals regarding the social, economic and financial underpinning for the scheme as a whole. These will draw upon the research carried out for the planning process. The development framework, particularly if it is adopted as a formal document in the planning process, would also form a lasting record to refer back to as key personnel and development partners change.

For larger scale mixed income communities such a permanent record of intentions would provide an important point of reference as the community matures and tenures change. Chapter 1 suggests that tenures become more 'fluid' over time. Chapter 2 recommends

the use of neighbourhood profiling in order to sustain the mixed nature of the community.

Our case studies have highlighted a potential problem in phasing in that the rented social housing element can be left for future phases while market uncertainties prevail. For example in Upton a watching brief is being kept on the proportions of social housing to be provided in each phase. In developer-led schemes, developers are keen to sell their owner-occupied units quickly in order to recoup some of their costs. This carries the danger that the social housing will be concentrated in the last phase rather than being evenly distributed through the whole community.

There is also a need to ensure that services and facilities are provided as the development progresses and it will fall to the local planning authority to monitor this and to enforce the mix of tenures through S106 agreements throughout what may be a lengthy process spanning two decades. To date, metropolitan authorities have been more successful in enforcing requirements for social housing, but the housing need is just as urgent in rural areas.

Masterplans

The term masterplan is often used to describe drawings setting out different scales of development, from small sites of a hectare or more to completely new settlements. For large sites, such as new settlements or those covering several individual housing estates, a development framework or strategy is a



Case study

Hulme design guidance

A masterplan and a design code were produced for Hulme. Both documents set out the urban character of the development and introduced a medium density urban block layout that was innovative for the UK. Initially RSLs and developers were opposed to layout which challenged conventional low density cul-de-sac arrangements. The local highway engineers also demanded that each junction be provided with visibility splays and junctions suitable for double decker bus routes. Eventually these problems were resolved through negotiation and consultation, with the support of tenants. The design code encouraged architectural variety within the rubric of the perimeter block. The resulting RSL development has been to a quality that continues to inspire passers by to call in to the local RSL offices to ask if the individual units are for sale.





The main shopping street in New Gorbals creates opportunities for chance encounters between residents.

more practical document, simply because it is less prescriptive. The development may then be divided into phases and the individual parcels of land put out to tender or competition for their individual masterplan. The masterplan itself may undergo further sub-divisions, with different RSLs, design teams and developers taking responsibility for individual sites.

The Urban Task Force defined a spatial masterplan as a set of proposals for a movement strategy, buildings, spaces and land use in three dimensions. These proposals need to be supported by financial, economic and social policy documents and by a delivery mechanism. Guidance on how to produce a masterplan is set out clearly and comprehensively by CABE (2004) in *Creating a successful masterplan: a guide for clients*. This sets out the parameters for a masterplan and the processes necessary for its production.

Design codes

Design codes have a long and venerable history. They were used in Italian Renaissance towns such as Siena, and in the creation of Georgian London. A design code:

is a set of three dimensional, site-specific design rules for development. It is informed by the spatial master plan and describes the rules through words and graphics. It is a tool that can be used in the design and planning process, but is more regulatory than other forms of guidance commonly used in the English planning system. (Hulme, 2005: 7)

It is the latter issue, that of increased regulation and particularly of architectural treatment, that has caused most controversy within the UK, with fears that it will automatically lead to less innovative approaches to architectural design.

Briefs

In most developments one or all of these stages in the design and development process may be put out to tender or limited competition. This places importance on the quality of the brief at each stage. The lead partner has a responsibility to ensure that the brief meets the requirements and aspirations of all stakeholders. It needs to set out principles, the 'vision', but also allow for creativity and imagination on the part of the development and design teams.

The brief also sets out financial requirements and phasing. Other demands can be made too. For example, the brief

for Upton's different masterplans requires each consortium to meet a minimum requirement in terms of the design and built environment professions with accredited core skills.

Mixed income and quality

The use of the documents discussed above is not a guarantee of urban design quality, but is a pre-condition for it. The production of each document requires partners to clarify the most essential parts of their objectives and to define what may or may not be compromised. The definition of urban design quality is especially important in two ways for mixed income communities:

- the overall urban design quality of a neighbourhood is one of the factors essential to its future sustainability as an attractive area to live in
- consistency of a high quality public realm and external architectural treatment across tenures ensures 'tenure blindness'. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Mixing tenures

The proportions of the mix of tenures across the layout have hitherto been regarded as important determinants of the success or failure of particular developments. The evidence gathered so far for this report suggests that the precise proportion of different tenures within a development is of little importance to the future social and economic sustainability of a mixed income neighbourhood. More evidence is available with regard to the issue of spatial dispersal.

A clear finding that has emerged from research studies is that it is vital that the social rented units should not be stigmatised in any way. If they are dispersed throughout the development, this is far less likely to happen. Different authors have described various classifications of dispersal. Perhaps the most useful is the following simple set of categories:

- **integrated** (different tenures are side by side in the same street, for example, Attwood Green, Caterham Village, Upton, Kings Hill, New Gorbals, Grahame Park)
- **segmented** (different tenures are in separate blocks, for example Hulme and the Ocean Estate)
- **segregated** (different tenures are in concentrations, for example Royal Quays).

Integrated

Contemporary advice is that the greatest integration between tenures is achieved when the social rented or shared housing units are dispersed evenly throughout the development. This has been described as 'pepperpotting' which implies that the units should be dispersed singularly. Upton provides an example of this approach and its development brief imposed a standard of no more than three social housing houses together and no more than four social housing flats together. In practice there has been a tendency to provide houses in pairs.

Such dispersal need not however be in single units, but can be in small clusters, as

at Caterham Village . It is noteworthy that there are some views that the clustering of 15 social housing units together in one terrace was a mistake.

Segmented

Hulme offers an example of a segmented development where the social rented housing is provided in separate blocks. The success of Hulme as a new mixed income community can be partially ascribed to the superior design quality of the RSL housing over that of the neighbouring private development.

Where the situation is reversed, the RSL housing can be the subject of stigma. One RSL director commented in relation to what he felt was an unsuccessful scheme:

At the other extreme you have got places like [] where it is very clear that the developer is working with the RSL under duress. The design is such that the social part of the scheme is very much in the way; the entrance to our block which is 55 units of rented housing (as well as shared ownership housing) feels like servants quarters round the back.

There are factors that promote a segmented solution. For example many owner-occupied flats now have en suite bathrooms. Financial restrictions make it very difficult for housing associations to provide en suite bathrooms. Although it is easier from the point of view of drainage to stack owner-occupied flats on top of each other, to achieve a straight and easily accessible soil stack, the goal of mixed income communities would be better achieved by lifting the financial restrictions on RSL homes to allow full integration.

Segregated

Although concentrations of different tenures are generally to be avoided, in difficult housing markets this may prove the only way in which a scheme can be started. This was the case at Royal Quays in Newcastle, where mixing between tenures was found to occur in one post-occupancy study (Jupp, 1999). However, as with Hulme, the external appearance of the RSL housing was of a higher quality than that of the adjacent private sector. Moreover, in common with the New Gorbals development, residents from different tenures shared streets and public spaces. Indeed, the author of the study found this factor to be of greater significance than the tenure distribution.

Shared streets

Social mixing cannot be determined by physical means within the context of a residential development. It can however, be facilitated. The sharing of streets, cycleways and footpaths provides situations where near neighbours can, almost literally, 'bump into each other'. This observation implies both that identifiable streets and spaces are available and that they are sufficiently safe and attractive to encourage residents to use them.

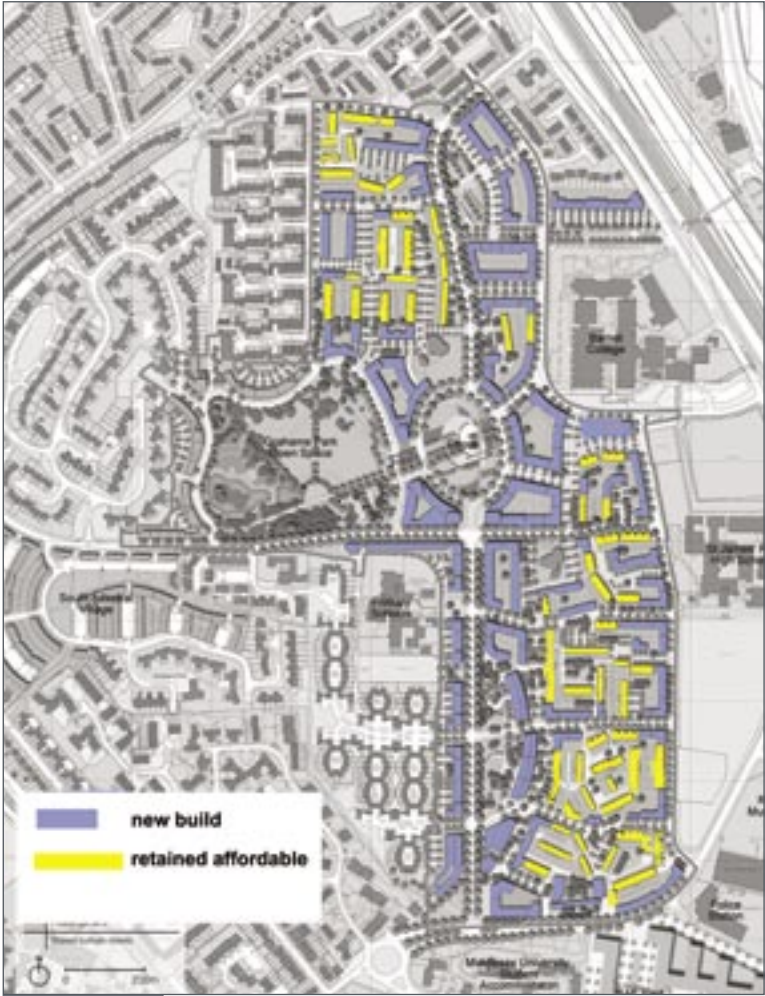
Past experience in housing design, where streets have been removed and confused movement systems have been substituted, have led to winding footpaths that appear to be unsafe at night and paths that serve only a few front doors. Many housing schemes in the past failed to distinguish sufficiently between the fronts and back of houses to the extent that some blocks appeared to be surrounded by a species of anonymous no-man's land.

Integrated housing layouts

Two examples of integrated layouts with different levels of clustering of social rented homes.



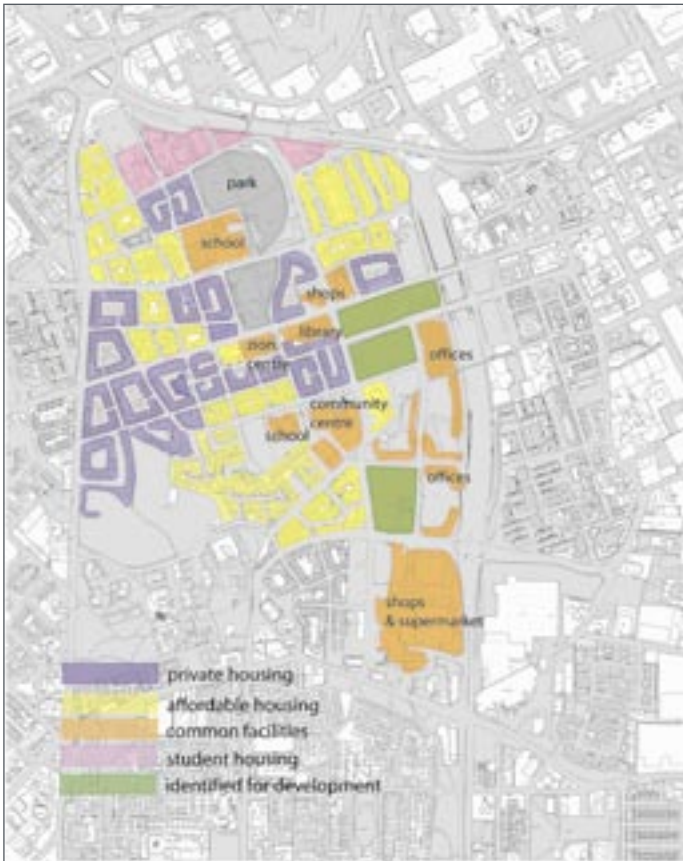
Upton



Grahame Park

Segmented housing layouts

Two examples of segmented layouts. On inner city sites where existing local authority housing is being replaced, this may be the most feasible option for at least partially integrating different tenures.



Hulme



Ocean Estate

A segregated housing layout

This segregated layout provides an example of a successful mixed income community begun at a time when the local housing market was extremely challenging.



Royal Quays

Ten characteristics of public spaces that facilitate social housing

1 Clearly identifiable streets and public spaces.



2 Streets designed to encourage pedestrians.



3 Connected streets with short, direct routes.



4 Streets that are attractive and safe to use day and night.



5 Continuous frontages with few blank walls.



6 Fronts of buildings facing the street/public spaces, backs of buildings facing courtyards/private areas.



7 Buildings that provide a sense of enclosure to the street.



8 Well-defined entrances onto the street at frequent intervals.



9 Streets that encourage safe vehicle use.



10 A clear differentiation of fronts and backs of buildings.





A high quality sports area in Attwood Green.

High quality children's play areas

Chapters 1 and 2 have mentioned the importance of schools in encouraging different tenures to mix. This is also true of children's play areas and providing well-designed, accessible play areas is therefore important for mixed income developments.

In the medium to high density context of Glasgow informal play areas were provided in the shared courtyards of the blocks in the New Gorbals development. The courtyards were formed from the rear of the perimeter blocks. These were found to be successful in terms of mixing and it was the larger of the courtyards that were most successful. Providing either supervision or configurations that meant



The landscaped backcourts in New Gorbals provide play areas which are visible from the flats.

that parents could also supervise play, was also found to be important. Small courtyards that included car parking, as are provided in the smaller blocks in Hulme, did not work so well (Silverman *et al.*, 2005).

Consistency of external architectural treatment

Potential stigma for RSL and shared housing units can be avoided through treating their external appearance absolutely consistently with the standards applied to private housing for sale. Although developers and RSLs may complain about the financial pressures that this demand imposes, our case studies demonstrate that such consistency can be achieved.

Housing associations may experience difficulties in providing external features such as porches, or may need to vary their standard provision. At Upton, for example, the RSL had to waive their standard specification of UPVC windows. Conversely, developers may have to provide higher space standards at the lower end of their price range, in order to 'stack' social rented and for sale flats on top of each other.

Care also needs to be taken with 'personalisation'. In low density housing developments, where it is commonplace to establish a small strip of garden between the footway and the front elevation of the dwelling, many RSL tenants may lack the resources to personalise their property. This is in contrast to owner occupiers who frequently establish pot plants, hanging baskets and floral displays. Such markers of personal identity can act as

Case study

New Gorbals, Glasgow

Perhaps the most striking example comes from one of the earliest mixed income developments, the Crown Street phase of the New Gorbals development. Here each perimeter block accommodates one side of RSL dwellings. The development draws on the tradition of the Glasgow tenement block, with the block being composed of a maisonette on the lower ground and first floors and the top two floors comprising flats of different sizes. Visual inspection of the different sides of each block do not yield any clues as to tenure and even tell-tale details, such as types of letter box or door bell, do not provide any means of differentiation.



a distinguishing feature of tenure, as strongly as any architectural feature.

Integration of different types of dwellings

One of the keys to the successful visual integration of tenures appears to be the blending of different types of dwelling, be they houses or flats. In our case studies, houses and flats of different tenures have been mixed skilfully across



The re-installation of Stretford Road in Hulme created a vital link with Manchester city centre.

the development. This provides a stark contrast in approach to housing estates in the immediate post war period, where houses and flats tended to be positioned in groups across the site, with no visual relationship between them other than stark contrast, often heightened by a different choice of materials.

The local authority requirements for a particular proportion of units that are disability aware or wheelchair accessible have to be accommodated. Again skill and care is required to prevent these units from becoming isolated.

Problems can also arise where family houses are grouped together, producing high child densities in one part of the development which can lead to friction with childless residents. Another problem

that can arise is where small units of housing for sale, for example blocks of one- and two-bedroom flats, are sold to either small or institutional landlords who then let them out, sometimes leasing them back to local authorities or housing associations for homeless families. This can equally lead to stigmatisation. On an inner city site it may be tempting to introduce high rise blocks of one- and two- bedroom flats to ensure the financial viability of the development overall. As has been discussed, this solution may lead to management problems in the long run, such as concentrations of families with children in the social housing and one and two person households in the private units.

Social sustainability

A mixed income community needs to move from being a ‘development’ or an ‘estate’ to a ‘place’ or a ‘neighbourhood’ in the wider area. As one RSL worker said of the redeveloped Hulme:

I have been here only 18 months. Hulme to me is just like any other part of Manchester, but it has got a special character.

Hulme has therefore succeeded in becoming another part of the city, but is special in its own way. One of the ways in which this has been achieved is through its integration into its neighbouring context.



The redundant shopping centre at Grahame Park was one of the drivers of redevelopment. In new developments flexibility is being demanded, so that uses can change over time.

Integration into the wider context

The movement system that is provided within the mixed income community provides one of the keys to successful integration into the wider area. In two of our case studies, Hulme and the New Gorbals, the new community replaced a formerly stigmatised area of predominately council housing. The achievement of the masterplans for each of the new neighbourhoods was to re-instate the Victorian main streets that connected the developments back into the city (Stretford Road and Crown Street).

Establishing links between new neighbourhoods and the existing area can also be facilitated through the sharing of shops and other commercial and community facilities. Chapter 2 has discussed the importance of providing mixed uses for the social sustainability of a neighbourhood. Given the changing nature of retail, and of many other services and facilities, it seems prudent to avoid redundancy by locating them at the periphery of new developments, rather than, as was previously fashionable, at the centre. One of the drivers for the redevelopment of Grahame Park is the redundancy of its shopping centre, which was planned in the centre of the estate, configured around a pedestrian precinct.

Park Central in Attwood Green and Upton provide good examples of flexible masterplans set within strong development frameworks, where different services and new facilities have been planned, but will be located on streets where they can share catchments with neighbouring developments. Flexibility is being demanded within the masterplanning process, so that uses can change over time.

Case study

Caterham Village traffic management

The layout of the development at Caterham Village provides a good example of the ways in which vehicle speeds are reduced through the use of tight corners, road narrowing and limiting forward visibility without recourse to speed humps or signs. This method of traffic calming, that draws on observations of driver psychology, is at the forefront of residential highway design.





High quality green space is critical to successful mixed developments. In Upton a sustainable urban drainage system is also provided.

Environmental sustainability

Environmental sustainability should be a component of all new housing developments. This encompasses many issues, from vehicular and pedestrian movement, to car parking, to the provision of green spaces and landscaping to energy efficiency and 'green building'. The aspects that are discussed below are those that have been raised, either in research studies or in our case studies, as having a particular relevance to mixed income communities.

Encouraging walking and cycling

As discussed above, the possibilities of spontaneous chance encounters are increased through movement in public areas. Walking and cycling, in contrast to travelling by car, permit residents to greet and otherwise engage with each other. Careful design of footways and cycle paths can tick two policy boxes simultaneously; those of encouraging social interaction and of pursuing environmental sustainability. Evidence from established mixed tenure developments demonstrates the popularity of cycle routes for both adults and children, with the proviso that they also need to be overlooked by adjacent houses and be safe (Allen *et al.*, 2005). Good traffic management also makes it easier for children both to cycle and to play in streets and public spaces.

High quality green spaces and landscaping

The higher densities demanded by *Planning Policy Statement 3* (ODPM, 2005b) place a pressure on project providers to create more meaningful public space. The quality of green space and landscaping generally are critical to the success of mixed income developments. This is not only because parks provide some opportunities for children's play and residents' interaction but also because well-designed green spaces and landscaping form part of a high quality residential environment that residents can 'buy into'.



In New Gorbals car parking has been provided down the centre of the road to enhance car security, as residents can observe their car from their window.

Maintenance obviously also plays an important part in retaining this perception and ensuring the sustainability of the overall development as a social entity. The Kings Hill development in Kent is well endowed with different types of green spaces. One of its most recent 'quarters' successfully combines hard and soft landscaping in its informal shared spaces.

In our case studies that are located in areas of economic stress, regeneration funds have supported the provision of major new parks. Hulme Park in Hulme and Redburn Dene Park in Royal Quays are

major assets to the residents, as is Mile End Park to the Ocean Estate.

Car ownership

In addition to providing a means for movement, car ownership provides a marker of wealth and status and a double garage provides an immediate clue as to the tenure of an occupant. At Royal Quays for example, the double garages in one street provide a clear indicator of privately owned housing. In mixed income schemes that follow PPG3 principles the amount of car parking has to be reduced,

thereby supporting the objective of tenure blind development. At Upton, only one car space per household is permitted, although English Partnerships admit that this may be unenforceable. Such reductions may be contentious and residents at Caterham Village have objected to the lack of suitable garage and parking space. In the case of the garages, this was because some occupiers found them to be too narrow.

In rural areas car ownership may be vital, for both RSL tenants and owner occupiers. Access from a motorway is also an important feature in attracting higher income residents, as appears to be the case at Kings Hill. Furthermore, the rigid application of PPG3 principles in terms of limiting car parking provision may deter higher income residents from buying into mixed income schemes. Clearly these considerations pose challenges to local planners and designers. They also have an implication for RSL funding at a national scale, if the principle of tenure blind design standards is accepted.

In the more recent of our case studies car parking has skilfully been made less visually intrusive through the use of semi-enclosed rear courtyards. Where the courtyards are also used as play areas, this may not be an ideal solution. Clearly the provision of garage space and suitable car parking arrangements will continue to be an issue for design and management.

Viability

Finance

The development of a mixed income community will require additional sources

of money over and above Social Housing Grant. Partners cannot assume that monies provided by government will be sufficient, or that past funding levels will be matched in the future.

Mixed income schemes will need to ensure that they have effective procedures for managing risk and for ensuring that effective safeguards are built into financial arrangements.

The wider powers of public authorities may allow significant extra funding to be attracted through other programmes, such as European funds, regeneration funding or, more recently, local area agreements. The scheme costs at Caterham were £11.16 million including Social Housing Grant from the local authority and the Housing Corporation of £5.34 million. In Attwood Green, the government gave money conditional on transfer of stock to an RSL, together with £40 million of Estates Renewal Challenge Fund (ERCF) monies.

Hulme's redevelopment was triggered by City Challenge funding which enabled the demolition of the existing deck-access flats and their replacement by new homes.

(Silverman et al., 2005: 20)

The early injection of public funding is important in terms of ensuring a mix of housing types. In inner city areas, where land values are high and public subsidies are insufficient, it may be difficult to provide family sized homes. For developers, when land values rise, their margins may restrict the construction of family sized homes. In these circumstances local authorities may have to be flexible



The first masterplan for the Ocean Estate



The most recent masterplan for the Ocean Estate

in their application of S106 agreements, trading off the proportion of social housing in return for the inclusion of three-bedroom-plus dwellings.

Profit sharing was an approach adopted in one of the case studies. In Attwood Green, land was transferred to the housing association and licensed to the developers. In return the development agreement stipulates that a share of any profit made over a stipulated amount is returned by the developer to a fund that is then spent in the area. This is called a virtuous investment cycle and is likely to generate £30 million over the lifetime of the project.

Without adequate financial arrangements, the masterplan cannot proceed. The re-development of the Ocean Estate in London has been delayed by the funding gap that became apparent after the original masterplan had been approved both by Tower Hamlets Council and the Ocean NDC. The ODPM was unable to bridge this gap. At the time of writing this scheme has also been delayed by the transfer ballot. Financial arrangements will need to acknowledge the following:

- high quality design is initially more expensive
- resources should be allocated to the establishment and development of community groups to ensure their engagement in the process
- proposals for mixed communities need to take advantage of regeneration funds where available, and should be fully integrated in community strategies and local area agreements

- community development trusts can help to attract inward investment opportunities
- long-term investment requires a strategic view about short-term costs
- access to capital and revenue funding sources need to be in balance.

The challenge in the area of finance and funding is to achieve high quality developments without the levels of public funding that have been available in the past.

Uncertainty

For mixed income communities that are based on existing council housing estates balancing refurbishment with redevelopment is also an issue, about which the existing tenants and residents are likely to have strong views. The attitude of the government with regard to encouraging stock transfer through financial incentives as a condition of redevelopment is also proving a barrier to progressing development in a number of cases. In each of our case studies which included council estates the final proposals were the results of years of negotiation, business planning, community consultation, design and redesign. This produces uncertainty for the stakeholders involved. Where a ballot of tenants is involved there is a risk that the proposals will be rejected.

There were also complaints from developers and RSLs about the uncertainty in the planning process. They commented on long delays in getting approvals and lack of clarity about the proportions of social rented and affordable housing to be

provided. These uncertainties add to the overall costs of development and hence have an impact on the ability to achieve mixed income new communities.

Summary

There is no rubric or pattern book for producing a strategy for successful mixed income new communities. A list of factors that do and do not encourage integration is given below. It should be used with caution, as the presence of one negative factor may be overcome, such as introducing high quality design features in the RSL-managed housing.

Factors that discourage integration

- segregation of scheme from wider neighbourhood
- social rented housing grouped together
- different dwelling types grouped together
- social housing segregated from private for sale
- separation of housing types and sizes into different tenures
- separate route system for different tenures
- separated children's play areas
- separated public parking areas between tenures
- confusion between public, semi-public and private space
- poorly designed and maintained public realm
- car use dominant
- social rented housing stigmatised through visual markers
- no design controls
- no resident empowerment.

Factors that encourage integration

- mix of uses
- integration of scheme into wider neighbourhood
- an even mix of housing types and sizes between tenures
- social rented housing evenly dispersed through development
- careful integration of different densities e.g. flats and houses
- shared streets and public spaces for near neighbours from different tenures
- high quality public realm with continuous building frontages
- attractive landscape and green spaces
- walking and cycling encouraged
- shared children's play areas
- shared public parking areas between tenures
- consistent external architectural treatment across tenures
- use of design guidance e.g. masterplans and design codes to ensure uniformly high standards
- inclusive consultation with residents and neighbours and empowerment of existing residents.



4 Good practice in delivering partnership and participation

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Partners 'need a common understanding of their collective role'.

Challenges

One challenge with mixed income schemes is that a wide range of social landlords and developers may be used. For example there are multi-landlord consortium developments where lines of responsibility are unclear. In such circumstances it is important to ensure a streamlining of management arrangements with clear lines of accountability that are transparent to owners and renters with consistent and fully integrated procedures (Andrews and Reardon Smith, 2005). One way that different partners have evolved is to use common management arrangements and to provide services through a single agency (often a private management company for landscaping and cleaning common areas). It is important that there are not differential arrangements, resulting in different standards of service delivery for different tenure groups.

Based on what was said in Chapter 2 about the importance of vision, partners need a common understanding of their

collective role. This role is based on a mix of formal and informal expectations, understanding and relationships. While it is not possible to formalise everything, it may be useful to articulate shared values and understandings, symbolically and practically (Russell, 2001).

Partnership

The importance of developing trust, understanding and shared values is central to a successful mixed income scheme. This can be difficult with very different institutional actors with competing cultures and different lines of accountability: for example a private developer accountable to their shareholders, a statutory sector accountable to the local community and voluntary agencies accountable to their board.

Whilst lines of accountability may be disparate, it is important to reach a common understanding about shared objectives for the area: ensuring that schemes can become a destination of



Case study

Partnership in Attwood Green

Attwood Green is the new name for a number of former council estates lying just to the south of Birmingham city centre and close to the eastern border of Edgbaston. Housing management on the estate is being carried out by a number of block management companies. Attwood Green Estate Services (AGES) manages those areas not covered by other companies and has an overall responsibility for a high quality of service delivery. AGES is a wholly owned subsidiary of Optima Community Association. It is managed by a board of directors, made up of Optima board members, senior staff and a representative of Crest Nicholson. Once the development is complete it is intended that a local resident will replace the Crest Nicholson nominee. AGES is responsible for:

- delivering services such as the cleaning of shared areas which are outside the control of individual block management companies for each block of flats
- maintaining the appearance of the properties and the shared areas by ensuring that covenants are enforced.

choice; meeting housing need; raising the profile and status of the neighbourhood.

It is also important to consider the overall leadership roles discussed in Chapter 2. Effective partnership arrangements are dependent upon a champion who can hold all the different agencies together and drive the vision for a scheme. This is a necessary but not sufficient condition for partnership working to function effectively. It should also be noted that leadership may not be invested in one individual but there should be clear lines of accountability and responsibility. In some respects this leadership can become invisible over time.

The main principles of partnership working in mixed income communities can be stated as follows:

- Organisations need to be clear about the challenges of *working with new agencies*: mixed income schemes will inevitably involve a variety of different agencies, most of which will not be familiar to one another. An effective partnership needs to have mechanisms to bring groups together and to resolve inevitable disputes.
- Partners need to *establish shared objectives*: while different positions will be inevitable in the short term, there needs to be recognition that all are working to the same ends, that is the development of flourishing and integrated, cohesive neighbourhoods. There needs to be acknowledgement of specific aims, such as providing equal access to services, a fair distribution of resources, well-maintained

environment and minimising neighbour nuisance.

- *Involving service users*: there needs to be an explicit recognition that service provision is dependent on the desires and needs of local residents and that services will be provided on an equitable basis regardless of income.

There is a need to change attitudes towards the longer term investment potential of neighbourhoods and a cultural change on the part of both private developers and social landlords. While the legacy of the past continued to generate suspicion, there was some evidence that attitudes were changing. For example one manager commented:

Whereas in the past it was traditionally almost a contractor/client relationship between house builder and housing association; you are now starting to see joint venture partnerships coming through, the sharing of risk, complementary skills being brought to the procurement process. It's early days; you are putting together two quite different cultures. But you are starting to see some differences in the way that developers are thinking and the way that housing associations are thinking.
(Interview)



Case study

Linden Homes in Caterham Village

Linden Homes have demonstrated their commitment to long-term sustainability to the area in the following ways:

- the main person responsible for the scheme has the job title Director of Sustainable Communities
- their headquarters are located in the heart of Caterham Village
- they have provided significant capital funding and revenue support for the Community Development Trust.

Community involvement

Resident involvement and community consultation have now become statutory within the planning and regeneration processes and it is striking how important community consultation was to all but one of our case study developments, three of which were started in the early 1990s. This applied whether they were led by local authorities, developers or by development corporations. In each case the consultation process helped to gain support from stakeholders for the mixed income community as a concept, in addition to providing an input to the design itself.

It is of particular note that overall the consultation process tended to support

innovation in design and encouraged developers and RSLs to experiment. In Hulme, the consultation process that involved the St Wilfred's portion of the development, overturned the RSL's preference for a cul-de-sac layout and instead imposed a perimeter block solution, the first of its kind. In Upton a participatory design process known as 'enquiry by design' radicalised the provision of social rented housing and ensured that it was dispersed throughout the development. It also rationalised the open space to a lower provision, 28 per cent instead of 52 per cent, but of a better integrated and higher quality. As a result the development yield from the wider site rose by 75 per cent.

Case study

Caterham Barracks Community Trust

Caterham Barracks Community Trust was developed as part of a Section 106 agreement to ensure that community buildings and facilities are owned by local residents. The establishment of a Community Development Trust was recommended to provide a mechanism for administering community facilities and the Section 106 agreement provided that various facilities would be handed over or sold to the Community Trust once they had been refurbished by Linden Homes. A consultant was appointed in 1998 to prepare a Trust constitution and business plan. A full time chief executive was appointed in 2000. The Trust owns a variety of amenities including a skate park with 7000 members, a café, and sports and leisure facilities. The Community Trust has opened an enterprise hub in order to develop new businesses and provide funding for innovative ideas such as a restaurant.



Community involvement and capacity building will help to determine effective and responsive management arrangements. Effective partnership arrangements will provide strong evidence of added value to mixed income schemes.

A successful renewal strategy is not a set of compromises but is built on a solid understanding of the differing values and priorities of the community. Putting the community at the heart of the process provides a wealth of knowledge and insight. But difficult decisions require strong leadership. (CABE, 2004: 3)

Resident involvement should incorporate all residents and schemes should incorporate a collective association, creating opportunities to act as a pressure group with a common interest in service improvements and facilities.

However, consultation processes may vary and again it is important to be flexible about the kind of approaches offered.

For example large public meetings may not always be appropriate where they are likely to be dominated by vociferous individuals and narrow interests. It may be preferable to talk to small groups of tenants and residents individually to gain a sense of their wishes and aspirations. Those responsible for managing schemes should be encouraged to support resident associations in a variety of forms.

One clear finding from the research is that community involvement is crucial at the outset. The earlier the consultation mechanisms are in place and decision making is devolved the greater opportunities there are to develop trust and loyalty among the different participants. As one resident of a regeneration scheme commented:

The main lesson that has got to be learned...is that tenant consultation really must be set up; your organisation... tenants and resident members should be in situ a long time before any ballot process takes place. At the mention of regeneration you should pull the bodies in there and have it set up. To get the best from resident consultation it has got to be structured from the very beginning.
(Interview, resident)

Case study

Tenant management organisations in Hulme

Because of the high level of tenant activism at the start of the regeneration process in Hulme, two tenant led RSLs have emerged. *People First* is a tenant co-operative that manages a number of the Hulme RSL properties. It had a difficult start but is now properly established and shares a local office with the North British Housing Association. A more alternative organisation, *Homes for Change/Work for Change*, is a housing co-operative that supports artistic and cultural projects. It has an innovative new mixed-use development in Hulme and supports live-work units, work spaces, cultural events and a café/bar. Although it has been criticised as a 'yuppie ghetto', it nevertheless retains positive aspects of the alternative lifestyles that were sustained by the Crescents in their transitional period. While the regeneration of Hulme had generated substantial controversy one resident expressed satisfaction with the scheme in the following terms: 'We were all very dubious at the start, because Hulme has already been rebuilt 30 years before and they were all pulling it down, awfully dubious. Now I think it is the best thing that has happened, everyone looks after the area better, the outlook of the area is so much better. It is fantastic; absolutely, what they did is brilliant' (Interview).

Case study

Community consultation in Caterham Village

Caterham Village represents an example of community consultation carried out at an early and effective stage. The planning weekend held at Caterham Village in 1998 was the first to be developer-led. It attracted 1,000 people, was organised to be deliberately non-confrontational and had special workshops to involve young people. As a result the developer, Linden Homes, discarded the original proposals that prescribed employment and recreation uses for the site and only a small amount of housing. The consultation exercise led to the retention of existing historic buildings and spaces on the site and the provision of community facilities, financed through extra housing development. A major factor in the success of the scheme was seen as the commitment to community planning principles from an early stage. The developers took a view that the plans should be entirely governed by local residents. 'We said we only have blank sheets of paper and want you to help us design the site'. This early approach to consultation allowed residents to feel a wide sense of ownership and commitment to the scheme (Interview).

Case study

Caretaking Plus in Grahame Park

The Grahame Park neighbourhood has introduced a scheme called *Caretaking Plus* to improve neighbourhood repair services. The scheme offers a service provided by a mix of residential and non-residential caretakers who have undertaken City and Guilds training in plumbing, carpentry, painting and external maintenance. The objective is to enable caretaking staff to undertake a range of small, low-priority repair and maintenance services. This initiative had led to a dramatic reduction in graffiti in the neighbourhood and estate action days have been held to enable residents to discuss the work that needs to be undertaken; work which is tackled over one or two pre-arranged days in an intensive effort to improve the neighbourhood.

Partnership in management arrangements

One of the main components of management effectiveness in mixed income neighbourhoods is that there are robust partnership arrangements with commonly agreed and understood arrangements. These should include principles for: determining a balance in the resident profile; common standards in maintenance, repair, and improvement services; service charges; managing anti-social behaviour and in establishing neighbourhood agreements.

Nomination agreements and allocation policies

The allocations policies of social landlords may have a key role to play in determining the sustainability of local areas. The policy of creating mixed income communities is designed precisely to avoid concentrations of deprivation and this objective may be undermined if the policy of the social landlord is simply to provide accommodation on the basis of the greatest need. 'Local housing professionals should reject strategies that explicitly concentrate the most economically deprived households on certain estates in order to "cluster the problem"' (Berube, 2005, p.51). At the same time, there may be conflicts between social landlords, who are interested in longer term sustainability of neighbourhoods, and local authorities with statutory duties to house homeless families and whose priority is to reduce numbers on their housing register. These conflicts should be accepted as inevitable dilemmas which do not have easy answers. Nevertheless, a number

of mechanisms can be used in order to minimise difficulties.

One of the main tensions may be between the local authority statutory duty to meet housing need through homelessness provision and the landlord's desire to manage a stable community. As Holmes (2006) maintains, the fact that landlords are housing vulnerable tenants should not in itself be seen as a sign of failure. 'The opening up of council housing to more of the poorest households was a desirable and overdue change' (p.197). However:

The housing of more low income tenants would not have been a problem if council homes had been integrated within neighbourhoods of owner-occupied and privately rented housing. It became a serious problem because single tenure estates housed only low income, predominantly non-owning tenants, and so created neighbourhoods of concentrated poverty.
(Holmes, 2006: 197)

Given this situation, how can the tension between allocation according to need and the requirement to develop sustainable communities be resolved?

A first step may be to reach mutual *nomination agreements* between local authorities and partner RSLs; there should therefore be 'a clear protocol about new developments in particular' (Interview, RSL manager). Thus in order to avoid negative stereotyping, social landlords need to provide accommodation for a wide range of age groups, avoiding concentrations of young children in one tenure. Agreements will vary

according to local need, demand and conditions, but it is important that all parties are represented in the process of drawing up the nomination agreement and that this is clearly understood.

A second step may be for landlords to establish *local lettings plans* and to establish targets for neighbourhoods: for example, in the number of single parent families and child densities. 'Our view is that you get better management if you actually plan who you house' as one RSL manager commented.

One of the key difficulties in mixed neighbourhoods is when social housing is occupied to the maximum by families with children and home owners under-occupy their property. Whilst there are resource considerations, particularly in high demand areas, social landlords could consider under-occupation of certain properties, for example by making offers of properties with spare rooms and allowing for adult-only households in some circumstances (Andrews and Reardon Smith, 2005, p.7). These local lettings policies may appear problematic in areas of severe housing need and in such circumstances landlords will need to consider other alternatives, such as the provision of keyworker and intermediate housing to increase social mix, or projects to boost local employment.

It is important that landlords pay attention not simply to the first letting but also to subsequent allocations. Therefore a third step may be that landlords should regularly conduct *neighbourhood profiling* schemes. Landlords need to be aware of differing needs and desires

of communities and should be able to collect accurate information about their neighbourhoods.

It is essential to understand the social and economic fabric of neighbourhoods, in order to determine and tackle the root causes of problems and not just the symptoms.

(CABE, 2004: 3)

Landlords should collect information at an early stage. 'Housing agencies should consider using estate profiles that map the characteristics of tenant applications against potential destination neighbourhoods to maintain a more balanced estate character'. Lettings policies should not just be limited to single estates but 'across the housing and neighbourhood spectrum' (Berube, 2005: 52).

Time spent at the outset on rigorous and consistent baseline analysis will provide a firm footing for strategies and provide a coherent approach to 'early win' projects.

(CABE, 2004: 3)

Communities are dynamic and are not static in time and income profiles are likely to fluctuate. These principles are in line with the view that housing professionals need to see neighbourhoods as long-term investments: 'We have taken a long-term approach; these people have got to live on our estates for the next 10 or 20 years. So we will fight our corner' (Interview). These principles should equally apply to private developers and they should be encouraged to view their developments as long-term investments.

Case study

Maintenance in Upton

The Upton Design Code establishes a development-wide management company 'to promote long-term stewardship'. Its roles and responsibilities include the maintenance of public spaces, parks, street furniture... central courtyards and associated services. This includes children's play areas, electric car sharing schemes, material recycling programmes and selling energy generated within Upton to the national grid' (Upton Design Code, 2005: 110). In addition, the developer of each site will set up a site-specific management company...to include the maintenance of central courtyards, communal areas within apartment blocks, block specific environmental technologies. In relation to community involvement: 'a management company will be set up to be eventually run by local residents' (EDAW et al., 2005).



Common standards for maintenance and repair services

It is important that landlords are able to address maintenance and repair problems quickly to avoid stigma becoming associated with socially rented properties. An effective repairs and maintenance policy is essential across developments to ensure that there is no distinction between public and privately owned properties.

Landlords may employ private management companies to assume responsibility for common parts within properties and external communal areas. These arrangements can help to generate more uniformity of service rather than having many different management arrangements carried out by a range of service providers. Maintenance responsibilities should include:

- effective procedures for reporting repairs (both major and minor)
- commitment to the swift maintenance of amenities and facilities, for example children's play areas
- decision on whether to outsource maintenance responsibilities
- effective and uniform arrangements for landscaping and gardening
- common procedures for refuse disposal and recycling facilities.

Partnerships in managing anti-social behaviour

As mentioned above one of the central challenges in managing a mixed income community is the need to avoid negative stereotyping about the behaviour of residents and the management of the socially rented properties. The management of anti-social behaviour represents one of the key challenges in mixed income communities. There may be mutual suspicion between tenures and a view that owner-occupiers will perceive the majority of anti-social behaviour as being from residents of affordable housing properties. However, evidence from our case studies suggests that complaints can arise from the behaviour of residents of all tenures.

In order to avoid negative stereotyping landlords need to adopt a flexible response, including appointing a named contact person from the outset of a scheme, with the ability to resolve conflicts between residents. An important principle is to ensure that landlords create places 'where people might report anti-social behaviour and where people feel they can report anti-social behaviour' (Interview).

In guidance produced on tackling anti-social behaviour on mixed tenure estates (ODPM, 2003b), the use of *Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships* is advocated to: ascertain the nature of the problem; to develop multi-agency partnerships and to engage residents to build community capacity. Within mixed income communities it is important that interventions should not be limited to particular forms of tenure and landlords

Case study

Managing anti-social behaviour in Royal Quays

Resident perceptions of the Royal Quays development were that it had changed for the better over the years of occupation. Although 50 per cent of the nominations are by the local authority there is a screening procedure involved, which represents a change in the allocation policies over the years and is reported to have created a better living environment. As seen by the decreasing crime figures for Royal Quays, community policemen were no longer thought necessary in the area. Most of the miscellaneous thefts were said to relate to shoplifting that takes place in the retail centre. Changing perceptions of the adjoining Meadow Well estate have also contributed to the area being seen as moving up market in the years since completion.

The stigma attached to Meadow Well has been successfully overcome with regeneration efforts and positive spillover effects seen in Royal Quays. In addition there was no evidence of divisions between the different types of tenures. Community centre activities were organised by both private and RSL residents; residents expressed pride in living in the locality irrespective of tenure. Noise problems, which were reported in many developments, were lower in Royal Quays than elsewhere due to the low densities that allowed for more space between the houses.



should review their use of Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs) and Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) to ensure they are used effectively.

Partnership arrangements and service charges

Service charges represent a particular difficulty for mixed income schemes. Private households have tended to consume services based on their desire and ability to pay, whereas social residents have been limited by the constraints of the Housing Benefit system as well as by the issue of affordability and discouraging dependency on benefits. A number of problems and challenges can be identified which have particular bearing on mixed-tenure, high density schemes. These challenges include:

- a differential quality of service provision between owners and tenants
- the affordability of costs and charges
- tenure segregation
- resentment between owners and

renters, particularly where owners perceive themselves to be subsidising services for affordable housing.

What practical steps can be taken to resolve these difficulties? Possible solutions include:

- Ground rents which are payable by all residents and collected by a charitable trust. These can be used to subsidise certain services for social rented tenants. The advantage of this arrangement is that it creates a freeholder dedicated to the sustainable management of the site (for example at Caterham).
- Developers can subsidise service costs for social rented tenants through the planning gain system. Development proposals should be 'underpinned by sustainable arrangements for delivering affordable charges' (HACAS/Chapman Hendy, 2004, p.58).
- RSLs can contribute from within their margins or by offsetting subsidy against identified savings/efficiencies; RSLs should be involved in scheme

Case study

Landscaping in Caterham Village

Landscaping and gardening in Caterham Village is provided by a management company which provides a service on an equal basis to all residents (for which they pay a service charge). The principle is described as follows: 'Rather than having a range of separate gardening or cleaning contracts for our part of the estate or our blocks it's the same company doing both. [If not] you would be sending out different gardening contractors and ... you would be cutting grass at different times. This is a uniform approach.' (Interview).



development at the earliest stages in order to consider the cost effectiveness and sustainability of management arrangements proposed for new developments.

- Providing higher levels of Social Housing Grant above subsidy levels typically required to support planning gain to reflect the costs of essential high density amenities.
- Local authorities can use subsidy to limit charges (using powers to provide financial assistance) or through adoption of public areas such as parks, roads and play areas; 'where local authorities insist on the provision of public realm within new schemes (such as parkland) but will not consider adoption they may be undermining the scope for delivering affordable housing' (HACAS/ Chapman Hendy, 2004, p.48).

Planning authorities, developers and housing associations therefore need to work together to examine the range of mechanisms available to control service charges. As discussed above, consistency in management for residents of all tenures is crucial; there should be effective joint management solutions 'tailored to the demands of high density living' (HACAS/ Chapman Hendy, 2004, p.6). In broader terms the Barker review (2004) included a proposal to encourage local authorities to use planning contributions for affordable housing and direct impact mitigation. Further issues for government policy include:

- Service costs should be considered as part of overall scheme costs and not as a separate, self-financing revenue cost.
- The DCLG should consider determining the extent service charges should be limited and subsidised for social rented housing; this is central to the sustainable communities agenda and to delivering regional affordability targets.
- The Department of Work and Pensions should consider Housing Benefit entitlement within mixed tenure, high density schemes (for example, by including service charges within a flat rate housing allowance).
- Government could consider setting targets and guidelines for service charge levels.
- Policy should encourage local authorities to ensure planning contributions are used effectively to support the whole costs of affordable housing provision, taking account of the costs of servicing high density communities.



Case study

Kings Hill agreements

All occupants receive a welcome pack containing information from the builders, and have to sign an agreement which commits them to the covenants on the development. These include standard requirements about alterations. The agreement does not permit the parking of caravans or boats, the planting of shrubs and hedges over 600mm, the addition of nameplates, dustbins at the front of a property, alterations to the colour of the external woodwork or paintwork for 10 years from the year of building, and satellite receivers.

Neighbourhood agreements

Neighbourhood or estate agreements can be used to combine a mixture of formal resident involvement and informal arrangements (Steele *et al.*, 1996; Cole *et al.*, 2000). A central principle should be to ensure a sense of uniformity across service areas.

We are looking at how we are going to unify our estate management in the future. What we want to achieve is a single service across all tenures; we don't want to be bowing down to the needs of shared ownership, assuming they are more important people. We want to agree a common set of service standards; the same people responsible for services so everyone on the estate is aware of whom to contact and to deliver a single level of service.
(Interview)

Neighbourhood agreements are dependent on an understanding of the wider housing market, including the private rented market (an often neglected aspect of managing mixed income communities).

There needs to be a more direct engagement with the management of the private rented sector, and the impact of a large amount of privately rented housing on new estates. Private landlords along with other owners should be required to enter into long-term agreements related to standards of management and maintenance of property, and these compacts can form part of a wider neighbourhood

management arrangement.
(Rowlands *et al.*, 2006: 62)

Whilst there may be some scepticism about the ability to enforce agreements, it is acknowledged that formal agreements are required to ensure high quality estate management. 'Estate agreements provide a basis for these and should apply to residents and property owners in all tenures. In particular there is a need to incorporate private landlords within this to insure against potential problems of absentee landlordism which may undermine the sustainability of estates' (Rowlands *et al.* 2006: 62).

Wider structures for partnership and participation

In order to sustain more successful and balanced communities, mixed income schemes need to pay close attention to broader social and economic features of neighbourhoods. This need will be particularly applicable to newly developed large schemes. The sustainability of an area is contingent not only upon existing housing provision but also on wider amenities and facilities. A number of 'golden rules' for mixed income communities have been formulated. These include:

- area policies need to go hand in hand with labour market policies
- incentives should be targeted on those most likely to move into the area, i.e. the young and highly skilled without children

Case study

Notting Hill Housing Trust construction training initiative

Since 1995 Notting Hill Housing Trust has operated a construction training scheme, offering opportunities for local employment and skills training. The scheme is offered to unemployed local people over 18. It offers support towards a college place; financial assistance with fees; free tools and equipment; professional advice and access to work placements.

Case study

Grahame Park community employment initiative

Notting Hill Housing Trust has established an initiative based in Grahame Park to enhance community employment. The scheme is offered to anyone who is unemployed over 18 and who lives on or near the estate. It offers professional careers advice; help with completing a CV; assisted job searches; help with completing application forms; training skills; access to telephone, stationery, internet and photocopying equipment and access to a voluntary work placement programme.

- the quality of schools is critical to location (Meen *et al.*, 2005: 64).

A successful scheme will have the ability to 'provide links between public agencies to deliver effective schools, childcare, play facilities, public spaces, community work and neighbourhood management' (Silverman *et al.*, 2005: 74). The factors needed for longer term sustainability include partnership and participation arrangements for *training, education and employment* initiatives.

Training opportunities represent a particular challenge and are essential to *capacity building* within mixed income schemes. As the leader of Barnet council commented in relation to Grahame Park: 'One of the biggest threats to all of us is actually skills shortages in the building trade'. Landlords may wish to consider partnership opportunities that offer added value activities or Housing Plus services such as providing amenities and facilities and ensuring effective education, health, security and other community support services.

Education initiatives should be given priority as the importance of high quality local schools is an essential feature of sustainable communities. Schools are seen as a crucial indicator of confidence in a community and are particularly important to 'newcomer' families. Confidence building can be undertaken through community outreach and involvement in pre-school childcare.

Where new schools are needed, they require careful inter-agency planning, including consideration of pupil composition, and links between school and housing allocations.

(Silverman et al., 2005: 73)

In areas of high unemployment an effective partnership to generate *employment opportunities* should follow from training schemes. Partnerships with local businesses and voluntary agencies to provide employment opportunities can help to avoid a situation where a distinction in economic activity occurs between owner occupiers and social rented tenants.

Partnerships in *health care* are also vital to ensuring sustainability. These might include the establishment of local health clinics and participation in decisions about health care provision from health workers, including community nurses, GP services and psychiatric services.

Despite the above comments on the importance of effective management in mixed income communities, it is important to acknowledge that some of the expectations relating to social cohesion may be unrealistic. As one resident commented:

I don't think there is a huge amount of mixing between the two [groups]...it's very difficult because it's how you dispel the resentments of those who don't have quite as much as someone else who is living near them....that's always a problem.

(Interview)

Despite the difficulty of ensuring social cohesion and mixing between groups an effective arrangement for partnership and participation will be a key factor in assisting the sustainability of a mixed income scheme.

Summary

This chapter has shown how effective partnership and participation arrangements can build on the principles of effective design, a clear vision and robust strategies for success. The crucial point is that these approaches must go hand-in-hand; the neglect of one will have a serious impact on the others. The key issues to consider are:

- negotiating and agreeing decisions about neighbourhoods in a spirit of shared understanding
- clarification of responsibilities and lines of communication from the outset
- acknowledging the importance of a local management presence in the long term
- recognising the added value offered by resident participation and community involvement
- ensuring that decision making is equitable, robust, transparent and flexible
- demonstrating a commitment to tenure neutrality and commonality of standards
- joint agreement and regular review of allocation policies; neighbourhood profiling to take place on a regular basis to ensure mix targets are maintained
- attention to the affordability of service charges and their distribution between tenures
- a clearly understood and jointly agreed strategy for tackling low-level crime and anti-social behaviour.



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Introduction

This guide has addressed the issue of how to develop mixed income sustainable communities using good practice nine case studies and recently published research on mixed income communities.

All the evidence suggests that, whilst there are many similar policy, financial, design and management considerations that need to be addressed, very different market conditions, housing needs and factors relating to scale and location will affect the approach that should be adopted in individual cases.

While there are many mixed income communities in Britain, particularly in cities, most have developed organically as a result of past housing policies (for example through municipalisation), small in-fill developments, tenure change in existing estates, or through Section 106 negotiations.

The difference in the recent attempt to develop mixed income sustainable communities is that this is an engineered process. It is propelled by national housing and planning guidelines with the specific aims of reducing concentrations of poverty and unemployment, and giving lower income households access to higher quality services found in mixed areas.

Through inserting public housing into private developments or by developing private sector housing on existing housing estates, the government hopes to engineer socially cohesive communities that, by virtue of being mixed, will not experience the levels of deprivation seen within some neighbourhoods where unemployment

and poverty, poor educational outcomes and poor health have combined to reduce life chances.

It is still early in the process of developing sustainable mixed communities to draw definitive conclusions about the way in which success can be guaranteed. Some of our case studies are less than five years old, and many of them are at an early stage of the development process. It is probably the case that the success or otherwise of these developments cannot be judged until they have been in place for at least 10 years.

Evidence from Bournville (Groves *et al.*, 2003) and the estates discussed by Allen *et al.* (2005) suggest that clear objectives and careful management can produce successful outcomes. It is also clear that there is enormous variation in practice, in terms of developing these communities, and some variation in the extent to which developers and public bodies have embraced the notion of sustainable mixed communities.

Nonetheless, it is apparent that some important lessons have already been learned about the process and practice of developing mixed income communities. Considerable thought has been given, in the best examples, to ways in which these communities can be helped to be sustainable.

There is a recognition that mistakes have been made in the past, both in private and in public sector housing, and many of these lessons have been taken into consideration in developing these new communities. It is generally accepted that



Residents should be able to participate fully in all stages of the development process.

the rapid development of council housing in the 1950s and 1960s led to the building of some estates that were isolated from city centres, lacking services and facilities and with poor transport provision – places that were difficult to let and difficult to live in, and had an adverse effect on the lives of their inhabitants (Power, 1987; Morris and Winn, 1990). David Page (1993) discovered that the development of housing association estates in the 1980s replicated similar mistakes to those made by local authority landlords. For example,

poor design and inadequate attention to management, maintenance and allocation policies resulted in high child densities and concentrations of low income and vulnerable groups. At the same time, private sector developments of relatively low cost housing for sale were being built without adequate services or facilities nearby.

Although there have been significant shifts in attitudes and policy towards achieving mixed developments, a number



Young children often encourage stronger links between different tenure and income groups.

of challenges remain to be addressed if high quality mixed developments are to become the norm rather than the exception.

Developing national policy guidance

The starting point should be clear policy guidance from central government on the broad policy objectives. What are the benefits of socially and economically mixed developments? What good practice exists in different locations and in different contexts? Which financial, planning and

development tools offer the best prospects for success? How and in which ways should planning briefs, housing needs assessments, development agreements and other mechanisms be applied? How can high quality design of housing, other services and the external environment be incorporated through the masterplanning and commissioning process?

National policy needs to provide clear objectives to all stakeholders without appearing to be over-prescriptive, while enabling innovative, locally relevant

proposals to be carried out. There should also be greater convergence between DCLG policy and that of leading national agencies such as English Partnerships and the Housing Corporation, so that all are using their various powers and financial resources to achieve an agreed set of objectives. One possible approach is to devise a public service agreement to ensure all parts of central government are working in the same direction.

There is also a good case for DCLG playing a promotional role in setting up a number of demonstration projects which set new standards of quality and sustainability, to which others can aspire. Also, in addition to publishing policy guidance, DCLG could sponsor teams of experts in finance, delivery structures and masterplanning, which could provide advice and guidance at the planning stage of development.

Funding mechanisms to achieve high quality mixed development

There are currently many public funding streams which contribute towards the delivery of integrated housing developments. Those of the DCLG, English Partnerships, and the Housing Corporation operate at the national level. In areas of deprivation there are many others, such as from local authorities, New Deal for Communities and local strategic partnerships. Increasingly, new special delivery vehicles such as urban development corporations, urban regeneration companies and housing market renewal agencies will be engaged in creating sustainable communities

throughout England. All these sources of subsidy need to be reviewed to ensure that they all contribute to an agreed set of objectives and that funding can be accessed more easily by the relevant stakeholders.

An important issue to be reviewed is whether different types of area and location require different solutions and funding mechanisms. Clearly the processes of intervention and development are very different in the diversification of a large, inner city council estate compared with constructing a new development on a greenfield site.

Engaging the private sector

There are many examples of innovative approaches being developed by the major housebuilders, and many have demonstrated a willingness to work closely with local authorities, housing associations and other agencies in order to deliver successful mixed developments. Others have proved more resistant to change and are less willing to work with local authorities and RSLs and to apply innovative solutions to the planning, design and financing of their developments. A clearer national policy framework and a more positive planning response to high quality developments may encourage more private sector developers to adopt the standards of the best.

Setting up collaborative arrangements between stakeholders

Evidence from our cases studies suggests that, increasingly, new development on both brownfield and greenfield sites is being provided by a broad range of agencies and stakeholders. Very often it is the local authority which provides strategic guidance through the preparation of local housing needs assessments and local development frameworks. RSLs and private developers are then selected and a complex negotiation process is entered into about the financing, mix, phasing and allocation and sales of the housing, infrastructure and other uses. Increasingly, the provision of health, community, shopping and other facilities are being integrated into development plans.

This process often takes many months, and in many cases several business and masterplans have to be produced before a viable solution is finally agreed which is acceptable to all parties. There is a strong argument for encouraging greater dialogue between stakeholders around fundamental issues of land assembly, tenure mix, density, layout and integration into the wider urban context in a particular locality or local authority area so that the broad strategic context is agreed before sites come forward for development. These might be called 'local development strategies'. It is also essential that a lead agency is identified early on which is able to co-ordinate the others by agreement. The lead agency might well vary in different situations according to which has the resources to provide leadership and which has a long-term

commitment to delivering a scheme of the highest quality.

These local development strategies should also engage with other service providers such as local schools and colleges (and education authorities where relevant), health trusts and other providers, the police authority and local retailers and employers to ensure that all services are capable of delivering quality services when new residents move into the area.

There also needs to be more emphasis on the delivery structures whereby stakeholders agree at an early stage the financial arrangements, performance criteria, distribution of risk and reward over time and longer term management arrangements. We argue that these considerations are as important as the masterplanning process but this is not always fully appreciated by housing associations and local government. Specialist advisers, such as PriceWaterhouseCoopers, offer this service at risk (this incurring no cost until the development is approved) and also provide advice on the tax implications of particular collaborative arrangements. The margins saved from effective financial planning can often be used to improve facilities on the development or to increase the proportion of affordable housing.

Ensuring development strategies are robust but flexible

It is inevitable that over time local housing market conditions, and levels of need, will change. Once development is under way it is essential that the consortium of stakeholders is able to remain committed to the original vision underlying the development, but is also able to make adjustments to the mix, density, range of house sizes and other factors in order to ensure that the development remains attractive to all categories of resident.

The viability of a development is a crucial factor. Viability is a concern to the private developer who will be primarily concerned with the costs and potential saleability of a development. Thus in inner city and central area developments, developers tend to favour one and two person units which, they argue, are more commercially attractive and produce a higher rate of return.

Developers will be particularly committed to smaller units if they are also asked to provide between 30–50 per cent affordable units as part of a Section 106 agreement. Viability is also an important issue for housing associations which are constrained by limitations of the Social Housing Grant. Increased flexibilities in the ways in which Housing Corporation funding can be used, for example in terms of room sizes, the provision of facilities and energy-saving adaptations, can significantly increase the long term sustainability of a development.

Thus if national policy is to encourage greater provision of family-sized units in inner and central area developments, there will need to be adjustments in the provision of affordable housing and contributions to infrastructure. This raises wider issues such as the extent to which middle income families can be persuaded to move back into inner and central locations (Silverman *et al.*, 2005).

Setting up strategic management systems

The case studies demonstrate the importance of ensuring flexible and robust management systems which effectively incorporate inclusive partnerships (regardless of tenure). The principle of tenure neutrality must underpin the approach to a sustainable mixed income community. On this basis schemes should adopt a uniformity of approach to management, to avoid stigmatisation and to ensure that common areas, facilities and amenities are maintained to a high quality. This neutrality should also apply to the administration of service charges.

While considerable attention has been devoted to the affordability of rent levels in new schemes, this debate about affordability has to date tended to ignore the impact of service charges (particularly within high density schemes). This issue requires attention at a government level (through the Barker proposals for a planning gain supplement), at the planning stage (for example in considering local authority adoption of public space) and in negotiations between service providers (whether public, private or voluntary sector).

The focus on effective partnership arrangements must not only include service providers but increasingly service users. The most effective schemes in the case studies were those which were able to incorporate a range of views, demonstrating not only a leadership role but also the capacity to include those most affected by decisions taken (i.e. the residents themselves). Support for community development trusts and arrangements for effective participation must be a prerequisite in the planning of any mixed income community.

Developing fair and equitable allocations priorities

In any development it is important to establish an effective balance between management imperatives and a commitment to meeting a wide spectrum of need, particularly in high demand areas. However, it is essential that households in the greatest need (including vulnerable groups) are not disadvantaged by the demands of sustainability. This will require a sensitive approach to local lettings policies, and flexible arrangements to ensure there is not an over-concentration of children or a disproportionate number of people with special care and support needs where resources to meet these needs may be limited.

There is evidence from many developments that, despite the commitment to creating fully mixed communities (by age, gender, ethnic origin, disability, income level and family size), there are a number of formal and

informal selection processes in operation for both social tenants, intermediate tenures and owner-occupiers. These may relate to a tenant's rent paying record, criminal record or other personal circumstances. In the case of owner-occupiers factors taken into account could include previous place of residence and local family or other connections. These methods of allocation and selection need to be reviewed to ensure that the broad principle of social and income mix is being adhered to and that they are non-discriminatory.

Investigating the long-term implications of mixed developments

Despite the large amount of research carried out on mixed neighbourhoods there remain significant gaps in our knowledge. In particular:

- How far does location influence the sustainability of a development?
- Which financial and management arrangements (delivery structures) are most likely to provide a good tenure mix, a high quality design and long-term sustainability?
- How important are the quality of schools, shops, health services and access to jobs to different tenure groups?
- What role can community development play in encouraging greater social interaction between tenure groups?
- What are the additional costs associated with mixed developments

and which stakeholders bear these costs?

- Are service charges and management costs greater in mixed developments and how are these costs distributed between tenures?
- Are there additional benefits which offset these additional costs, for example in the reduction of crime, improved educational attainment and lower levels of unemployment?
- What are the long-term trends in tenure change in different locations, for example an increase in owner-occupation, increase in buy to let, and large scale sub-letting of private housing to the local authority?

All the evidence suggests that successful mixed tenure and income developments *can* be achieved as part of a wider commitment to creating attractive, serviced and well-connected places to live.

This guide has focused on drawing out the best practice both from case studies and written sources. A great deal of evidence exists for 'what works' but this is not always immediately accessible to the practitioner. Our perspective has been that the housing development process is extremely complex, involves many stakeholders over long periods of time, and that successful outcomes require vision, imagination and a sound understanding of local conditions.

While the principles of mixed income and tenure developments are becoming more firmly established in national and local policies, our final plea is that these should not be taken for granted or treated as

national standards to be applied uniformly and without detailed consideration. If there is one message to arise from this report it is that the 'right' decisions need to be made at each stage of the process – planning; designing; agreeing the distribution of risk, responsibility and reward; development and long-term management. All have implications for each other and fundamental decisions made early on are very difficult, and expensive, to change at a later date.

Appendix I: The evidence base for mixed income developments

A good place for children? Attracting and retaining families in inner urban mixed income communities

E.Silverman, R.Lupton, A.Fenton

(Chartered Institute of Housing and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006)

Evaluates four new, inner city housing developments to find out how far families with children occupy the private housing and what motivates them to live there.

Approaches to community governance: Models for mixed tenure communities

M.Knox, D.Alcock, A.Roderick, J.Iles

(The Policy Press and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2002)

Considers governance mechanisms in various neighbourhoods, to identify models of local involvement that could be applied to mixed tenure areas.

Challenging perceptions: case studies of dispersed and mixed tenure new build housing

C.L.Andrews, W.Reardon Smith

(Sovereign Housing/Housing Corporation 2005)

Evaluates in depth four recent mixed tenure developments which are developer-led. Concludes with recommendations on tenure mix for key stakeholders.

Consultation paper on a new planning policy statement 3: Housing

ODPM

(ODPM 2005)

This is a revised version of PPG3 published for consultation purposes and

setting out national planning policy for England on housing.

Economic segregation in England: Causes, consequences and policy

G.Meen, K.Gibb, J.Goody, T.McGrath, J.Mackinnon

(Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2005)

Examines the social and economic trends on three mixed tenure estates to determine what are the key drivers and whether tenure changes are sustainable. Concludes with eight policy recommendations for achieving tenure mix.

Hulme Ten Years On: Draft Final Report to Manchester City Council

Centre for Sustainable Urban and Regional Futures (SURF)

(University of Salford 2002)

An evaluation of the redevelopment of Hulme from the 1990s onwards.

Improving the understanding of the influence of owner occupiers in mixed tenure neighbourhoods

T.Beekman, F.Lyons, J.Scott

(Scottish Homes 2001)

A review of mixed developments in Scotland which finds generally positive outcomes of mixing in terms of local services, educational performance, skills and employment and perceptions of the area.

In the mix: A review of mixed income, mixed tenure and mixed communities

R.Tunstall, A.Fenton

(Housing Corporation/English Partnerships/Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006)

Reviews the evidence base for achieving social, economic and environmental objectives through mixed communities.

Influencing the size, type and affordability of housing. Consultation paper of proposed changes to PPG3: Housing

ODPM

(ODPM 2003)

Suggests more detailed guidance for inclusion in a revised PPS 3.

Living together: Community life on mixed tenure estates

B.Jupp

(Demos 1999)

Explores the social aspects of mixed-tenure housing and concludes that social inter-mixing is more likely to take place in schools and streets. Tenure mix is not a particularly important issue for most residents.

Mixed communities in England: A US perspective on evidence and policy prospects

A.Berube

(Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2005)

A comparative study of mixed communities in the USA and UK which demonstrates that the reduction of neighbourhood effects of mono-tenure estates is an important objective.

Mixed tenure twenty years on – Nothing out of the ordinary

C.Allen, M.Camina, R.Casey, S.Coward, M.Wood

(Chartered Institute of Housing and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2005)

Examines the experiences of professionals, adults and children in three neighbourhoods that were created as mixed tenure communities over 20 years ago. These have produced what residents see as 'ordinary' communities with very little tenure prejudice.

More than tenure mix: Developer and purchaser attitudes to new housing estates

R.Rowlands, A.Murie, A.Tice

(Chartered Institute of Housing and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2006)

Explores the arguments that mixed tenure developments are difficult to deliver, developers are unenthusiastic about them and that people buying new homes do not want to live on mixed estates.

Neighbourhood agreements in action: A case study of Foxwood, York

I.Cole, E.McCoulough, J.Southworth

(Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2000)

Examines the use of 'estate contracts' or neighbourhood agreements as a way of promoting resident involvement in management. Such agreements can offer greater transparency, accountability and more effective resource allocation.

Neighbourhoods that work: A study of the Bournville estate, Birmingham

R.Groves, A.Middleton, A.Murie,

K.Broughton. (The Policy Press and Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2003)

Demonstrates that tenure mix is just one aspect which promotes attractive, well-designed places to live. Schools, the internal design of homes, and the quality of the external environment are also important.

Planning for housing provision: Consultation paper for proposed changes to PPG3: Housing

ODPM

(ODPM 2005)

Suggests ways in which the planning system can increase housing land supply by being more responsive to the market.

Planning for mixed communities: Consultation paper on proposed change to PPG3: Housing

ODPM

(ODPM 2005)

Proposes, as an alteration to PPG3, additional guidance on how to increase the choice of size and tenure in new mixed tenure developments.

Planning policy guidance note 3: Housing

ODPM

(ODPM 2002)

The Government's statement of policy on housing. A revised draft of PPS3 has been published for consultation.

Rebalancing communities: Introducing mixed incomes into existing rented housing estates

G.Martin and J.Watkinson

(Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2003)

Reviews the experience of RSLs which have taken some initiative to rebalance tenures on single-tenure estates. Also evaluates the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust's SAVE programme in York.

Safer places: The planning system and crime prevention

Llewelyn-Davies

(ODPM/Home Office 2004)

Sets out good practice in designing out crime as part of the broader aim of achieving housing quality and sustainable communities.

Sustainable communities: Building for the future

ODPM

(ODPM 2003)

Sets out the Government's strategy for improving the quality and the supply of housing in England.

Sustainable communities: Homes for all: A five year plan from the ODPM 2005 and Sustainable communities: People, places and prosperity

ODPM

(ODPM 2005)

Provides a five year plan for housing and the development of sustainable communities.

The effectiveness of estate agreements: A new arrangement for tenant participation

A. Steele, P. Somerville, G. Galvin

(University of Salford 1995)

Advocates the use of estate agreements to increase resident involvement in housing management. Involving both formal and informal arrangements the agreements are flexible and jointly negotiated covering standards of service and future priorities.

The urban design compendium

Llewelyn-Davies

(English Partnerships/Housing Corporation 2000)

One of the best good practice guides to improving the quality of design in a variety of urban contexts. A major section deals with improving the layout and integration of new housing into its wider context.

Towards a strong urban renaissance

Urban Task Force

(Urban Task Force 2005)

Sets out the Task Force's current assessment of urban policy and makes recommendations on ways to promote the quality of design in growth areas such as the Thames Gateway.

Towards an urban renaissance

*Urban Task Force
(E and FN Spon 1999)*

Detailed investigation into all aspects of urban policy together with over 100 recommendations. Well designed, high density mixed communities are strongly advocated.

Visionary leadership in housing

*M. Simpson, R. Lucas, B. Blackaby, S. Davis
(CIH/LGA, 2005)*

Argues that a renaissance of the local authority's strategic housing role is needed which is different from the past and makes recommendations for a new national framework to deliver this enhanced role.

What price sustainability? Keeping service charges affordable in mixed tenure high density developments

*HACASI/ Chapman Hendy
(Moat Housing Group et al. 2004)*

Explores ways of limiting service charge costs for affordable housing residents in mixed tenure developments.

Appendix II: Case studies

Attwood Green, Birmingham

Attwood Green is the new name for Lee Bank, Benmore, Woodview, Cleveland, Clydesdale Towers and the Five Ways Estate lying to the south of Birmingham city centre. The estates were almost entirely in council ownership and were uniformly residential, apart from three local shopping centres, a health centre and three schools. A large proportion of people were benefit-dependent, car ownership was low and at least 65 per cent of school children were eligible for free school meals. Although many of the flats were in high rise blocks, they were set in a 'parkland' setting with large amounts of open space.

In December 1997 the council submitted a bid for Estates Renewal Challenge Fund (ERCF), based on the assumption that it would be transferred to a Registered Social Landlord. In 1998 the government approved the bid and offered a grant of £46.6m conditional on a ballot of tenants to be held in 1998. Tenants voted in favour of the transfer to a newly formed RSL, Optima Community Association. At the time it was estimated that the ERCF grant would access a further £30m from the RSL and £30m of private investment for housing and commercial uses. The £46.6m from the ERCF was to be used to demolish at least 900 substandard properties and included £4.48m to go towards open space and community projects.

The assumptions underlying the development strategy were that densities would be increased, mixed uses would be introduced and private housing would be constructed to balance the already high levels of social housing (in excess of 80 per cent). The housing department carried out a feasibility study which recommended that at least 1,200 units could be built in the area. The better quality housing would be retained and refurbished and the worst would be demolished. Crest Nicholson Residential (Midlands) was the developer and they signed an agreement with Optima and the council. Most of the site has been transferred from the council to Optima and a profit-sharing arrangement is in operation with Crest Nicholson. Proceeds go into the local infrastructure and services.

The main focus of the redevelopment is the former Lee Bank estate, which is being marketed as Park Central. TM2, architects, were commissioned to prepare a revised master plan and, after a split in TM2, Gardner Stewart is the sole architectural practice for the scheme. From the proposed seven stages of development, the first three completed are at an average density of 155 housing units per hectare. The proposed uses on the 24 hectare Park Central site are:

- 14 commercial units, two supermarkets, one hotel and a multi-purpose community centre

- 1,596 one-, two- and three-bed private apartments, 622 with parking spaces
- 78 affordable apartments, 31 with parking spaces
- 250 social rented houses with gardens
- 77 two-, three- and four-bed private town houses
- 147 affordable town houses
- 8 live-work units.

Attwood Green is a mixed development in terms of uses and tenures. Much of the better quality housing has been retained with new development facing onto the main roads and a newly landscaped park in the centre of the development. Attwood Green was the overall winner of the Deputy Prime Minister's Award for Sustainable Communities in 2005.

Caterham Village, Caterham, Surrey

The development is close to Caterham on the Hill, 20 miles south of London, close to the M25. It is seven miles from Croydon and 15 miles from Gatwick airport. Caterham Village was originally developed as an army barracks at the end of the 19th century. Two-thirds of the 57 acre site was designated as a Conservation Area in 1996 and the site was bought from the Ministry of Defence in 1997 by Linden Homes. John Thompson and Partners were commissioned in January 1998 to instigate a community participation

process and to prepare a masterplan for the site. Guinness Trust was selected as the Registered Social Landlord. Outline planning approval was granted by Tandridge District Council in June 1999 with the proposals delivered through a six-phase programme for completion in 2006.

The 57 acre site was purchased on the basis of a draft development brief which proposed employment and recreation uses and only a small amount of housing. The developer (Linden Homes) considered this was too restrictive and the planners and developers took the decision to consult the public again, 'with the intention of involving the community much more fully in the decision making process, and of securing council support for a broader scheme'.

The master plan for the site had two main aims: first, to apply the principles of an urban village to create a balanced community with a mix of uses. Second, to create a sense of place through high quality design, incentives for new business, the provision of low cost housing and community facilities, and the preservation of historic buildings and heritage. The scheme was substantially completed in 2003. The site comprised a total of 366 housing units (70 per cent of which were 2- and 3-bedroom properties) plus 24 sheltered housing units and 60 units provided from the conversion of the original buildings. 102 units were affordable housing properties (27.5 per cent of the total). The Guinness Trust was also closely involved in the initial planning decisions and in the agreement

that 27.5 per cent of the properties should be social housing.

These affordable properties comprised:

- 75 social rented flats and houses
- 19 shared ownership flats
- 8 single person units for 'move on' accommodation
- a 60 bed nursing home for Anchor Trust
- a single dwelling for five disabled persons.

Many of the original buildings have been re-used. There are open spaces, mature trees and extensive landscaping. There are numerous facilities and amenities, including: a Tesco supermarket; a nursing home, a cricket pitch, health club, skate park, a GP, a vets, a small business centre (enterprise hub), a restaurant and proposals for a separate arts centre and further sports and leisure facilities.

Grahame Park, North London

Situated in Colindale in the London borough of Barnet, the Grahame Park estate was originally developed in 1910 as an airfield and aircraft factory. The first housing was built in 1968. The estate comprises 1,777 properties – of which 1,365 are council owned and 412 are privately owned – together with 13 retail units, in a site containing over 18 hectares of open space.

Grahame Park is part of a larger regeneration programme in the Colindale

area. The estate adjoins a vacant hospital site and a metropolitan police centre, both of which are due for redevelopment. The neighbourhood also forms part of four comprehensive regeneration schemes in the borough. The other estates are Cricklewood (5,000 homes), West Hendon (which will increase from 600 to 2,100 homes), and Stonegrove Spur Road at Edgware (which will increase from 600 to 1,375 homes).

The regeneration scheme originated in 1999 with an acknowledgement by the local authority that the estate was failing and an estimate that repair and maintenance work would cost around £80m. This development of 2,800 homes is an exclusively private-led scheme, comprising 42 per cent affordable housing, of which 16 per cent is for social renting, 8 per cent for shared ownership and the remainder comprises what is termed a 'discount market' (for example entry point workers' studios). The developer, St. George, is constructing properties within the price range of £190,000 for one-bedroom flats to £370,000 for two-bedroom penthouse apartments.

In 2001 architects Levitt Bernstein were commissioned to produce a masterplan with the intention of providing around 3,000 properties and to reverse the tenure mix, so that the proportion would be approximately one-third social rented to two-thirds privately owned. A consortium, called Choices for Grahame Park, was set up in 2002. Two housing associations are involved (Genesis and Notting Hill Housing Trust). An interim partnership board was established in 2003 comprising: Choices for Grahame Park; Countryside

Properties plc; residents' representatives and local authority members and officers.

Outline planning approval was gained in September 2004; local authority approval of the terms of the regeneration and the first demolitions took place in 2005. Building work is due to continue until 2015. The scheme involves the following:

- phased demolition of 1,300 homes and community buildings and the construction of 3,000 new mixed tenure homes in a traditional street lay-out
- replacement of old Concourse with new village green and shops
- re-provision of major community facilities including library, community centre and nursery day centre
- new civic and retail centre complementing a private sector development at RAF East Camp
- 5,000 new homes to be constructed by 2012.

Finance for the regeneration of Grahame Park was primarily to be achieved through surpluses raised by the sale of over 2,000 properties. A key feature of the development is that no government grant is available, so new housing must be built for private sale to pay for the new development as a whole. The total cost of the scheme is anticipated to be in the region of £400m.

Hulme, Manchester

Hulme is a neighbourhood in south east Manchester, less than a mile from the city

centre. The area went into decline and between 1962 and 1972 underwent major redevelopment, when all the terraced housing was bulldozed and replaced by 5,000 new dwellings. The majority of these were deck access and Hulme was renowned for being Britain's largest system built estate. Hulme suffered from many of the problems of modern council housing estates of that period. The multi-storey crescent blocks presented huge problems in terms of management, were hard to let and suffered from structural problems.

In 1991 the council owned 91 per cent of the land and 98 per cent of the housing properties. Diversification of tenure and the introduction of a private sector housing market was a key priority. In order to make the area attractive for private sector development, it was recognised that all the crescents had to be demolished first and replaced with new, high quality social housing. Following the introduction of new private sector housing the programme would move on to replacing the district shopping centre, which was located on the border of Hulme where it joined Moss Side. Following that, efforts would be made to attract major new commercial employers into the area.

The first phase of Hulme's regeneration was managed and funded through the City Challenge programme which provided £35.5m of government grant. Other public sector monies were also directed towards Hulme with funds from the Department of Transport, the regional health authority and the European Commission. By the end of the City Challenge programme in 1997 the

public sector had committed £65.3m to the area. The development process was aided by securing a private sector partner, the construction company AMEC, early in the bidding process. Two RSLs, Northern British HA and the Guinness Trust, were appointed as development agents.

By the end of the City Challenge programme, 3,016 units of unfit council housing had been demolished, 874 council dwellings had been improved, and 1,000 housing associations units had been completed. Only 214 private sector dwellings had actually been finished but 1,151 were expected to be complete by 1999. This included 564 student flats and 48 privately rented flats. Bellway was the first of the private developers to build in Hulme. Moss Side and Hulme Partnership was set up in 1997 and funded by SRB, Capital Challenge and European funding. Over £400m of private and public sector investment has been levered into the area. By July 2001, over 2,000 new homes for sale or rent had been created in addition to three new public parks, the formation of a new business and office development site, a new bridge and a new ASDA superstore. The ongoing development of Hulme is now being overseen by the council-led South Manchester Regeneration Team.

Rebuilding the City: A guide to Development in Hulme was published in 1994. This guidance amplified the masterplan that set out an overall development framework. The guide suggests that Hulme should not be redeveloped as a series of suburban style 'estates' or enclaves but that it should form a seamless web of streets and spaces that integrate Hulme with its hinterland and the city centre. The density was set

at 75–87 dwellings per hectare. Mixed uses were proposed together with the re-instatement of Stretford Road as the high street through the northern part of Hulme. A lower level of car usage was envisaged and the principle of fronting dwellings onto the street to promote an urban character with ‘natural surveillance’ was upheld. The design guidance also made proposals with regard to energy sustainability, visual identity and the provision of a ‘legible’ street pattern. The guidance allowed for considerable variation between blocks and in fact encouraged innovation. Because of the phasing, the tenures are disposed in different grid blocks throughout Hulme, with some larger tranches of RSL housing, as in the Guinness Trust’s developments which are outside the main area of Hulme. The SURF report (2002) notes that Land Registry figures demonstrate that the average increase in property prices between 1998 and 2001 was higher (49 per cent) in Hulme than in Greater Manchester as a whole (29 per cent).

Kings Hill, West Malling

West Malling in Kent is seven miles from Maidstone, and about 75 miles from central London. The Kings Hill development began with the building of a business park on the former airfield in the late 1980s. The development is described as ‘a quality mixed use development of approximately 263 hectares with outline consent for 185,805 sq m of office and business space, and approximately 65,032 sq m occupied by over 100 businesses, with a residential community with consent for 2,600 homes – 1,390 are now occupied and around 354 under construction’.

The development partners are Liberty Property Trust Ltd (formerly Rouse Kent), Kent County Council and Russet Homes. Described as a collaborative public/private partnership, the development began in the late 1980s. The masterplan was developed by Rouse Kent Ltd using local architects Clague. According to www.buildingforlife.org, the original masterplan was superseded and this resulted in the removal of all cul-de-sacs and the road layout becoming more organic. In addition, the development was required to have a village centre in order to meet the requirements of the local plan.

Phase 1 of the residential development was completed in 2005; Phase 2 (the final anticipated phase) will complete by 2011. 100 units of affordable housing are located in five phases around the site with another 150 (out of 750) projected for the next stage of the development. The mix was 50 per cent for rent, 50 per cent shared ownership in the first stage and will be 75 per cent rent, 25 per cent shared ownership in the next stage. The site also accommodates an 18-hole golf course, an ASDA store, a retail development, which includes cafes, restaurants, hairdresser, beautician, estate agents, building society, a medical centre, a campus of the University of Greenwich, two primary schools and a day nursery.

Kings Hill provides a range of house types from apartments to detached family homes, affordable housing and a variety of urban forms including high density development in the central area. It also has housing which provides the opportunity to accommodate differing housing needs and to create a diverse community, for example accommodating

the needs of the elderly, single person households and lower income families. The average site density is 30 houses per hectare.

New Gorbals, Glasgow

In the 19th century the Gorbals was a high density, tenemented neighbourhood lying close to the southern bank of the River Clyde. The Crown Street Regeneration Project was formed in 1990 made up of a partnership between the Glasgow Development Agency, Glasgow City Council, Scottish Homes and the local community. The long-term aim of the project was to make the Gorbals an attractive area where people wanted to live in a balanced and sustainable community, to boost the local economy and to integrate the new development into the social, economic and physical fabric of the city.

The urban design competition was won by CZWG Architects who worked closely with residents to develop the masterplan. The aim of the masterplan was to create high quality housing for a mixed community, to promote the full range of services and jobs, and to ‘stitch’ the new development into its urban context. The masterplan proposed; almost 1,000 new houses: 75 per cent for sale; 25 per cent for rent; a new business centre; a new local shopping centre based on the former Crown Street; a budget hotel; some small local office accommodation; student housing; light industrial units and a new local park.

The original vision of the masterplan has been successfully maintained with

most development being carried out in a built form which recreates the traditional Glasgow tenement. In most cases the squares are designed as a single entity with one side of a square development being constructed as social housing and the other three sides in private ownership. The central court is landscaped and is shared by all residents. A number of new parks and leisure facilities have been integrated in the area.

The masterplan proposed dividing the area into manageable development packages for phased release. Each package is procured through developer/architect competitions based on detailed urban design briefs and fixed land prices. In the early stages developers bid for a subsidy from the Scottish Development Agency in order to make the development viable. The first phase of the development began in 1992 and was carried out by two consortia: Miller Partnerships with the Holmes Partnership (architects) and Wimpey Homes with Cooper Cromar Associates (architects). Two further packages involved 61 houses for rent constructed by the New Gorbals Housing Association (NGHA). These developments together created two new street blocks (Ballater Gardens and Errol Gardens) and also included eight new ground floor shops fronting Crown Street. A competition in 1994 for phase two was won by Tay Homes with Hypostyle Architects and included 70 homes for sale and 44 socially rented houses provided by the New Gorbals Housing Association.

The Crown Street Regeneration Project partnership has been replaced by the New Gorbals Housing Association as

the main implementation agency. The NGHA has also taken on a wider role in managing and developing housing in four other adjoining areas: Hutchesontown, Gorbals East, Queen Elizabeth Square and Waddel Court. In total 1,157 private units have been completed or are proposed compared with 715 socially rented units and 31 in shared ownership. In addition, 1,015 homes are rented from the Glasgow Housing Association (GHA), 57 are owned through the Right to Buy from GHA, 618 have been modernised by NGHA, 230 have been acquired through the Right to Buy from NGHA and 40 are privately rented. This indicates that a total of 2,348 units are socially rented out of a total of 3,863 homes – approximately 61 per cent. Different tenures are integrated in the New Gorbals developments on a block basis with normally one side of a four-sided square being socially rented.

In the early phases a subsidy was available to the developer of private housing in the form of GRO-grant provided by the Scottish Development Agency. This was a form of gap-funding to bridge the difference between development costs and sales value. Also, in the early phases there was a Priority Purchase Scheme where discounts were offered to potential purchasers with local connections. Approximately a third of owners used this scheme. Portable discounts of £10,000 are also available to previous council tenants who want to purchase in the area. Research by the city council shows that property prices in the New Gorbals have risen faster than the Glasgow average.

The Ocean Estate, East London

Ocean Estate, built between 1949 and 1960, is located in central Stepney less than a mile away from the City and Canary Wharf. It houses 6,500 people in 2,000 homes, of which 1,400 are in local authority ownership. Around 400 homes have been purchased under the RTB and the balance is managed by RSLs. The layout and design of the estate together with inadequate maintenance, infestation and overcrowding have created many problems, some of which are: lower health standards, difficulties in learning at home coupled with low self esteem, fear of crime and high levels of drug abuse. High rates of unemployment and poor performances at school are among other deprivation indicators. The Ocean Estate has been the subject of several attempts at regeneration, most recently under the New Deal for Communities (Ocean NDC), but it remains one of the most deprived neighbourhoods in England.

The development partners are London Borough of Tower Hamlets, local residents, Ocean NDC, Sanctuary Housing Association (SHA), together with lead consultants PRP architects and Frost Associates. The Government Office for London and ODPM were consulted to determine the recommended option as the proposal went through phases of amendments to reach a financially viable one. The 'business plan', developed by PRP architects and Frost associates describes the masterplan as 'a realisable financial model in which all stakeholders can have confidence and to ensure the support of residents, public and private

sector funders'. The business plan will only become operational after council tenants vote in favour of the stock transfer to Sanctuary Housing Association. The ballot has been deferred from the autumn of 2005 to the summer of 2006.

A total of 659 rented homes in 47 blocks will be refurbished to 'decent homes' standard and 440 affordable rented and 103 leaseholder homes in 15 blocks will be demolished. The new build will be for 440 new affordable rented homes, 103 new homes for affordable home ownership and 714 new homes for private sale to diversify tenure and to provide a cross-subsidy. Under the original masterplan produced in 2002, 748 flats were to be demolished and replaced with 1,150 new homes with 190 new homes for private sale. However, the business plan for stock transfer proposal indicated that an additional subsidy of £115m was necessary which the ODPM could not support. The objectives for the project had to be revised again in order to achieve 'decent homes' standards. The balance of affordable and private housing also had to be changed to include more private housing (714 units), requiring further amendments to the masterplan.

The Ocean Estate currently accommodates a high proportion of residents from minority ethnic groups and has high levels of unemployment and ill health. The estate contains a wide variety of housing sizes and types, from pre-war walk-up flats to high quality town houses with gardens. The site includes a canal which fronts onto the recently renovated Mile End Park. If the regeneration plan is implemented, much will depend on young single and

two person households being attracted to the area because of its proximity to the City of London and Canary Wharf. This will enable much-needed improvements to be carried out to the social rented housing through redevelopment and refurbishment. Leaseholders will be required to fund improvements to their own properties.

Royal Quays, North Shields

The 80 hectare Royal Quays development in North Shields is on the north bank of the River Tyne. With the decline of traditional industries in the area land on the banks of Tyne and Wear became derelict, alongside severe economic problems. Tyne and Wear was exhibiting many aspects of decay at the time with little business investment. Tyne and Wear Development Corporation (TWDC), a government appointed body, was the key partner responsible for the development to regenerate 2,428 hectares of land alongside 30 miles of the Tyne river bank. EDAW acted as master planners for the scheme. Homes Housing Association developed the affordable and special needs housing and three private developers were involved in the private housing.

Royal Quays was developed as a mixed use scheme with new homes, jobs and leisure facilities to uplift the economy and the environment in an area spreading beyond the site. The project was completed in 1998 at a cost of £260m. The development progressed alongside extensive community development activity and confidence-building, providing mixed tenure housing, leisure facilities in Wet'n' Wild, a Morrison's

factory outlet, a shopping centre, and industrial floorspace providing employment and training opportunities for local people.

The unique topography forming a giant amphitheatre around the Albert Edward Dock was one of the major site opportunities for the development. Two parks, Chirton Dene and Redburn Dene, have been created around this, and both are popular with residents and visitors. There are 1,200 new homes, 300 of which are affordable housing for rent and shared ownership developed and managed by Homes Housing Association. The special needs housing is developed to meet 'Lifetime homes' standards and is managed by Habinteg Housing Association. The balance of 900 private homes was developed by three developers, Leech, Cussins and Bellway Homes. The houses vary in design and size, ranging from bungalows, flats and terraced houses to detached homes.

The densities are around 30–40 units per hectare with the social housing at the lower end of this range. The initial market for the private development was identified as being at the cheaper end of the market. Phase 1 of the scheme proved to be successful with rapid sales of homes, contrary to the national housing market trends at the time. Subsequent phases attracted developers willing to build houses for the middle and upper ends of the market.

Upton, Northampton

Upton is situated in the designated south west development area of Northampton,

and forms Phase 1 of the local plan proposals for the area which will include 5,000 homes, 280,000 sq m of industrial space, a country park and associated services and facilities. Upton is on a 43 hectare greenfield site owned by English Partnerships. It has outline planning permission for up to 1,200 homes and 280,000 sq m of industrial space.

The key agencies involved are: English Partnerships as the landowner, Northampton Borough Council as the planning and housing authority, EDAW which leads a consortium to produce the masterplan, and The Prince's Foundation. Upton is divided into eight sites, 'varying in size and development capacity so that large and small developers can participate in the process'. When a developer tenders for the work on each site, they must identify an RSL partner and both then work with the Upton Working Group to bring the plan to fruition. This process is described in the following terms: 'the land is owned by English Partnerships, working with Northampton Borough Council, The Prince's Foundation and EDAW to bring forward the area as an example of how large-scale development projects can adopt sustainable principles of urban growth'.

The requirements for the development are stated in the Design Code as 'achieving social diversity (critical mass, diverse dwelling types and tenure mix, indistinguishable affordable housing, mix of uses, area wide integration); environmental sustainability (BREEAM excellent, SUDS); long-term biodiversity (enhance local ecology); local identity (distinctive local character); liveability

(accessible public transport, well-connected open space network, legible design, resident management).....[with a] range of dwelling types to suit people of different incomes and at different stages of their lives'.

A total of 400 homes have planning consent and around 200 have been completed. Of these, 22 per cent will be 'affordable' (for rent and shared ownership). These are pepperpotted in the development with no more than three social housing houses together and no more than four social housing apartments next to one another.

Shenley Lodge Developments (now Paul Newman Homes) was selected in November 2003 as the preferred developer for the first 3.7 hectare development site (Site A). The site has just over 200 homes, including a mix of higher density townhouses and apartments as well as semi-detached and detached homes and includes 22 per cent of affordable homes. The private housing is in three courts, Ashby, Brixworth and Kirby Row (92 properties). Servite Houses has 14 properties for shared ownership distributed throughout the site.

The developers for site B are Fairclough Homes and Cornhill Estates; Leicester HA is the RSL. Plans for site C have been approved. The development is being carried out by Cornhill Estates at a density of 35 dwellings per hectare.

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Mixed tenure, twenty years on

Nothing out of the ordinary

Chris Allen, Margaret Camina, Rionach Casey, Sarah Coward and Martin Wood

Mixed tenure features strongly in current policy yet there have been no studies of long-established estates which were originally built on these principles. This study fills that gap, looking at three estates designed with tenure mix in mind and which are now 'mature' and can show whether the benefits are real or illusory.

Case studies of mixed tenure also often focus on adults' attitudes and miss those of children and young people – yet the benefits of mixed schooling (for example) are acknowledged by educationalists.

By looking at established estates from younger as well as older residents' perspectives, this topical study fills two important gaps in our knowledge and makes an important contribution to the debate on how to achieve more sustainable communities.

Amongst the conclusions reached in this report are:

- There is a clear case to be made for mixed tenure. Areas with a limited social range of residents, housing design similarities and a comprehensively-planned environment help to produce civilised communities and a relative absence of tenure prejudice. Mixed tenure might therefore be a useful policy tool to prevent anti-social behaviour.
- Well-planned mixed tenure developments are better able to offer support to extended family networks and this is important both for divorced and separated people who form new families and for inter-generational support.

The study is an important addition to the evidence about mixed tenure and should be considered by all those planning 'sustainable' communities – for whom the long-term outcomes should be as important as any immediate results.

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A good place for children?

Attracting and retaining families in inner urban mixed income communities

Emily Silverman, Ruth Lupton and Alex Fenton

This important report presents a challenging mix of debate and findings about how mixed income new communities (MINCs) are working for families. This has a number of implications for government, local authorities and RSLs, housebuilders and the providers of local public services.

In particular, it poses policy and practice questions regarding:

- The mix of housing types needed to ensure that families can be attracted to – and then retained in – MINCs.
- The costs of achieving income mix.
- The importance of an attractive and safe physical environment and social infrastructure of schools, community facilities and services.
- How can social mixing be achieved?

The research team focused on four MINCs, where an income and social mix of market-rate families together with families living in affordable housing was part of the vision for a sustainable community.

- Two of them, Hulme in Manchester and New Gorbals in Glasgow, remodelled existing social housing areas.
- The other two, Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village in London were wholly new, and built on brownfield sites.

There is currently great enthusiasm for planning for income mix in new housing developments in order to achieve more sustainable communities.

Key messages from the report include:

- MINCs lack affordable and/or well-designed family-sized homes.
- MINCs could be made to work better for family households and, in so doing, could have a valuable part to play in the revitalisation of Britain's inner cities.
- Place-making rather than housebuilding needs to be part of the vision.

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More than tenure mix

Developer and purchaser attitudes to new housing estates

Rob Rowlands, Alan Murie and Andrew Tice

As social mix has become central to government policy, this report examines the delivery of mix through housing tenure on new housing estates. It particularly focuses on developer attitudes to producing mix and to the experiences of purchasers in living on these estates. The report poses a number of policy and practice questions regarding:

- What is tenure mix and what is its connection to social and income mix.
- The attitudes of private house builders to developing mixed tenure estates.
- The experiences of households in non-social housing on mixed tenure estates.
- The extent to which mixing tenure affects property prices.
- The ingredients which contribute to successful and sustainable new housing estates.

The research utilised interviews with national house builders, seven case study estates and a social survey of non-social residents in five estates. In all of the estates, a form of tenure mix had been employed to meet wider objectives including the provision of affordable housing, rebalancing of the local housing market and to create social mix.

Mixed tenure aims not only to achieve social mix, but also to promote interaction within communities. It depends on the planning system, which determines numbers and outputs, but the desired outcome is a qualitative improvement in community life.

Against this background, the key messages in the report include:

- Mixing tenure cannot deliver social or income mix on its own.
- Developers accept that mixed tenure is unavoidable and many want to work towards a better solution.
- Purchasers accept that mixed tenure is inevitable in all neighbourhoods.
- The role of the private rented sector is misunderstood by policy makers.
- Qualitative approaches must be adopted if estates are to be successful.

These publications can be ordered from the Chartered Institute of Housing, Octavia House, Westwood Way, Coventry CV4 8JP, Telephone: 024 7685 1700. They can also be downloaded from the CIH website (www.cih.org.uk) and the JRF website (www.jrf.org.uk).

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