

HOUSING AND IMPROVEMENT
a comparative study
Britain-Denmark

Volume II

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Chapter Eight + Housing in Urban Renewal Areas

8.1. Preface

In Chapter 5, a general overview of the conditions in Danish urban renewal areas was provided, as a frame of reference for the British reader. This chapter is supposed to fulfil the same task for the Danish reader, providing him with a background on which the recommendations in the context of this study should be seen.

A comparison was made between Denmark, England and Scotland in Chapter 5. This description will be further detailed in this chapter, to a degree which is sufficient and necessary in the context of this study.

The question of housing provision will be discussed, here especially the British HAs and their role in housing policy in general.

8.2. Housing in urban renewal areas

The housing stock

In a consideration of the most common house types in Britain, it is necessary to consider England and Scotland separately.

As seen in Chapter 5, there are distinct differences between the housing stock and its standard and condition in the two countries. In England, nearly two-thirds of all dwellings are semi-detached or terraced houses, while in Scotland, there are a large number of both flats and terraced houses, with flats found mainly in the larger cities.¹ On average, half the dwellings in England and Scotland do not have central heating, while only relatively few households do not have a bath and an internal WC. These dwellings are in Scotland predominantly flats, and in England semi-detached and terraced houses.² The need for repairs in England is mainly a problem of buildings in private renting and in owner-occupation, while surveys in Scotland seems to indicate that of the Scottish buildings, Glasgow tenements were in the relatively worst state of repair.³

An analysis based on the 1971 Census indicates that the majority of sub-standard dwellings in England and Wales lay outside

potential HAAs;^{4,5} a fact which has been supported by other researchers. The fact that a certain proportion of sub-standard dwellings are scattered around, is confirmed in various cities, i.e. Edinburgh, where 2,000 out of 13,000 sub-standard dwellings lay outside declared and potential HAAs⁶ - let alone dwellings with repair problems.

In 1976, 4.6 per cent of the English dwellings were assessed to be unfit, a figure which is increasing, while in Scotland, only 2.8 per cent of the building stock are dwellings below tolerable standard. 7

An English HAA would typically include a few streets of pre-1919 terraced houses with back extensions and corner shops, while a Scottish HAA would typically contain a block of tenements with four storeys, two or three flats on each landing and shops on the ground floor.⁸

In order to get a further impression of the housing stock in British urban renewal areas, a report from the Centre of Urban and Regional Studies (CURS) on HAAs provides some valuable information.⁹ The report concentrates around six HAAs in England, three in the London area and three in provincial cities. Apart from the fact that two of these areas mainly contained flats, and four houses, the statistics selected for presentation in the CURS study reveals that HAA variation is considerable, both in terms of tenure, housing standard and condition, household type and socio-economic group; therefore, no attempts will be made in describing an 'average' HAA.

However, in order to illustrate the 'typical' HAAs in the inner city areas with flats, and in a provincial town, with terraced housing, two HAAs from the CURS study will be further described in the following.

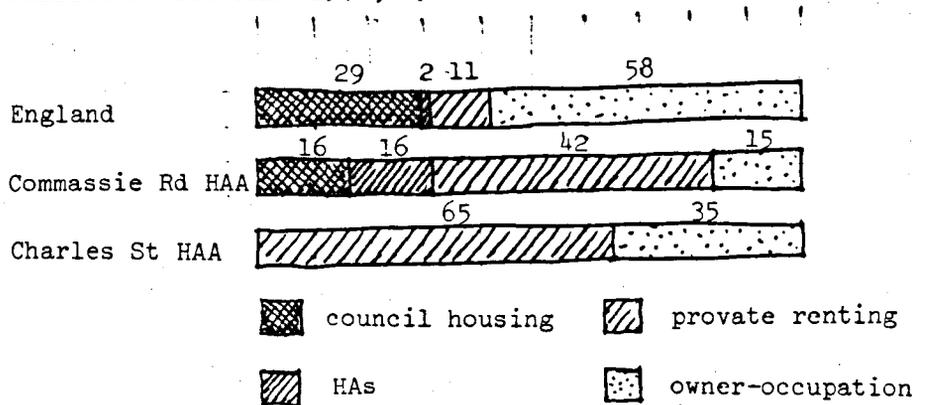
- the Coomassie Road North HAA in the City of Westminster in London contained 156 three-storey properties and 314 households. Almost half the households lacked a bath and a further quarter shared one; only 28 properties were considered to be satisfactory in terms of facilities at the time of declaration.¹⁰
- the Charles Street HAA, Bolden Colliery, South Tyneside,

contained 443 dwellings, the majority being flats in two-storey terraces. No households shared amenities, but 69 per cent of the households lacked a bath and 74 per cent a hot water supply.¹¹

In terms of tenure, the two HAAs varied profoundly from the national average:

30

Distribution of tenure. England, Commassie Road HAA, Charles Street HAA. 1976, 1980.



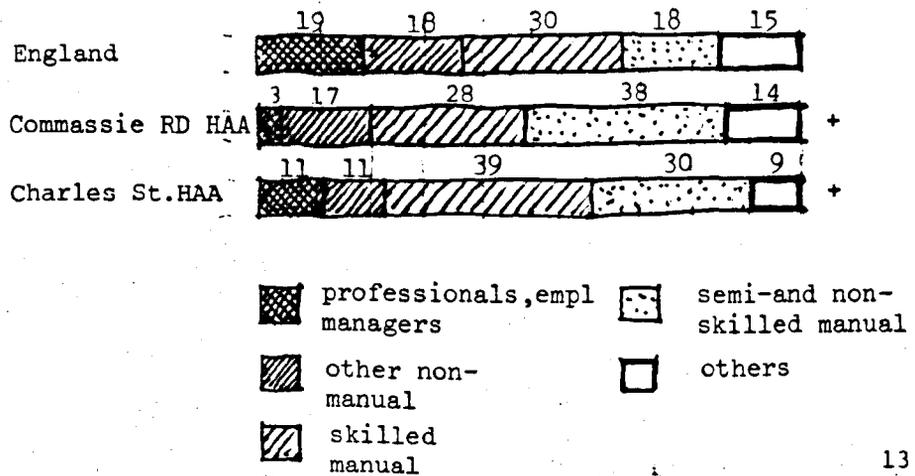
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In both areas, the proportion of dwellings in private renting is considerably higher than in England in general, probably reflecting the underlying priorities in designation for housing improvement of privately rented properties. The difference in tenure patterns also illustrates the above mentioned variations in British as opposed to Danish urban renewal areas.

Household characteristics

One of the main features separating Danish and English urban renewal areas is the fact that in England, many areas are predominantly inhabited by immigrant groups, while this is not a typical feature of many Danish urban renewal areas. In the London HAA, nearly half of the residents were immigrants, while in Charles Street, only four per cent were born outside the UK. The distribution of socio-economic groups within the two HAAs shows some variations from the English average.

Distribution of socio-economic groups.
England, Commassie RD HAA, Charles ST HAA.



A proportionally larger number of low-income groups thus live in sub-standard housing, and low income corresponds to low quality of housing. In the English house condition survey 1976, it was found that as a group, residents in poorer accommodation show certain characteristics which distinguish it from the general population:¹⁴

'In comparison with those in sound properties, households in unsatisfactory condition dwellings show one or more of the following tendencies:

- to be headed by an elderly person
- to be small, often consisting of just one or two people
- to be dependant on a low income either because no one in the household is in employment, or because any in full-time work have lower than average wages
- to have lived for a long time in their present accommodation'.

Another conclusion from the survey, based on an analysis of questions on 'satisfaction with accommodation':

'A tentative conclusion drawn here, is that there exists an identifiable group of households with low expectations and aspirations deriving, perhaps, from their personal and financial circumstances, who exhibit an apparent inertia against any changes in the accommodation'.¹⁵

Inner City problems

The 1981 riots in London, Liverpool and Manchester were not race riots as such - even though they all took place in areas with large black communities. Neither were they supposed to be part of a co-ordinated effort; the trouble was caused by differing reasons and suggesting different solutions from city to city. At the hearings after the riots in Moss side, Manchester, 'some blamed black criminals, some blamed police harrassment, some blamed unemployment, and other blamed bad planning, outside organisations and the media'.¹⁶ However, housing policy and its results remained at the centre of the underlying causes for the riots.

The present situation is a result of urban development and organisation, changing the urban fabric over a number of years. In those older urban areas where private demand is weak, much public provision is now of poor quality. At the same time, the relatively poor Inner City population is disproportionately dependant on the public sector for welfare payments, public housing, transport, and industrial training and education. Many public services are tied to private demand. When the latter dries out, som does the former.¹⁷

The Inner Area studies of the DoE pointed towards such matters as the deteriorating job market and the price of land as being the root causes of Inner City deprivation, furthered by a rapid shift of population and employment out of the major metropolitan areas into the smaller and less urbanised places.¹⁸

The New Towns have been mentioned as one reason for loss of jobs in some inner cities, among them Newcastle and Glasgow; however, the loss of manufacturing jobs is probably more due to factory closure and failure to generate new opportunities rather than to relocation for factories, e.g. in the New Towns. David L. Smith points towards another, long-term development in British cities which reinforces these trends. He argues that 19th century urban development determined a number of urban

structures which still tends to determine future prospects for the larger cities

'...south-east towns, north-west towns, towns for the elderly, towns for commuters and towns for the poor'.¹⁹

To this mixture of social need, inadequate infrastructure and unemployment has, during the last decades, been added the dimension of race. A committee on racial disadvantage (1981) emphasized that ethnic minorities 'suffer such disadvantages more than the rest of the population, and more than if they were white'.²⁰ At present, there may be two million immigrants in England, concentrated in London, West Yorkshire, West Midlands and South Lancashire, with the majority of West Indians concentrated in London.²¹ One out of 25 Britons is an immigrant, against one out of a hundred Danes.

Eversley warns against the emergence of an 'urban underclass' in the inner parts of older British cities.

'He instances the old, the unskilled and the unsupported families, and those with the problems of chronic illness of disability or a prison record as the kinds of poor citizens who tend to be gathered in areas of rapid decline where they cannot afford to compete for better housing and services with their more affluent neighbours; neither can they find local jobs'.²²

A major part of the problem is that such cities are not part of a prosperous metropolitan area, which makes private sector involvement difficult, and public intervention is needed. A lot of money has already been spent in these areas, however, rather on urban communities than with them.²³ Nicholas Deakin believes that:

'...there is no question of inner city revival without the consent of the Inner City inhabitants. If the riots achieved nothing else, they did underscore that point quite unmistakably'.²⁴

8.3. Provision in housing

Preface

Owner-occupation is the main housing tenure in England as well as in Denmark, while in Scotland, there is a majority of public housing.

Housing tenure

England, Newcastle, Scotland, Glasgow, Edinburgh 1980, 1981

	% of total stock				
	England 1981	New- castle 1979	Scot- land 1981	Edin- burgh 1980	Glas- gow 1981
	25	26	27	28	29
Council housing	29%	47%	55%	32%	64%
housing associat.	2	3	2	3	
private renting	11	14	9	10	9
ow-occupation	58	36	34	54	24

In the larger cities, here Newcastle, Edinburgh and Glasgow, this main tendency varies according to local policies and conditions. E.g., it is worth noting that Edinburgh has a tenure pattern very similar to the English average, while Glasgow, due to a long tradition for council housing has a relatively high number of council houses and dwellings owned by the LAs.

In Chapter 5, the development of tenures during the last two decades is outlined. Private renting, which in the 50s was still a major tenure, especially in England, has declined during the last two decades, in both England and Scotland. This decline of the private landlord is a common feature of the development in the United States and in many Western European countries. According to Michael Harloe, the main determinants for this development are that other systems for investment are more efficient, competitors are more heavily subsidised, and that a household which is able to obtain accommodation within other housing sectors will do so.³⁰

However, while public housing in Scotland has developed into the most important provider of housing, the English council housing is in decline, giving rise to owner-occupation.

In order to understand the British system of housing provision, and the political priorities taken in urban renewal areas, a closer look will in the following section be taken at the various providers of housing and the resident groups for which

they provide.

Council housing

Background

How did it come about that the state decided to intervene to improve housing conditions? Brian Inglis says:

'The cholera/which struck Britain in 1832/had forced recognition of what came to be known as the 'sanitary' idea: that the state had not merely a right but a duty to its citizens to try to protect them from health hazards arising out of bad living conditions, even at the cost of interfering with the property rights of individuals'.³¹

In 1851, the Labouring Classes Lodging Act gave powers to LAs to build 'lodging houses at their own expense' with the first English council housing built in Liverpool in 1869,³² and in Glasgow from the middle 1860s.³³

During the remaining part of the 19th century, the LAs were given growing powers to control house building, and to provide dwellings at their own account. However, only very few authorities used their new power.³⁴

In 1914, there was an estimate of 20,000 LA dwellings in Britain.³⁵ These houses would typically be terraces in small groups, or in the larger cities walk-up or deck access tenements.

With a housing shortage of 600,000 dwellings after the armistice, the Addison Act of 1919 was aimed at providing 'Homes for Heroes' and thus fulfilling the housing needs of the many homeless.³⁶ In the beginning, the LAs were chosen as 'the main vehicle' for providing these houses. A few years later, though, private building was also subsidised. Berry says:

'It should not be forgotten that when subsidised council housing was introduced in 1919 the intention was to bridge the gap between private enterprise... and the immediate needs. In other words, local authorities should cater for general needs and not only for the poorest families'.³⁷

House building started off, and between 1919 and 1921 170,000 LA dwellings were built,³⁸ and the activity continued through the 20s. The first council houses were mostly three-bedroom

'cottages', four, six or eight houses built together, and later semi-detached houses.³⁹

In London and a few other cities the LA built five-storey tenements, about 100,000 flats in all.⁴⁰

After 1929, with the financial basis for slum clearance rapidly diminishing, rehabilitation was increasingly seen as a direct alternative to slum clearance. In 1933, with the worst of the crisis over, local authority activity was to be concentrated on slum clearance and re-housing, while subsidised building for the working classes was to be left to private enterprise.⁴¹

Up to 1935, the LAs were required to keep separate accounts for each estate, or rather for dwellings built under the same Act. In the 1935 Housing Act, they were permitted to pool these accounts into one, thus being able to adjust rents without reference to the actual building costs.⁴² In other words, rent pooling is a principle allowing for new-built council housing through the realisation of the accruing value of earlier houses, thereby allowing the LA to detach the actual costs of building from the rent level.

After the Second World War, LA activity was no longer restricted to slum clearance. LAs were again chosen to fulfil the ambitious house aims of the post-war Labour government, backed by state subsidies and rate contributions. Homes were built as traditional semidetached houses, gradually giving way for an increased variety of housing types. Terraced housing and maisonettes, flats in two storeys with an internal staircase, became common. But first of all, high-rise flats were seen as a solution to council housing.

The first tower block was built in 1950, with the LAs building an increasing number throughout the 50s and 60s, reaching its peak in 1964 where one out of five new council dwellings was a high-rise flat.⁴³ By the end of the 70s, council high-rise building was reduced to a few percentage of the total LA building. However, the high-rise boom has left all larger cities with a considerable number of high-rise flats which by now constitute

a considerable problem for these councils. Manchester has 121 high-rise buildings with council flats, Newcastle ⁴⁴,⁴⁴ Birmingham more than 500,⁴⁵ and Edinburgh several hundred high-rise buildings for council flats.⁴⁶

In 1972, the subsidy arrangements to local authorities were withdrawn and replaced with other, less favourable arrangements. At the same time, the LAs lost their right to determine the rents of council housing - a discouragement for new council house building.

Council house building continued at low rate under the Labour Government. When the Conservative Government took over in 1979, public responsibility for housing again declined - or rather vanished.

Present policies

Through the 60s and 70s, a (rather large) number of council houses have been sold off to tenants, at the discretion of the LA. This was a feature of both Labour and Conservative governments. Between 1959 and 1972, more than 150,000 council houses were sold off.⁴⁷ During the 70s, sales decreased; however, with the introduction of the 'right to buy' for council tenants and (partly) housing associations tenants in the Housing Act 1980, sales increased sharply, in both England and Scotland.^{48,49}

In the present government's first year, from May 1979 to the end of 1980, 96,000 houses had been sold off.⁵⁰ By June 1982, half a million applications have been received, but only ten per cent completed.⁵¹ From many sources, it has been confirmed that it is houses with gardens in relatively attractive areas that are sold off.^{52,53} E.g., an investigation in Leeds showed that the houses bought by tenants were in the better end of the scale, and located in areas with good community facilities.

As a result of these policies, the - already inadequate - stock of LA housing for rent will be further diminished. The better part of the council stock is being sold off, leaving the councils and their future tenants with a still smaller, poorer and lower standard stock of houses.

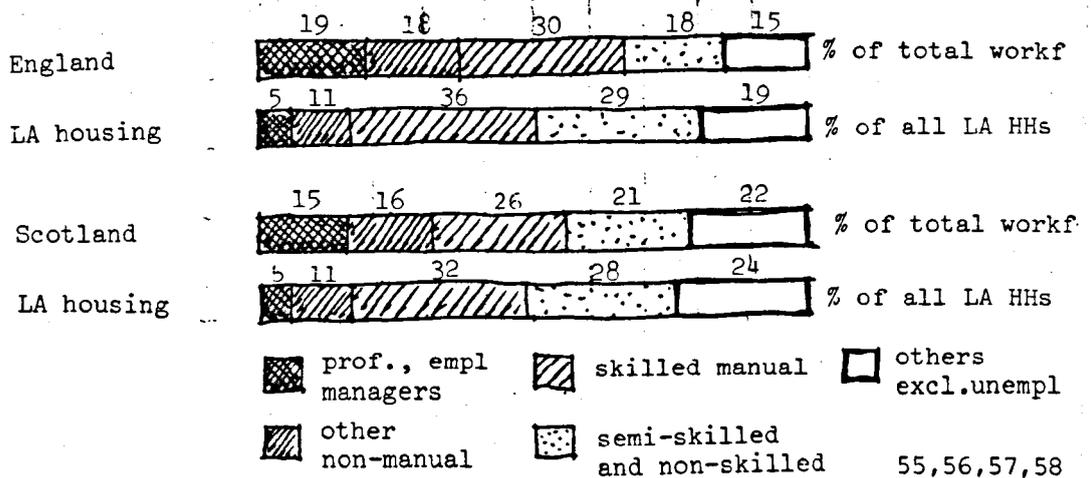
Finance

The income into housing revenue accounts comes from three sources: rents, rate-fund contribution and government subsidies. These subsidies are determined by the Housing Investment programmes (HIPs),⁵⁴ and paid as a lump sum on the basis of all costs involved. Further reference is made to Appendix I, on housing subsidies and allocation.

Council tenants

For which groups of residents do the LAs provide? An indication may be given in a comparison of socio-economic groups in council housing and the English population in general.

33 Socio-economic groups. Total workforce, HHS in council housing. England, Scotland.



In both England and Scotland, council housing provides for a relatively large proportion of lower income groups. Two-thirds of all British council houses are inhabited by manual workers which constitute half of the population.

Access and allocation

The 1957 Housing Act makes it a statutory duty to 'give reasonable preference to persons who are occupying insanitary or overcrowded homes, have large families or are living under unsatisfactory conditions'.⁵⁸ As Murie points out, 'insanitary', 'large families', 'unsatisfactory housing conditions' and above all 'reasonable preference' are all open to interpretation.⁵⁹

LAs are free to allocate homes according to their own schemes - and to evict tenants if their income is above a certain limit. Apart from homeless people and residents rehoused from slum clearance areas, people wanting a council home have to go through various procedures: first to join the waiting list, second to have their claim of a house considered, and third to be allocated a house.

Authorities normally establish waiting lists and treat applicants in order of application. There may be a requirement for, e.g. a certain period of residence within the district, or exclusion of all people below retirement age, or owner-occupiers. Other examples of conditions are marriage, age or children.⁶⁰

According to Berry, some small LAs still allocates on the recommendation of a local councillor, and others on a 'first come-first served' basis.⁶¹ However, the most common allocation system is the points system. Applicants get points under various categories, and those with the greatest number of points have the greatest priority for rehousing. Points may be awarded for factors such as overcrowding, lack of amenities, sharing facilities, waiting time, length of residence in the area etc.^{62,63}

This seems a fair, and fairly inflexible system. The future tenant may, as Darke and Darke says, 'find that they have lost their eligibility to join the queue.../if they/do anything as irregular as moving house, being evicted, separating from their spouse, moving to a flat to get away from in-laws, or failing to acquire a spouse and/or child'.⁶⁴

With the present decline of council housing, supply will be smaller and access - and allocation - even more difficult, thereby reserving council housing as a 'safety net' for those who cannot obtain suitable accommodation in the private sector.

Rent

In council housing, a new deficit financing system and thereby a new rent system was introduced by the Housing Act 1980, government subsidy determined by the 'expected' rises in rates and rent. Through this principle, Central Government may in reality determine the level of council rents by 'expecting' the LA to raise the rent to a certain level.

In Scotland, where a similar system has been in operation since 1979, council rents went up an average of 29 per cent in 1979.⁶⁵

In ROOF, Steve Schifferes noted:

'the new deficit system involves a scrutiny of the management and maintenance expenditure for the first time. These costs are much higher in inner city authorities than elsewhere...This could mean a freeze on increasing management and maintenance in these areas...'66

Assuming an average council rent of £ twelve a week and an average income after tax on £ 115 a week, this leaves the average worker in a council house with a rent of ten per cent of his income compared to a Danish worker who may well pay 35 per cent of his income for rented accommodation, on a rough estimate.⁶⁷ This relationship is worth taking into consideration in a comparison between Denmark and Britain.

Housing associations

Background

The voluntary housing movement in England was started in the 12th century, when almshouses were first founded to meet local needs, e.g. for 'the deserving poor/widows of the parish'.⁶⁸ They were largely funded through a single donation from a wealthy individual, or an association of craftsmen, a guild. In the 19th century, these almshouses would typically be built as terraced housing.

The origins of the present type of HAs are to be found in last century, with industrial HAs and the large Victorian Building Societies.

The earliest industrial housing association or model town was started by Robert Owen in New Lanark in Scotland.⁶⁹ Taking over a cotton mill in 1801, he built terraced housing for his workers, developing ideas on the organisation of communities. He organised a children's house, a school for the workers as well as their children, and set up the first co-operative store, which was to be a model for the co-op movement - in Denmark as in other countries.

The later industrial housing associations were set up by the single industrialist, in David L. Smith's words 'the enlightened industrial

entrepreneurs who wished to house their workers in convenient and pleasant surroundings'.70

Compared to the average housing standard of the day, industrial housing associations usually had a good standard of housing provision and management, but were often very paternalistic towards the tenants.

The real backbone of the voluntary movement, however, is the large charitable Trusts which, from the middle of the century set out to 'provide better housing conditions for the working classes'. Some were the result of one single donation to produce the dwellings, while other invested, against a modest return of three to five per cent to enable management and maintenance, and the (cost) rent was set accordingly.

One example is the Peabody Trust, set up in 1862 to 'ameliorate the condition of the poor of London', the money being used for 'the construction of such improved dwellings...for the poor as may combine in the utmost possible degree the essentials of healthfulness, comfort, social enjoyment and economy'. By the beginning of the 1880s, the Trust which still operates owned 3,500 dwellings housing 14,600 people.71

The role of these trusts changed during the beginning of this century, gradually, to wider provision for general needs. This was mainly a result of the relative improvement in conditions for the poor, and also for the general growth of HAs.72

From 1919 onwards local authorities took over the task of providing dwellings for the working classes. But still, central government made subsidies and facilities available for the HAs, similar to those being available for LAs.

HA activity was relatively low in the inter-war years, the main contribution to housing being in propaganda and experimental work, providing childrens' playgrounds and nursery schools.73

After the Second World War the housing associations concentrated mainly on providing accommodation for special groups, the elderly or disabled people- being funded through Social Security provisions.

In 1961, the Conservative government's concern for the continuing decline of the privately rented sector led to the creation of 'new-style' housing associations. The government provided loan capital for building houses to rent, the so-called cost-rent societies.⁷⁴ However, as rates rose towards the end of the 60s, such schemes were no longer viable.

The 1961 Act additionally encouraged co-ownership societies, by providing loans for building, in company with building societies. In a co-ownership, the residents have the shares in the society, which owns the property. When co-owners leave the property, they are entitled to receive a (tax-free) payment related to the increase of the value of the property.⁷⁵ By the mid-70s, when loans for 43,000 co-ownerships, had been approved,⁷⁶ the creation of new co-ownerships largely ceased because interest rates had risen to the point where they were not economically viable.⁷⁷

The relative success of these modest schemes led in 1964 to the establishment of a national Housing Corporation (HC) as a promotional body and channel of finance. The Housing Corporation was set up to regularise and finance the voluntary housing movement: the emphasis was on 'the development of a housing society movement which will build and manage houses for people at large who are able to meet the cost'.⁷⁸ However, it was the 1974 Act and the introduction of HAs to HAAs which transformed the Housing Corporation from 'a relatively modest organisation, channeling Exchequer aid to the voluntary housing movement...to the dominant promotional, supervisory and financial institution in the field'.⁷⁹

The Housing Corporation has a Board of Directors, for England appointed by the Secretary of State for the Environment, for Scotland by the Secretary of State for Scotland and for Wales by the Secretary of State for Wales. Its duties is to promote, encourage and monitor the work of the HA movement, and channel the (substantial) funding according to guidelines set by the DoE.

Funding is governed by cash limits which for 1982/83 were £ 491 mill. for England and £ 105 mill. for Scotland. The present emphasis is on rehabilitation and provision for special needs; around 3,000 HAs are by now registered by the Housing Corporation.⁸⁰

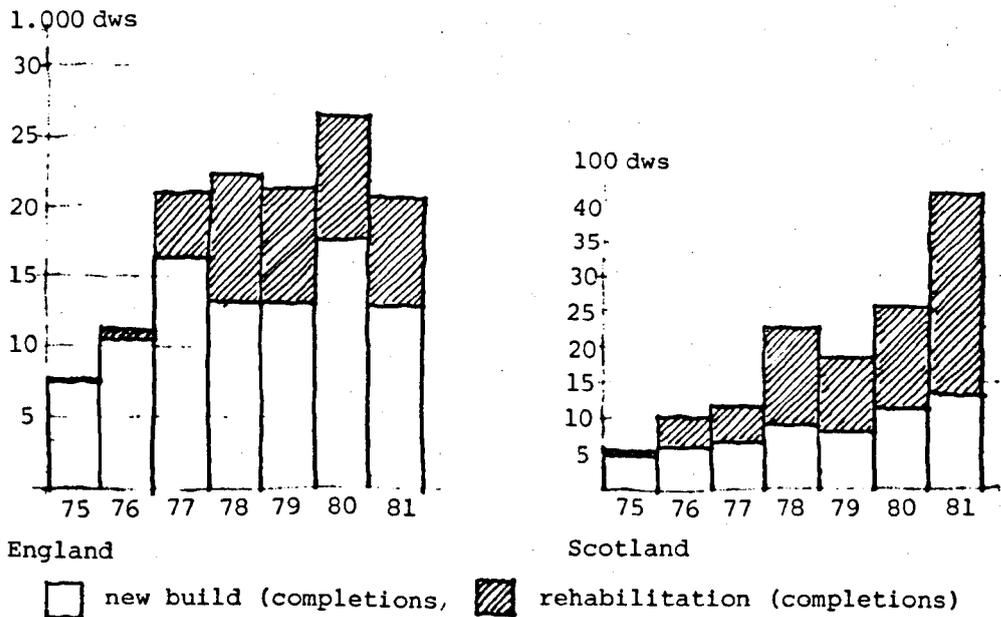
Today, there are nearly 400,000 HA dwellings in England, Wales and Scotland.⁸¹ In 1976, there were 225,000 HA dwellings in England alone, 87,000 or 39 per cent of these were in Greater London.⁸²

HA activity

During the last decade, the HAs have been given an increasingly important role in housing provision by both Labour and Conservative governments, in particular following the 1974 Housing Act, where the HAs were selected as a major housing provider in HAAs.

34

Housing associations. New built and rehabilitation. 1975-1982
England, Scotland.



83,84

Note that the Scottish number of rehabs refers to the number acquired. The amalgamation rate being 1.21,⁸⁵ rehab figures should be reduced with 20 per cent.

Of the 8,000 rehabilitations in 1979, 5,600 or 71 per cent were in

Housing Action Areas or General Improvement Areas.⁸⁶

If the fluctuations in completion rate are taken into consideration, these two charts show clearly the difference in Housing Corporation policy of the two countries. While the number of rehabs in England is held on a constant level, the involvement of HAS in Scottish urban renewal shows an increasing impact on the result.

In urban renewal, there are mainly two types of HAS which have been established, per-value co-operatives and community-based housing associations.

Per-value co-operatives are non-profit like the rest of the voluntary movement. Most of these operate as small HAS, financed by Housing Corporation subsidies, and a fair rent paid by the members. Some co-ops have acquired vacant housing for conversion and improvement, some buy land and build on it collectively, while other groups of people acquired the house in which their members live from the landlord, and bring it up to modern standards.⁸⁷

In a co-op, the tenants own the houses collectively, and control all management and maintenance themselves; in some cases they also control development.⁸⁸

Community-based housing associations are established in Scotland, carrying out housing improvement on an area basis. The HAS are controlled by the residents themselves, through a management committee and a number of sub-committees.⁸⁹

HA finance

According to the 1974, Housing Act, both the LAs and the Housing Corporation can lend money to HAS, with a 60-year repayment for new built and 30 years for rehab. Conditions are granted, according to the size, location and nature of the project.⁹⁰ For 1982/83, the total number of tenders approved was 23,000, of which approximately 4,000 dwellings were financed by the LAs.⁹¹

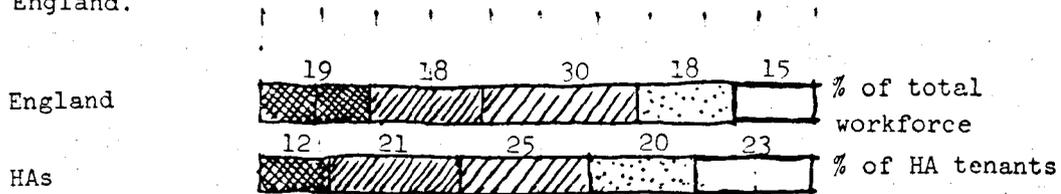
Building costs are financed by a preliminary Housing Corporation loan on the current interest rate. When the building is complete, the 'fair rent'⁹² is set by the rent officer. Once the rent income has been established, certain allowances for management and maintenance are deducted from the rent income. The amount left is used to pay off the original loan.

The Housing Association Grant (HAG) is made as a single capital payment to eliminate the deficit (the part of the loan that the rent income cannot pay off). In other words, after payment of the HAG, rent income will cover fully the management and maintenance costs, and repayments on the original loans.

HA tenants

35

Socio-economic groups. Total workforce, HHs in HAs.
England.

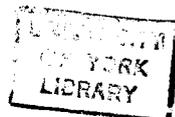


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One of the more noticeable features of this tenant distribution is the fact that a higher proportion than average of the economically non-active are residents in HA housing. This could be seen as a result of Housing Corporation policy during the last five years, whereby HAs have provided for elderly and for single people under the programme for fair rent. This is especially the case in Scotland, where one-third of the 1982-83 budget was reserved for housing for the elderly and disabled.

Access and allocation

In HA tenancies, there are no fixed rules for allocation. Each HA sets its own allocation policy, even though an LA usually has a 50 per cent nomination rights. In 1978, LAs nominated 28 per cent of all new HA tenants.⁹⁴ 33 per cent of English HA tenants are in



non-manual professions, against sixteen per cent of council tenants.⁹⁵ Comparing age, it is evident that the HAS house more young and old than LAs; 30 per cent of LA tenants are older than 65 years of age, against 41 per cent of HA tenants.⁹⁶

Rent

In the fair rent system, employed in HAs and in private renting, a fair rent for each individual dwelling is set by a rent officer, employed by the LA, at the request of the landlord or the tenant. When the rent is assessed, the rent officer has to 'regard all circumstances', in particular age, character and locality of the dwelling, and its state of repair.⁹⁷ Once fixed, the rent is registered and not normally reviewed for three years.⁹⁸ In cases of disagreement, the rent level is referred to a rent assessment committee.

The fair rent implies that tenants pay the same for dwellings of similar size, standard and location, no matter whether they rent from an HA or a private landlord, and not including the costs of building.

According to the fair rent system, rent rises for improvement depends on whether the tenant goes back to his former house, or whether he is rehoused in another. If the tenant opt for one straight move, the fair rent in the new house will be applied immediately. If the tenant moves back, the old rent would be paid, the difference between the old and the new rent being scaled down over a number of years. Prior to 1981, the rent was scaled down over ten years or more. After 1981, the difference would be scaled down over only two years. Where the tenant prior to 1981, had a direct economic incentive in going back, this is not that obvious now, and the decision of whether to be rehoused permanently or temporarily therefore related to other determinants.⁹⁹

Till 1980, the rent level of fair rents was generally considered to be higher than council rents; however, the new system of council rent may have diminished the difference between the two rent levels. But still, the average rent is considerably lower than Danish rents, both in real terms and compared to an average income, due to a lower cost of house building and to a higher degree of public subsidies in the UK.

Private renting

Background

At the turn of this century, 90 per cent of all dwellings in Britain were rented from private landlords.¹⁰⁰ Since then, however, the role of the private landlord has changed considerably, the underlying reasons for this development being rather complex.

Murie et al says:

'...the wide range of /social/legislation introduced in the latter half of the 19th century and early 20th century...created a situation in which landlords and speculative builders were gradually required to meet ever-increasing standards in the quality of the housing they provided. The supply of housing at rents which working people could afford became increasingly difficult and much less attractive as a speculative venture'.¹⁰¹

Profits were furthermore diminished by rent control, introduced after the Rent Strike in 1915, in Glasgow, as a protection in an emergency situation, continuing, however, after the end of the First World War.

The councils took on the social responsibility of housing provision, and in the inter-war years during this major change in British housing and social policy, the private sector turned its attention from private renting to provision for owner-occupation. However, at the end of the 30s, a number of new dwellings for rent were built, rather, as Berry argues, as 'the result of the saturation of the owner-occupied market... than any deliberate change of policy'.¹⁰²

After 1945, relatively little building for private renting took place. However, in 1951, half the dwellings in England and Wales was still in private renting.¹⁰³

The pressure from landlords for the reform for rent control led to the 1954 Housing Act which sought to encourage private landlords to improve by allowing for rent rises according to the cost of the improvement.¹⁰⁴ Maybe because of its complexity, this arrangement was not a success, and a marked decrease in the numbers of dwellings for private letting allowed.

During the 60s, new households usually started in privately rented and furnished flats.¹⁰⁵ The Rachmann scandals in the late 60s led to further protection of the residents against eviction, a legislation which had the counter-productive effect of discouraging landlords to build for private renting.

In terms of house type, the stock for private renting is distributed thus:

36 Private renting. Distribution of house types. England, Scotland.

	England	Scotland	% of total stock
Detached houses	11%	28%	
Semidetached and terraces	41	27	
Flats and rooms	43	44	
Others	5	1	

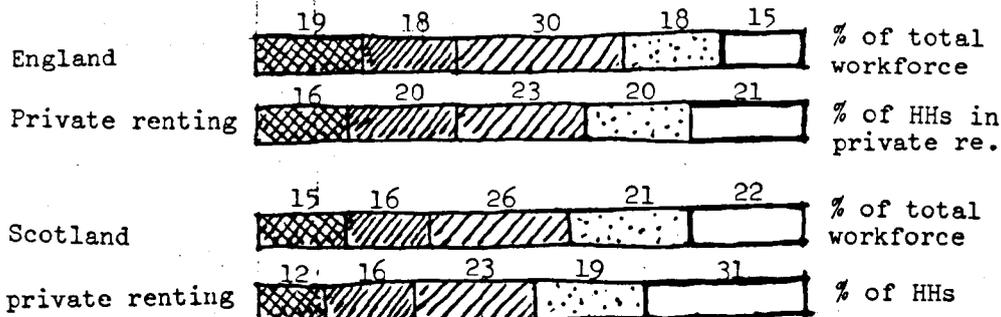
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Both in England and Scotland, nearly half of all private renting is found in flats. While many Scots rent their cottage, also many semidetached houses in England are let privately. 23 per cent of the total stock for renting in England is found in London.

Residents

37

Socio-economic groups. Total workforce, HHs in private renting. England, Scotland,



107, 108

The distribution of tenure follows the general pattern, apart from the fact that a relatively large proportion of economically non-active live in private renting.

In private renting, there are no rules of access.

The owner decides himself who is going to enter his property, and many landlords impose rules of their own: no children, nor coloured people, no tenants with pets, no students.

Darke and Darke points towards two main groups in private renting:

- older tenants in unfurnished accommodation who have been tenants all their lives in the inner cities
- young, newly established households treating private renting as a sector of passage 109

Murie et al, however, pointing towards a third group:

- people who cannot obtain accommodation elsewhere.¹¹⁰

Darke and Darke points out:

'In some respect the single homeless are even worse off than families, since LAs accept almost no responsibility for them, unless they happen to be old, sick, or several months pregnant'.¹¹¹

It is generally recognised that homelessness among young, single people presents a relatively new and growing problem.¹¹² CHAR, the campaign for single homeless people has made an allegedly conservative estimate of 100,000 people sleeping in the streets and in hostels, most of them young people setting out for the big cities in search of work.¹¹³ With the traditional supply of accommodation for this group, private renting, rapidly diminishing, new solutions must be found.

Owner-occupation

Background

Before the First World War, home ownership was 'the prerogative of the few'.¹¹⁴ However, the situation changed dramatically after the War, when the emergency situation led not only to council housing, but also to subsidizes private building for owner-occupation.

John Burnett explains:

'Low interest rates, low material costs and low wages were combining to bring about a housing revolution which

profoundly affected the lives of millions of people. The creation of a mass market for home-ownership depended on the expansion of building societies'.¹¹⁵

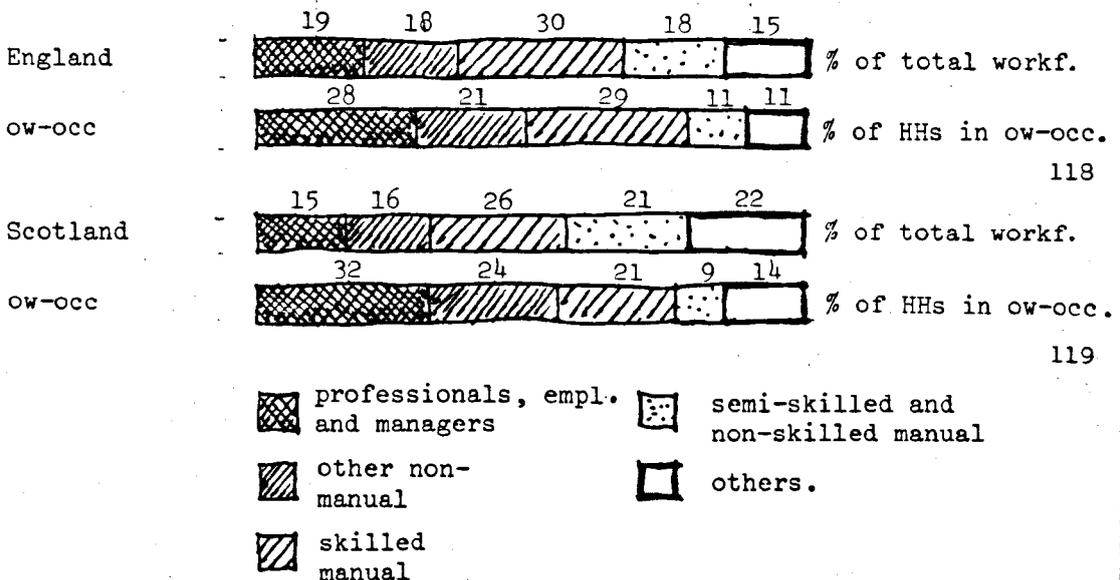
The building boom meant that, after the First World War, nearly three mill dwellings were built by private builders between 1919 and 1936, the peak reached in the late thirties.¹¹⁶

Building for owner-occupation declined in the late thirties, and during and after the Second World War, building society activity was at a relatively low level. However, after the return of a Conservative government in 1951, it became official policy to promote 'by all possible means' the building of new houses for owner-occupation.¹¹⁷ Through the 50s and 60s, building for owner-occupation went steadily along, one out of four present English dwellings was built for owner-occupation between 1940 and 1976. For the present government, owner-occupation is a fulfilment of the idea of 'a property-owning democracy', and a number of new schemes for encouraging owner-occupation have been introduced.

Owner-occupiers

38

Socio-economic groups. Total workforce, HHS in owner-occupation. England, Scotland



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The tendency is relatively clear: higher income groups tend to live in owner-occupied dwellings. In 1976, 78 per cent of all English employers and managers, and in 1981 71 per cent of all Scottish were owner-occupiers.

The access to the owner-occupied market is determined by the ability to pay 'the rent', or in other words, whether the future home-owner is able to purchase the house outright, or is able to satisfy the requirements of a building society or a bank regarding their ability to pay.¹²⁰

Building societies are by far the largest lending agency; they provide over 90 per cent of the loans for building activities. The societies have recently had a very conservative policy on the credit-worthiness of the borrower and the security provided by the property.¹²¹

Building societies usually advance up to 80 per cent of their valuation of a property. Loans are repayable over 20 - 25 years by equal monthly instalments to cover capital and interest. Most mortgages take the form of an annuity loan, with a general constant level of gross annual payments throughout the duration of the mortgage.¹²²

Darke and Darke compares the average house price with an average net income:

'In 1977 the average house price/for/first time buyers was £ 10,857, bought with an average advance of £ 8,515. (Note that the first time buyer thus requires savings of some £ 2,340). If we take a basic weekly of £ 60, in 1977 as a threshold for owner-occupation, then nearly all woman workers and half of male manual workers are unable to afford this tenure'.¹²³

Note, however, that this threshold for owner-occupation is considerably lower than in Denmark, especially following the present government's additional subsidies to allow low-income families to enter the ladder of owner-occupation.

8.4. Conclusion

Considering the present system of housing provision, in a British context, its most prominent feature is the traditional system of council housing. Contrary to the general impression of Britain as

a liberalistic society, the system of council housing and its ability to provide reasonable housing at a low rent for working-class residents, is to be admired, being outstanding in an international context.

In a situation where housing rehabilitation is to be furthered for mainly economic reasons, the question of a co-ordinator or housing manager emerges. The nature of the problem, rehabilitation of housing with tenants in residence, requires by its very nature a careful local co-ordinator of a number of different functions, and procedures adaptable for local circumstances. Considering British housing tradition as described in this chapter, the LAs would be an obvious choice as - once again - the chosen vehicle for implementation of centrally determined policies on a local level. They have already behind them much experience in the management and maintenance of large quantities of housing and have an administrative system with a detailed knowledge of local circumstances.

However, the LAs have not been given the full control over housing improvement, and the provider role has been entrusted mainly to the housing associations. The argument for these priorities in urban renewal policies are both ideologically and organisationally based, and firmly connected with housing policy in general. Accordingly, the British situation will in the next chapter be seen in a broader context of policy development.

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Chapter Nine + Policies for Housing Improvement

9.1. Preface

When considering the need for housing improvement, the housing stock, the present resident groups and the system for housing provision are the determinants on which to base a policy. To this is added the overall aims and preferences for housing which together with political priorities constitute an overall housing policy. In this section, housing improvement is seen in an overall context of housing provision and strategies, from the Second World War onwards. This is intended to set the present British strategies for housing improvement in a historical context.

9.2. Post-war policies for housing improvement

1949 - 1953

Following the Second World War, the demand for housing initiated a major building programme, with the local authorities as 'the chosen instrument for the housing drive'.¹ Central Government granted low-interest loans to LAs in an effort to 'overcome the immediate shortages causing overcrowding and giving rise to agitation and direct action from returning soldiers and their families'.² Housing improvement moved slowly into the mainstream of policy, limited by the fact that war-time controls over rents and buildings were continued after the war.

The Housing Act 1949 introduced improvement grants for improvements like a fixed bath, piped water supply and water closet. These grants were given towards a sixteen-point standard with an expected life of thirty years.^{3,4} However, according to Cullingworth, the LAs did not wish to promote any activity which would draw resources from their capital building programme.⁵ Therefore, only 7,000 grants were given in the period 1949 - 1953. After the Conservative's election victory in 1951, the government removed controls on building and set into motion the process of slowly decontrolling rents in the private sector.⁶

1953 - 1964

The position of the Conservative government was summed up in the White Paper of 1953: 'Houses - the Next Step'. Housing needs were to be met primarily through the market, 'the century-long decline of private landlordism' was to be stopped and owner-occupation encouraged as a vital ingredient of a property-owning democracy'.⁷

In opposition the Labour Party issued its own declaration of intent, 'Homes for the Future'.

'The commitment was to take profits out of housing provision and make it a social service by gradually extending public ownership to the greater part of the housing stock and leaving owner-occupation to the middle and upper classes'.⁸

A new improvement grant system with easier conditions and increased publicity was introduced.⁹ A uniform standard of fitness was laid down, the top limit on improvement grants removed and the grants given on the condition of a fifteen-year instead of a thirty-year life.¹⁰ Grant activity increased in England and Wales; the number of grants approved in 1954 was 13,710. However, most of the grants went to owner-occupiers. Either the restrictions were still too restrictive or rented houses had ceased to be an economic asset to their owners.¹¹ The provisions did not have the desired effect of stopping the decline in the privately rented sector; instead, it led to speculation and replacement of tenants.¹²

In 1959, a system of 'standard' grants were introduced, for installation of basic amenities, and conditions were further eased. Building societies were encouraged to lend on pre-1919 property, and discretionary grants was changed to grants 'as of right'.¹³

In 1960, 130,000 grants were made - but there was still a low take-up in the privately rented sector. An increased return to the private landlord from eight to twelve per cent of the cost did not encourage improvement. This was still a low return due to tax regulations. So, instead of an encouragement approach, a policy of direct state intervention through compulsory powers was introduced, by a Conservative government.

1964 - 1969

In 1963, compulsory powers to improve was introduced in designated 'improvement areas', for private landlords. This was the first time that the need for housing improvement was related to 'areas'. Improvement areas could be declared if an LA felt that at least half the dwellings could be brought up to a five-point standard and a fifteen-year life.¹⁵ Landlords could appeal, and tenants veto the compulsory powers may apply on the requirement of a tenant.

The Dennington Committee confirmed the need for compulsory powers in its 1966 report, the size of the problem being considerable and the rate of improvement being too low.¹⁶ A minority in the Committee, however, recommended voluntary improvement which was soon to be the accepted principle.¹⁷

Cullingworth regarded the compulsory approach to urban renewal as one of the failures of the 1964 concept, the many restrictions making the whole process 'cumbersome in the extreme', and with provisions related more to the single house than to areas.¹⁸

In a reconsideration of how the provisions of state-subsidised housing improvement could be furthered, the question of private or social ownership, or encouragement or direct intervention, was brought up by Labour in the middle 60s, thereby influencing the provisions for state-subsidised housing improvement. From the 1920s onwards, Labour had been committed to the state as the main provider in housing;¹⁹ from the middle 60s, however, Labour was increasingly committed to a mixed strategy of housing provision,²⁰ and therefore supported the encouragement strategy of the General Improvement Areas (GIAs).

1969 - 1974

The Housing Act 1969 marked a shift of policy from redevelopment and new built to rehabilitation. In housing improvement, the strategy chosen was one of encouragement, voluntary improvement with more informal and flexible procedures.²¹ The GIAs were based on the concept of environmental improvements by the LA followed by voluntary rehabilitation of properties by owners using the

grant system, the former acting as an inducement to the latter.²²

As Cullingworth notes there was no obligation to repay the grant:

'The possibility of someone making a profit out of the improvement grant was thus thought to be of less significance than the fact that a house had thereby been improved'.²³

The take-up of grants were high due to these liberal provisions: in 1971, 233,000 grants were approved. A 1971 amendment provided for even more generous arrangements, and grant applications rose to 368,000 in 1972 and 454,000 in 1973. However, only 20 per cent of the grants were given to houses in private renting. The grants did not, as expected, benefit the tenants in the privately rented sector, and 'more often than not',²⁴ were used to rehabilitate property that was empty in readiness for selling. Following this gentrification, many local action groups emerged, in the late 60s and early 70s.

In Scotland, the 'housing action area' was largely the same as the former 'housing treatment area' introduced by earlier legislation. The 1969 Act provided that treatment areas should have a majority of houses below the tolerable standard, a concept which had replaced the concept of unfitness, on the proposal of a sub-committee of the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee (1967).²⁵ Action was then taken, in the form of slum clearance, as improvement or as a combination.

Assessing the results in the first years of the GIAs, the encouragement strategy was considered inadequate, especially in solving the problems of disrepair and poor housing conditions in the privately rented sector.²⁶ At an NFHA seminar, held in 1976, it was concluded that '...while GIAs may be valuable in areas of high owner-occupation a policy based on persuasion has little relevance to areas dominated by private absentee landlords'.²⁷ Therefore, a new attempt was made at benefiting areas of private renting by providing a 'stick' of compulsory improvement, at the same time as maintaining the 'carrot', encouragement in the form of grants.²⁸

1974 - 1980

Introduced in the Housing Act 1974, Housing Action Areas (HAAs) were intended to cover areas of 'particular housing stress' where special action is required 'in the interest of the residents'.²⁹ This break with the sanitary tradition is commented by Cullingworth:

'All too frequently policies follow simply from the definitions of 'problems'. The slum clearance policy was conceived as precisely that: to clear up the slum. The improvement policy developed separately - for non-slum houses. Later it became recognised that there were alternative ways of dealing with the same problem. Initially, this was defined in physical terms, but increasingly a more socially sensitive approach was adopted. And so the focus shifted to social areas, communities and individual needs. This is uncertain territory within which time-honoured signposts (such as plumbing deficiencies) are inadequate and perhaps even misleading'.³⁰

HAAs were supposed to be 'areas...where the physical conditions of the housing and conditions of the residents combine to produce a situation of poor housing conditions, and an inability on the part of the residents to improve these conditions without special help'.³¹ A new planning approach corresponded to these trends in policy development, regarding planning as a continuous process, part of a coordinated policy responding to the needs and wishes of the communities involved.³²

The 1975 DoE circular on HAAs specifically lays stress upon the importance of flexible attitudes by LAs to the application of building regulations, so that the effective demands of individual occupiers may be met.³³ The question of flexibility towards older residents is mentioned:

'Sub-standard dwellings occupied by elderly persons could, if this were the residents' wish remain largely undisturbed for the time being, except for the carrying out of basic repairs and elementary improvements...'³⁴

In the Circular, the question of short-life property is also considered:

'It must be accepted...that some houses of low quality meet a real need for cheap accommodation, a need which might not otherwise be satisfied...'³⁵

First and foremost, the 1974 Act introduced the HAs as an agent for the local authorities in HAAs. The Circular recommends LAs to work with existing HAs, or to set up new HAs in the HAAs. The Housing Corporation is given control with the type and size of HA set up.³⁶

At the Committee stage of the Bill, the voluntary nature of any co-operation between a HA and the LA was emphasized. In contrast to their traditional role of providing for clients with special needs, the HAs were now encouraged to move into areas of special need.³⁷

This new role for the HAs was supported by both Labour and the Conservatives, which had, however, different objectives. For Labour, the HAs were seen as a provider for those who cannot obtain access to council housing, an intermediate tenure between owner-occupation and council housing.³⁸ This interpretation of the HA role in housing provision was repeated in the Green Paper (1977).³⁹ For the Conservatives, the objectives were clear: the HAs are an ideologically preferable alternative to council housing, and an administratively and economically flexible agency for housing improvement.⁴⁰

A large number of HAAs were declared in the years following 1974. By March, 1976, 94 HAAs had been declared;⁴¹ there were, however, in 1976 an estimate of 2,000 potential HAAs to be dealt with.⁴²

It was a general feature of these early HAAs that they had a slow start, and for many areas, housing improvement was not completed at the end of HAA declaration, after five years.

Furthermore, the number of housing improvements within HAAs were not impressive compared to the general pattern of grant distribution. Both for this and for other, ideologically motivated reasons, a return to the encouragement approach was preferred by the Conservative government, coming into office in 1979.⁴³

1980 -

The Housing Act 1980 continued the previous improvement policies, with even more generous subsidy arrangements. The uptake of improvement grants increased by 50 per cent from 1980

to 1981, probably due to the relatively generous provisions of the Act.⁴⁴ However, there are still households, which are not able to raise their share, and they are depending on raising a loan for house purchase. With the aim of maintaining a high level of owner-occupation, central government has therefore introduced a number of schemes in order to make it easier for low-income households to enter the owner-occupied market, like mortgage guarantees, homeloan schemes and equity sharing, and to encourage housing improvement in the owner-occupied sector, like improvement for sale and homesteading.

Combined with the system of improvement grants, the subsidy to owner-occupiers wanting to improve is now considerable. However, also the HAs and their rehabilitation programmes are maintained almost at their former level, a higher proportion of the subsidy, however, given towards provision for special needs instead of renovation.

Even though HAs consume roughly as much subsidy as council housing, the present Conservative government clearly sees the HAs as a provider of housing for people in special need, thus taking over from the local authority. Public spending cuts - which have affected housing more than any other sector - have not, in line with this view, affected HAs as heavily as LAs.

In addition to previous measures for housing improvement, a new area-based programme, enveloping, has been introduced on a national level, after having been successful in Birmingham. Birmingham has for a number of years funded and organised building works to the external fabric of both owner-occupied and privately let houses, as well as environmental improvement.

For the owner or the landlord, there are no conditions in terms of maintenance, additional building works or repayment of grant. These enveloping schemes have been considered so successful by Central Government that the principle of enveloping will be applied nationally with 75 per cent Central Government grant and 25 per cent LA grant, followed by a 90 per cent improvement grant if the owner opts for improvement.⁴⁵

In other words, it is an extension of the encouragement approach embodied in the GIAs. The choice of this strategy should be seen

as a further attempt to encourage owner-occupation instead of public ownership.

9.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, the results of British policies of housing improvement has been accounted for, seen in a context of the underlying strategies of encouragement and direct state intervention.

In considering the general reactions to the two strategies represented in these area approaches, the encouragement strategy is considered insufficient by most commentators, and there seems to be a general agreement of the consequences. Cullingworth says:

'...Experience in GIAs and with the take-up of improvement grants elsewhere, suggests that encouragement alone will be ineffective in some cases, notably among elderly residents and private landlords'.

Similarly, in Beeches Road HAA which was the subject of a DoE study it was well established owner-occupiers which mainly applied for grants.

The Association of Metropolitan Authorities said in 1978:

'Current experience shows that, in London, grant uptake is very low...it appears that current incentives in HAAs and GIAs are insufficient to generate voluntary improvement on the scale required'.⁴⁷

Since the 1980 Act, uptake of improvement grants has increased due to the fact, however, of developers entering the market. As the Act removed all effective restrictions on repayment of grants, housing improvement is once again a profitable business in areas with a high demand for housing.

High uptake of grant is not congruous to social housing improvement; Moore has the following comment:

'The necessity to attract private investment rather than utilise public expenditure in the improvement of poor housing areas lacking indigenous resources leads to rehabilitation policies which encourage the 'gentrification' of the older housing stock'.⁴⁸

In other words, an encouragement approach is only successful (in terms of performance) if grant uptake is high - and grant uptake

is high when the profit is worth it - and this leads to gentrification.

For a Danish reader, a comment by Andrew D. Thomas in a report for the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies in Birmingham is a reminder of the basic dilemma in Danish improvement policies.

'If tenanted property is to be improved there are clear policy alternatives which have to be faced. Either greater incentives must be created for private landlords through higher rents or more generous grants, or the properties must be transferred to the public sector'.⁴⁹

In search for a model of housing improvement which would fulfil the aims in the context of this thesis, the HAAs and their social objectives will be analysed; whether it is the right strategy and programme for obtaining a high degree of housing improvement, will not be further questioned in this context. HAAs had other important objectives to fulfil, designated as areas where 'special action is required in the interest of the residents'.⁵⁰ In designation, LAs should have regard to 'the extent to which physical and social factors combine and interact to create unsatisfactory living conditions'. An appraisal of the success therefore includes a number of other results as well, results of a social character which are of major interest in the context of this study.

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Chapter Ten + Authorities and Framework

10.1. Preface

Encouragement and interventional strategies are mixed in the British system of housing improvement. In this chapter, an overview will be given of the framework for housing improvement, for the benefit of the Danish reader. How was the area-based policy realised? How were these central government strategies transferred to a legislative framework, and which were the more detailed provisions for its implementation? These questions are answered in the context of the five approaches to housing improvement outlined in Chapter 10.

10.2. Improvement authorities and planning

Government agencies

The Department of the Environment (DoE) in the main central government body responsible for a range of functions relating to the physical environment, bringing together the major responsibilities for: land use, planning, housing and construction, countryside policy and environmental protection.

The Secretary of State for the Environment, till December 1982 Mr. Michael Heseltine, is mainly concerned with strategic issues of policy and furthermore directly responsible for inner city renewal. He is assisted by two Ministers, a Minister for Housing Construction, and a Minister for Local Government and Environmental Services. The department is furthermore concerned with the conservation of historic towns and buildings, ancient monuments and research. Implementation of policies is in England the responsibility of eight regional offices.¹

In Wales, the Welsh office has broadly the same range of executive responsibilities as the DoE in England.

The Scottish Development Department (SDD) is responsible to the Secretary of State for Scotland and as such not directed by the DoE. Its responsibility covers i.e. town and country planning, housing, ancient monuments and historic buildings, and local government. The Scottish Economic Planning Department is responsible for industrial and economic development, and New Towns.²

A wide range of semi-public agencies carry out the implementation of government policy. In this context the Housing Corpo-

ration is of special interest.

The Housing Corporation (HC) channels government funds into housing associations. Set up in 1964, its role is to 'promote, fund and supervise housing associations in their task of providing more homes for people still in need of them'.³

The HC has a chairman and twelve board members appointed in England by the Secretary of State for the Environment, and in Scotland and Wales by the Secretaries for Scotland and for Wales respectively. A special Housing Corporation Head Office for Scotland deals with HA policy and programme. In England, HC activity is directed from its London Headquarters, but largely undertaken by a number of local offices throughout Britain.

Staff is around 600 people of which one-third is based at the London Headquarters.⁴ The Housing Corporation in Glasgow has a staff of sixty, and the Birmingham office employ around forty people.^{5,6}

The annual HC budget for 1982-83 was £535 mill. for England and £105 mill. for Scotland.⁷

The Housing Corporation is a 'quango' (quasi-autonomous government organisation); these are agencies, set up and sponsored by Central Government. A number of other quangoes, among them the National Building Agency, have been closed by the present government. However, in a recent report on non-departmental bodies, the HC was considered to be 'better suited than either central or local government for mobilising a great deal of voluntary effort and personal initiatives'.⁸ This is in line with the policy behind government support for the HAs and for privatisation

Planning

Regional planning

For each region, an economic planning council is appointed by the Secretary of State. Its non-statutory role is to advise the Government on the needs and potentials of the region, and to formulate medium - and longer - term regional strategies.⁹

Within the Metropolitan area of London, the Greater London Council (GLC) is responsible for services which require 'unified administration and control over the whole area of the capital'.¹⁰

County planning

The county councils are responsible for structure and transport planning, traffic and public transport, refuse disposal, the police, education, youth employment and social services.¹¹

The structure plans are prepared by the county planning authorities. They lay out the intentions and cover the context of national and regional policy and local circumstances. General proposals for development in the area is set by the county authorities, including measures for the improvement of the physical environment and the management of traffic.¹²

In Wales, the planning authorities and responsibilities are much the same as in England, while the Scottish regions exercise nearly the same range of functions as the counties in England.

Local planning

The district authorities (outside London) are responsible for local plans and development control, building regulations, the main housing functions and environmental health.¹³

The LAs prepare local plans, comprehensive statements of policy for a limited area. The plans deal with the detail of development, and so provide the basis for development control, and for co-ordinating public and private development.¹⁴

In this context, the comprehensive development plans (CDPs) which were outlined in the 1962 Town and Country Planning Act would be mentioned.¹⁵ These plans were prepared for areas which were to be cleared and redeveloped as a whole. The plan defined sites for specific and more general uses, and designated land for compulsory purchase. These plans were abolished in the 1971 Act. However, the consequences from this designation for redevelopment still have their impact on the blighted areas.¹⁶

Planning initiative and participation

The local planning process is started by the local authorities. A local plan is based on a survey of the area, instituted by the local planning authority or group of authorities working together.¹⁷

The LA must 'inform and consult' the public during the preparation of local plans, in whatever methods they think fit for the type of plan and the local circumstances. There is no obligation

for the LA to follow the recommendations of the public.¹⁸ This leaves the manner and degree of public participation solely to the LA; the role intended for the residents and the public at large is clearly one of consultation, and not co-operation.

Inner city programmes

This is a vast subject, and as the scope of this thesis is mainly housing improvement, this will only be a broad outline of the programmes presently in function.

A series of attempts to analyse multiple deprivation have been made, and a number of programmes designated.

The Urban Programme was introduced in 1969, and permitted the Home Secretary to 'make payments to local authorities who incur expenditure by reason of the existence in any urban area of special social need'. Being the framework from which the CDPs arose, the programme also funded hundreds of small community action and community development projects across the country, from summer play schemes to community law centres.¹⁹

Partnership arrangements were introduced in the Green Paper of the Labour government (1977):

'In order to concentrate attention and resources on cities where the problems are at their worst, partnership arrangements between central and local government are being offered in the first instance to Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester/Salford, and in London... to Lambeth and the Docklands.'²⁰

Today, the government work in partnership with LAs also in Newcastle/Gateshead and in Hackney/Islington.

The emphasis may be on economic measures in one city and on housing improvement in another. The programme that is linked with the structure plan for the conurbation deals with all LA policies and programmes for the inner area, such as policies on industry and employment. The LA has discretion to implement their own policy.

Funding from Urban Aid is, however, also given to other cities, mainly to larger projects which will benefit the community. The Urban Aid for e.g. Newcastle amounts to £6 mill. per year. In Arthur's Hill, Urban Aid financed landscaping and the building of a community centre.²¹

The partnership arrangements, in the London Dockland and in Liverpool, have been transformed into Urban Development Corporations, with the same range of powers as the New Town Development Corporations, by-passing the LAs in the area.

The problems of the undemocratic nature of Development Corporations mentioned earlier have been clearly demonstrated by the confrontations in the London Docklands Development Corporation.²² The boroughs in the East End of London had for a number of years worked on a joint project of acquiring land from the abandoned docks, for development for council housing. However, in 1981, the Conservative Government set up the Development Corporation to take over the planning of the Docklands, vesting all the land assembled by the boroughs. This land is now sold off to private developers, for owner-occupation. The Development Corporation wants to attract skilled workers and office people to the Docklands, while the residents and their boroughs want to adopt a strategy which will benefit working class people in East London.²³

In Liverpool, the Merseyside Development Corporation²⁴ controls 900 acres of Dockland which are to be used for the 1984 International Garden Festival and afterwards developed in the 'largest single urban renewal project in this country in this century'. Furthermore, a Task Force, appointed by the Secretary of State, was set up following the Toxteth riots, with 25 people drawn from commerce and industry.²⁵

A scheme for an Urban Development Grant system is furthermore set up, designed to attract private capital by using public funding in a pump-priming role.²⁶ The Task Force is supposed to further and coordinate the contact between the public and private sector, and between central and local government.

Unlike the London Docklands, Liverpool is not part of a prosperous metropolitan market area, and the attempt to persuade private investment may be very difficult indeed.

In Glasgow, the GEAR Project was started in the East End of the city, with two aims:²⁷

- a. promote industrial regeneration
- b. clean up the industrial landscape

The project is run by:

- (i) The Scottish Development Agency (SDA) has (formally) the

coordinating role of the project; SDA's role is furthermore to attract new industry.

- (ii) The LA, Glasgow District Council. Its role is to provide housing through renovation and new built.
- (iii) The Strathclyde Region is concerned with the planning of social work, transport, education etc. in the area.
- (iv) The Scottish Special Housing Association (SSHA) assist the LA in housing provision.²⁸

In GEAR, an infrastructure has been provided. The SDA has carried out a number of landscaping and environmental improvements in the area, and a number of listed buildings have been restored.

The Development Corporations and the GEAR project are the most comprehensive government efforts to solve the Inner City problems. Still, the impression that remains is one of either isolated efforts over a relatively short period of time or large programmes with little coordination of funding within them. Government attention has been directed towards those elements which would produce immediate results; according to Stewart and Underwood, the present government approach to area-based policies in general has been to shift away from social programmes and towards wealth-generating activities, which again is a part of an encouragement approach.²⁹

Subsidies and allocation

Subsidies to local authorities

New building and housing improvement are subsidised by Central Government according to the LA's annual Housing Investment Programme (HIP).³⁰ This is a procedure in which the LAs assesses housing need in their district and relate it to housing activity, on the basis of which Central Government allocates - and controls - subsidies to the districts.

The 1980 Housing Act introduced the deficit financing system. The actual subsidies paid up to local authorities make up the difference (in the LA Housing Revenue Account) between the income received in rate contributions and rents, and the costs involved in financing, maintaining and managing the housing stock.

In 1978-79, the general subsidies amounted to £1,440 mill, including £245 mill in contribution from the local rates. As an average, this subsidy was about half of the LAs' spending on housing. Two-thirds of the total outgoings of the Housing Revenue

Accounts were repayment of loans, one-third were costs of repairs and management.³¹

The present government's housing investment allocations were cut by 20 per cent for 1980-81, followed by a further cut by 27 per cent for 1981-82.³² According to an Environmental Health Officer report, more than three-fourth of councils involved in area improvement programmes are therefore being forced to restrict work. Furthermore, one out of five LAs will have insufficient funds to approve any improvement grants.³³ In other words, the Government's declared support for rehabilitation is not backed up by the necessary subsidies.

Subsidies to housing associations

The 1980 Housing Act outlined a process, the Approval Development programme (ADP), which to some extent can be compared with the HIP programme, being a cash limit system, an annual programme setting out the financial needs for the coming year.³⁴

The main procedure is this:

- the DoE announces policies, priorities and nationwide allocation of investment funds (aug)
- the regional Housing Corporation estimates the housing need in the area with the help of the LAs and make a bid to the central Housing Corporation
- the central Housing Corporation submit a programme to the DoE (nov)
- the DoE criticises and approves eventually (jan-feb)
- the Housing Corporation allocates funds to regions
- the regional Housing Corporation allocates funds by LA areas
- within the LA area allocation, the Housing Corporation allocates funds by individual HA bids.

The allocation between the LAs is decided on the grounds of local variations in housing need and strategies, and housing association capacity. The Housing Corporation has been criticised for not making public statements to explain the allocation on this level.

The allocation to individual HAs is determined by:

- (i) Bids by HAs
- (ii) Assessment of HA performance
- (iii) Viability of individual associations
- (iv) Administrative efficiency of the HC

When the Housing Corporation allocates funds to regional HC offices, they are restricted within certain expenditure headings. For 1981-82, these bids were distributed thus:³⁵

Committed expense	49%
Approved projects	29
New projects - fair rent	13
New projects - shared ownership etc.	6
Major repairs	3
'MiniHAG'	0.2

The Housing Association Grant (HAG), which was introduced through the 1974 Housing Act and carried through the 1980 Act almost unchanged, enables the Government to make a single capital payment on the completion of each housing project to eliminate the projected deficit.³⁶ The aim is that after HAG is paid rent income will cover fully the management and maintenance costs plus mortgage repayments.

The HAs are furthermore given administrative allowances to pay the staff costs of developing, implementing and managing association schemes. An acquisition and an improvement allowance is paid for each house/close, apart from allowances for each tenant, decanted, and for establishment of new tenancies.³⁷

In some cases a surplus has emerged as a result of a higher rent level than expected. The 1980 Bill gave the Government control over these money through the Grant Redemption Funds.

Closing note

Seen on an overall level, the planning system in Britain resembles the Danish system. However, the direction of policies is different in the two countries. In Denmark, the planning reform of the 70s aimed at decentralising decisions to the district level, involving the local residents. In Britain, the LAs have always enjoyed a relative autonomy, with a resistance to central interference, in planning as well as in other matters of local government. However, over a number of years, local autonomy has been slowly eroding, in general and in housing in particular. The present government's support for HAs should therefore be seen as an increasing control over housing programmes through the Housing Corporation, thereby surpassing the LAs.³⁸

10.3 Framework for housing improvement

Sanitary provisions

Background

In order to understand the present situation in the British inner cities, it is essential for the Danish reader to realise that slum clearance have been a characteristic feature of British sanitary policies from the mid-50s to the early 70s, embodied in the declaration of Comprehensive Development Areas.³⁹ There was a general consensus of new housing as more desirable than old; furthermore, demolition and redevelopment were considered to be the most effective way of dealing with the housing problem.

Not only single houses were affected. Through an unprecedented alliance between private developers and planners, whole cities vanished and new 'Venices' and 'New Yorks' emerged from the ruins.

Till the late 60s, LAs demolished about 70,000 houses each year, building over 160,000 new per annum.⁴⁰ In the middle 70s, slum clearance started to decline. In 1979, about 35,000 dwellings were demolished in Great Britain.⁴¹ There are several reasons for this fall in demolitions, among those that the 'irredeamable slums' had now gone. In 1976, 794,000 dwellings in England were assessed as unfit, a reduction of 30 per cent in five years.⁴² Furthermore, slum clearance as a strategy of dealing with unfitness and overcrowding was being partly rejected, and replaced by housing improvement.

Since 1949, improvement grants for providing basic amenities like a fixed bath, piped water supply and a WC had been available. With policy turning towards improvement instead of slum clearance, and strategies towards encouragement instead of direct state intervention. The grants given towards sanitary improvement was extended, with a higher grant rate in HAAs and GIAs. However, the sanitary principle survives, like in this quotation from the 1974

Housing Act:

'The aim is to transform the run-down residential areas into decent civilised neighbourhoods by a careful mixture and phasing of redevelopment and rehabilitation.'⁴³

Assessment

Unlike the Danish legislation on environmental health, the English is distributed over a number of different Acts, the most important

being the Housing Acts with amendments, the latest from 1980.

In England and Wales, it is a duty of the local authority to ensure that the dwellings in its area fulfil certain minimum standards and 'is not injurious to the health either of its occupants or of the public at large'.⁴⁴

The LA dispose of a whole range of legislative systems which deals with housing conditions and public health. The main areas covered are

- (i) statutory nuisances⁴⁵
- (ii) disrepair⁴⁶
- (iii) overcrowding⁴⁷
- (iv) houses in multiple occupation⁴⁸
- (v) unfit for human habitation.

The LA has a duty to assess whether the houses in their area conform to the basic minimum standards. A dwelling is deemed to be unfit for human habitation if it is defective in one or more of the following requirements:

- repair
- stability
- freedom from damp
- internal arrangement
- natural lighting
- ventilation
- water supply (one tap within the house)
- drainage and sanitary conveniences (a WC for the exclusive use of the occupants of the dwelling)
- facilities for preparation and cooking (a sink and a cooker or provision for installation of a cooker)
- disposal for waste water.⁴⁹

Most dwellings are unfit in several of these items; however, lack of water supply alone can make a house unfit. The overall assessment of the standard and condition of dwellings are made in the English House Condition Surveys, the last being the survey of 1981.

In Scotland, the assessment is made on a slightly different base.⁵⁰ The Scottish Advisory Committee's 1967 report on 'Scotland's Older Housing recommended abolition of the concept of 'unfitness' and its replacement by one of 'tolerability', being more objective. The tolerable standard is defined with reference to the proposed satisfactory standard 'below which houses should not be allowed to

exist'.⁵¹ The proposed standard was largely adopted in the Housing (Scotland) Act of 1969, amended in the Housing Act of 1974:⁵²

The limit over which a dwelling is of tolerable standard is nearly the same as the English minimum standard of fitness, with a few added requirements:

- satisfactory access to external doors and outbuildings
- satisfactory provision for heating and artificial lighting
- supply of both hot and cold water within the house.⁵³

Framework and procedure

After the assessment of dwelling standard, the LA estimates the cost of the repairs involved in making the dwelling 'fit', or rather, 'not unfit'. According to this estimate, a number of conclusions may be reached, for which the LA has various possibilities for action:

- unfit and beyond repair at reasonable cost. In most cases, the council serves a demolition order, the house being demolished within a given time limit.⁵⁴
- unfit and capable of repair at reasonable cost.⁵⁵
The LA serves a notice to repair and gives the owner a time limit within which to repair the house.
- overcrowding. If a house is overcrowded the LA may serve a notice of provision of amenities.⁵⁶
- substandard dwellings, unfit or not unfit.⁵⁷ If the dwelling lacks basic amenities, and can be repaired at a reasonable expense, the LA may serve a provisional notice to the owner. Here, tenants 'are entitled to be heard'. Decanting is arranged if necessary, and the LA then serves an improvement notice requiring the owner to improve.

These measures are meant to deal with single houses which constitute a health risk. Accordingly, public subsidy in the form of grants are available in order to improve the sanitary standard, and the housing condition of the house. There are four main types of renovation grants:⁵⁸

- (i) Improvement grants for major improvements and for conversions.
- (ii) Intermediate grants for provision of standard amenities.
- (iii) Repairs grants for substantial rehabilitation (not maintenance).
- (iv) Special grants for provision of standard amenities and

fire escapes in houses in multiple occupation (not in Scotland).

The grant rate is determined by a number of factors, e.g. whether the dwelling is within or outside an HAA or a GIA. The grant rate in HAAs are normally 75 per cent of the eligible expense (90 per cent for residents in hardship), and correspondingly 65 per cent in GIAs (75 per cent in special cases). Outside action areas, the LA may give a 50 per cent grant.⁵⁹ For improvement and repairs grants to listed buildings, an additional expense limit is applicable, as well as additional grants from the Historic Buildings Council.

In addition to measures dealing with the single house, a number of area approaches, provisions for improvement of houses in areas with a high number of sub-standard houses. Three main types of area declaration may be applied by the LA, in England and Wales:

- Clearance Areas
- Housing Action Areas (HAA)⁶⁰
- General Improvement Areas (GIA)⁶¹

In Scotland, all area policies are dealt with under their housing action area procedures, under three different labels:

- HAA for demolition
- HAA for improvement
- HAA for demolition and improvement⁶²

If the 'greater' part of the dwellings in an area are unfit, the LA may declare a clearance area if this is believed to be the best solution to the slum problems.⁶³ Prior to declaration, the LA must ensure that a declaration of an HAA or a GIA would be insufficient to deal with the conditions in the area. If there is an objection from residents, a local Public Enquiry must be held.

In contrast to clearance areas, general improvement areas (GIAs) may be declared if housing conditions are expected to be improved by rehabilitation.

In assessing whether an area should be declared as a GIA or HAA, no specific indicators are laid down, which would determine in any absolute manner whether or not a certain neighbourhood should be declared an HAA. According to the Circular, both physical and social factors must be taken into consideration.

As a physical factor separating the two types, the Circular suggest

that an HAA would be an area where less than 30 per cent of the households have the exclusive use of a fixed bath.⁶⁴ The social indicators dividing the two designations may be an assessment of whether the owners/landlords of the area would be prepared to put their own resources into improvements to the housing if the environment were rehabilitated by the LA.

Even though GIAs may be contiguous the HAAs, they are supposed to be mutually exclusive.⁶⁵ However, an HAA can change status to a GIA, maybe after completion of its five-year programme. A GIA may change to an HAA declaration, if the LA decides that this is a more effective way of dealing with adverse living conditions.

A fourth area type described in the 1980 Circular on improvement of older housing is priority neighbourhoods.⁶⁶ These were introduced to 'provide LAs with an economical way of restoring public confidence in the future of an area under stress'.⁶⁷

In practice, very few priority neighbourhoods were declared, and they will be ignored in the context of this thesis.

The enveloping schemes, rehabilitation of the external fabric of deteriorated houses, have been applied on a national basis, as described in Chapter 9.

Additionally, a number of non-statutory programmes are implemented by LAs on an area basis.

In Macclesfield, Birmingham, Block General Improvement Areas are implemented, based on the view that the block is the maximal and optimal size for a statutory improvement area. The LA co-operates closely with the residents with a continuing involvement of owners and tenants - and their resident architect, Rod Hackney.⁶⁸

Many LAs offer package deals to owner-occupiers in order to improve uptake of grants. In Newport, the LA offers a service to all low-income owner-occupiers in HAAs and GIAs, including planning and implementation of housing improvement as well as grants and a loan to finance the balance.⁶⁹

Closing note

In order to solve the problems of unsanitary housing conditions in the British context, a number of measures have been introduced, relating both to the single house and to houses in areas where sub-standard housing is predominant. Reflecting on the variation of

the present housing stock, a flexible policy has been applied; accordingly, the strategy behind this statutory framework is based on both encouragement and direct state intervention. It remains to be seen whether the implementation of these area-based policies has resulted in an improvement of unsanitary housing conditions.

Environmental provisions

Background

In the English context, the amenity concept includes a pursuit for 'a good environment for the promotion of a healthy and civilised life', a concept which here is specified as 'the pursuit of pleasantness', according to the five main approaches to housing improvement. The pursuit of pleasantness was a vital aim of late 19th century environmental determinism; in the words of I.C. Horsfall, the 'lack of pleasantness is a main cause for urban regeneration', and with it the 'cheerfulness, hopefulness, physical and mental health and strength to all classes' (1904).⁷⁰ For Raymond Unwin, who designed the first garden city, Letchworth,⁷¹ the purpose of regulating town development was:

'to make our towns dwelling places more fitting of a race of beings who do not live by bread alone, but who require also mental culture and an outlet for the expression of their spiritual aspirations'.⁷²

In the 1950s, the environmentalist movement was centered around the Civic Trust, which saw its task in promoting 'beauty and fight ugliness in town, village and countryside', and furthermore argued for achieving high standards of design in new buildings.⁷³

The work of the Trust forwarded greater attention given to considerations of urban amenity, both on environmental and conservation issues, by successive governments in the 60s.⁷⁴

The 1968 Town and Country Planning Act specified that both structure and local plans should include 'measures for the improvement of the physical environment'.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the Housing Act of 1969 introduced the concept of General Improvement Areas (GIAs).

General improvement areas (GIAs)

The GIAs were set up in order to encourage owner-occupiers and private landlords to improve their houses by giving special improvement grants and by upgrading the environment. Even though

the purpose of the declaration of a GIA is housing improvement, the strategy is nevertheless based on an environmental approach: that pleasantness and the enhancement of aesthetical qualities is an incentive for the owners to improve, and for continued investment in the area. The arrangements for declaration of GIAs will be further detailed in a later section. Here, the environmental aspects of GIA provisions will be briefly mentioned.

The environmental works which are funded directly by the LA are:

- (i) street works
- (ii) landscaping
- (iii) exteriors and curtilages of buildings (i.e. cleaning and colour-washing exterior walls, repair and replacement of decorative architectural features, but not routine maintenance and structural repairs).
- (iv) community facilities (conversion of buildings for social and recreational facilities).⁷⁶

In GIAs, the eligible expense limit is £400 per house. Central Government pays half the annual loan charges on the approved expenditure on environmental works.⁷⁷ This is usually inadequate for the improvements, and work has to be funded through various sources, wherever the LA may find some funding, for example Inner City Partnership, Priority Area Team funding and County Council Funding.

Environmental improvements are rarely carried out in one stage, because the needs of an area develops, but also because the opportunities for responding to that need are dependant upon the fortituous way in which it is funded.

One of the main problems arising out of the once-and-for-all funding is the responsibility for maintenance. There is no provision for future repair and maintenance of these improvements, and it is usually left to the LA if and when they can manage.⁷⁸

Conservation provisions

Background

The approach taken in this section claims that there are certain qualities - it may be historical, aesthetical, archaeological or cultural - that are worth preserving in general for this and future generations.

In response to the number of buildings lost during the Second World

War, listing of buildings was introduced in the Town and Country Planning Act 1953.⁷⁹ The Historic Buildings Council (HBC), the main authority in conservation, was established in its present form by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Act 1953, as well as provisions for grants for outstanding buildings.⁸⁰

In the 1980 Act, revised criteria for listing newer buildings have been applied. However, in 1981, only 75-80 buildings from the 30s were listed.⁸¹ This cannot be called more than a sample of the period's architecture, and emphasises the antiquarian nature of the approach.

The 60s introduced a local control of conservation through the designation of conservation areas, 'areas of special architectural or historic interest', by the Civic Amenities Act 1967.⁸²

This legislation was, much like the GIA approach in housing legislation, based on the assumption that encouragement, an alliance of market forces and 'public relations psychology' would be sufficient to make the conservation area approach successful. Later legislation, however, has found it necessary to introduce more public funding and more quality control into the areas.

The objects which are sought preserved through conservative legislation are 'monuments' or, at the other end of the scale, 'familiar and cherished local scenes'⁸³ associated with time and place.

Accordingly, the framework falls into three parts: ancient monuments, listed buildings and conservation areas, the last two being relevant in this context.

Listed buildings

The legal frame for listing is found in the Town and Country Planning Act 1971, as amended by the Local Government Planning and Land Act 1980. This enables the Secretary of State for the Environment to list buildings of architectural or historic interest.⁸⁴

In 1980, some 280,000 buildings in England were listed, of these about 11,000 outstanding.⁸⁵ Around 2,000 buildings are added to the list every year.⁸⁶

Listed buildings are classified in grades according to their relative value and importance:⁸⁷

- Grade I Buildings of 'exceptional interest'
- Grade II* 'Particular important' buildings in grade II
- Grade III Buildings of 'special interest which warrant every

effort being made to preserve them'

* The majority are Grade II; many are listed because they possess 'group value' - pleasing landscapes or appropriate settings for finer buildings.

The owner of a listed building must keep his building wind- and weatherproof, and in a good state of repair. If he fails to do so, the LA may serve a repairs' notice specifying the necessary works, and after two months, an order for a compulsory purchase.⁸⁸ If the building is unoccupied, the LA may undertake urgent repairs and recover the cost from the owner.⁸⁹ However, LAs cannot execute repairs to an occupied listed building which - seen from a social point of view - would be more urgent.

It is an offence to demolish, alter or extend a listed building without having obtained Listed Building Consent (LBC) from the LA.⁹⁰

If LBC is refused by the LA, the owner may within six months appeal to the Secretary of State. The procedure corresponds with the rules for planning appeals, and includes a public enquiry.⁹¹

Before granting planning permission for new developments, LAs are required to take the possible effect of the proposed development of a listed building or its setting, into consideration.

Restoration of listed buildings is aided through an encouragement system of grants, partly from central, partly from local government.⁹² The DoE may provide grants for acquisition and preservation of listed buildings, and for the upkeep of historic gardens and land. LAs are enabled to make grants or loans available for listed or unlisted historic buildings. The LA may recover the grant if the property is sold or exchanged within three years, to prevent capitalisation of grants. In the 1980 Act, repairs grants for substantial and structural repairs has been made available also for pre-1919 houses outside HAAs and GIAs.⁹³

For listed buildings, higher limits of eligible expense have been specified for both improvement and repairs grants, according to the grade of listing, to cover the cost of specific works to be incorporated to maintain the character and appearance of the buildings.⁹⁴

Conservation areas

According to the Town and Country Planning Act 1971, LAs are re-

quested to determine which parts of their areas are of special architectural or historic interest, the 'character or appearance of which it is desirable to preserve and enhance and to designate such areas as conservation areas.' Areas may be large or small, from whole town centres to squares, terraces and smaller groups of buildings.⁹⁵

In 1976, there were about 3,900 conservation areas in England (?), of which 270 had outstanding status. By 1979, nearly 5,000 were designated of which 400 were outstanding (England).⁹⁶ Scotland had a hundred conservation areas in 1971, and about 450 in 1981.⁹⁷

Local authority powers

The LA may carry out emergency repairs to an unoccupied building in a conservation area, if a direction is made by the Secretary of State, following the same procedure as repairs to listed buildings.

There are no special powers for the LA to apply in cases of alterations, extensions or other changes of the exterior. On the contrary LAs are asked to relax building regulation requirements when considering proposals for the restoration or conversion of historic buildings.

Demolition is, however, controlled in a conservation area. Anyone wanting to demolish must apply under the listed building consent procedure.

The demolition is granted according to LA discretion - only if the building in question is owned by the LA, will the Secretary of State have to be notified.

The DoE makes grant available for work which will make 'a significant contribution towards preserving or enhancing the character or appearance of any conservation areas',⁹⁸ with priority given to building works. Furthermore, repair grants are available for all pre-1919 dwellings.⁹⁹

Economic considerations

Preface

The change from a policy of new built to rehabilitation in most Western European countries has in an overall context mainly been motivated in an economic argument. As demonstrated in Chapter Six the Danish arguments for a rehabilitation policy were based in

economic considerations on employment, resources and the balance of payments; in Britain, similar economic arguments was forwarded by successive governments during the 60s and 70s. The difference in time between the introduction of rehabilitation policies controlled by central government in the two countries calls for a further analysis of the British experience, especially in terms of alternative strategies for housing improvement and their consequences.

With this study investigating housing rehabilitation in relation to Danish experience, there are two aspects of public expenditure in housing which are especially relevant to Danish urban renewal policies:

- the economic analysis which precedes any decision involving public subsidy, the comparative economics of clearance or redevelopment
- economic effects of an encouragement, alternatively a policy of direct state intervention, in housing improvement.

Comparative economics of clearance and redevelopment

If any acceptable housing standard is clearly defined, and the maximum amount which central government wants to spend on rehabilitation determined as well, we then have a simple model for comparative economics for clearance or redevelopment: if the improvement of a property to the policy standard exceed this amount, the house is due for demolition. This is the crude economic model which is used as a determinant for Copenhagen urban renewal.¹⁰⁰ In the following, the reality of similar British assessments will be considered including restrictions in their general application.

A simple model for comparative assessment was first introduced by professor Lionel Needleman in 1965,¹⁰¹ in his book 'The Economics of Housing'. After having argued the various advantages of rehabilitation: swiftness, full use of unemployed maintenance workers and less social disturbance, Needleman continues:

'From the purely economic view, whether it is cheaper to renovate old properties or to demolish and rebuild them will depend on three factors: the rate on interest, the future length of life of the renovated property and the difference between the running costs of the modernized property and the rebuilt one.' 102

One may add a fourth argument: the difference between rent returns

between the new and the improved property; this was later incorporated in a revised edition.

Needleman continues:

'Modernization enables the replacement of old dwellings to be postponed for the future length of life of the renovated accommodation, say λ years. Modernization will therefore be worth while, if:

- the cost of modernization
- plus the present value of rebuilding cost in λ years time
- plus the present value of the difference in running costs for λ years

is less than the present cost of rebuilding.' 103

Before entering into the formula itself, it remains to be said that if in λ years time it cost £ x to rebuild, the 'the present value of £ x' means the sum of money, which, invested now and with compound interest, would amount to £ x in λ years. Another factor is the difference in annual repairs cost between a new built and renovated property. It is estimated by Needleman that for a new dwelling costing £ 2,000, the annual difference may be £ 8 - which does seem underestimated.¹⁰⁴

These considerations gives the following formula:

$$b > m + b(1+i)^{-\lambda} + \frac{r}{i}(1 - (1+i)^{-\lambda})$$

where: b = the cost of demolition and rebuilding
 m = the cost of 'adequate' modernisation
 i = the rate of interest
 = the useful life of the renovated dwelling

$$\Leftrightarrow b > m + b(1+i)^{-\lambda} + \frac{b}{250i}(1 - (1+i)^{-\lambda}) \quad 105$$

Needleman gives the following examples at varying rates of interest and useful life:

39

The Needleman rule. Comparative costs of clearance and redevelopment at varying rates of interest.

Interest rate	useful life of renovated dwelling				
	30 ye.	20	15	10	5
8%	0.86	0.75	0.65	0.51	0.31
7	0.82	0.70	0.60	0.46	0.27
6	0.77	0.64	0.54	0.41	0.24
5	0.51	0.39	0.31	0.22	0.12

106

The balance between the two options changes with variations in interest rates, as seen in this example:

40 Present-day interest rates applied to the Needleman rule

Interest rate	useful life	
	30 ye.	20 15
15%	0.96	0.91 0.85
12	0.93	0.87 0.79

A raise of interest rates will, all things equal, tip the balance in favour of rehabilitation.

Following the passing of the 1969 Housing Act, the Ministry of Housing and Local Government issued official advice on the economic aspects of area improvement, the DoE formula. This was based on a revised model of Needleman's earlier work, incorporating the rent difference and using the (then current) treasury rate of 8 per cent.¹⁰⁷

$$b > m + b (1 + i)^{-\lambda} + \frac{r + p}{i} [1 - (1 + i)^{-\lambda}], \text{ where:}$$

$r + p$ is the new difference in annual running costs (r) and rent (p) between a new and modernised property.

The DoE arguments to the LAs for using a formula as such was in the Circular on the 1969 Act:

- '1. Local authorities are not undertaking area improvement simply for economic reasons but also for social ones - to benefit the conditions in which people are living who have been able to secure these benefits for themselves. But they will wish to look closely at the economic aspects of their work, in order to avoid a waste of both private and public money.
- '2. There are two aspects to be considered:
 - a. how much is worth spending on improvement compared with redevelopment.
 - b. how can areas for improvement be selected to secure the best value for the resources used? 108

The cost of redevelopment on a given site is fairly easy to estimate, given the standard of accommodation provided.

The cost of improvement on the same site depends on the standard after improvement, the condition of the existing housing stock, the useful life and the rate of interest. The Circular gives an example of this:

Interest rate 8 per cent.

Useful life of new accommodation 60 years.

(table next page)

The DoE formula. Comparative costs of clearance and redevelopment at varying rates of interest. Maximum cost per dw, compared to cost of new dw.

quality of improved dw in % of new dw	useful life (in years)			
	40	30	20	15
100	0.96	0.91	0.79	0.69
90	0.87	0.82	0.71	0.62
80	0.77	0.73	0.63	0.55
70	0.68	0.64	0.56	0.48
60	0.58	0.55	0.48	0.42
50	0.48	0.46	0.40	0.35

109

In other words, new buildings of a site will cost £ 10,000; £ 9,600 may be spend on improvement instead (to a 40-year life) or £ 6,900 (to a 15-year life).

The calculation is based on a 1969 rate of interest of 8 per cent.

The formula can be used in two ways:

1. for a given site when all components have been quantified, the calculation will show whether redevelopment or rehabilitation will be the most economic use of resources.
2. give limited information on a larger area, the calculation will show, for varying values of and interest rates, the maximum amount that may be spent on rehabilitation. 110

To this rule and its presumptions, a number of comments have been made:

Firstly, the Circular admits that 'it is not easy to compare in numerical terms the standard of accommodation in improved dwellings with new', but does not offer much guidance to the most appropriate way of dealing with the problem.¹¹¹ Needleman argues that even though it is difficult to measure the value of the respective end products, it is comparatively easy to assess the minimum cost for reaching a certain standard, decided by central government.¹¹²

Rent differentials may be used for assessing the future rent.

Green et al argues that fair rent would be a more reliable indicator because they reflect more accurately quality of accommodation;¹¹³ other suggestions have been made as well. Green et al concludes that 'there is no simple method of accounting for differences in the quality of accommodation', and they suggest to test the model through a number of alternative case studies, comparing the result produced.

The DoE formula was calculated with an interest rate of 8 per cent which was the treasury rate of that time. However, inflation and fluctuations of the interest rate will, as already argued, to a

high degree influence the result.

In 1975, Brookes and Hughes, in a case study of housing improvement in Cardiff, argued that there was:

'...a casual relationship between the rate of interest and the rate of inflation, and that the real long time rate of interest should be taken as the difference between the actual rate of interest and the rate of inflation at a given point in time.' 114

Correspondingly, they used 5 per cent as a value of interest rate, tipping the balance in favour of redevelopment. Merret similarly points out that 'the saving through delay', the core of the argument, is sensitive to the discount rate chosen. 115

Against this background, the CDP teams had argued for changes in the nature of housing finance which would make it less dependant on finance capital and high interest rates, a suggestion which corresponds with the newly introduced Danish system of index-linked loans. 116

Merret finally points out an important inequality in the formula:

'...Cost Benefit Analysis/the Needleman formula/is of relevance only if applied to alternatives each of which... can be selected and implemented...if rehabilitation were superior it took place only if owner-occupiers and private landlords chose to do so. By ignoring this question of agency, Needleman was thereby presenting an illusory choice.' 117

In conclusion, these economic appraisals are still merely tools to analyse some parts of the rehabilitation spectre. As Green et al argues, the model should be regarded as only part of a more comprehensive and systematic evaluation - an aid to, rather than a substitute for a cost-benefit analysis. 118

The Needleman formula and other similar economic models are for policy decisions, and not sufficient for coordination financial and social approaches on a local level, giving priority to the social aspects. This must be regarded as a lesson for any rehabilitation policy.

Economic effects of alternative improvement strategies

The next question to be considered in an overall economic context is the choice of strategy and its economic consequences. We have earlier defined two main strategies, an encouragement strategy and a strategy of direct public intervention, of which the economic

consequences in the British context will be pursued in the following.

Prior to 1974, grants had been used for a number of purposes which did not correspond with the original objectives of the legislative framework:

- improvement of second homes
- replacement of poor tenants, by raising the rent, or by 'fair means or foul'
- improvement and sale with a profit (capitalisation of grant).

This section will be concerned with the third aspect, the relationship between the amount of public subsidy and the possible profit to be made from the improvement.

Capitalisation of grants given for house improvement was possible according to the provisions of the 1969 Act. John Cowley quotes an example from Camden (1971):

Unimproved, vacant property bought by developer	£ 12,000	
Conversion into flats about	£ 20,000	
Improvement grants	£ 9,460	
8 (?) flats sold for £ 12,550 - 14,750	£108,000	119

This gives a profit of about £ 85,000 or a return on invested capital of more than 500 per cent. If the use of the dwelling changes during the first five years, the grant is repayable with compound interest.¹²⁰ This demand for repayment was obligatory for the LA in an HAA (or Priority Neighbourhood), but elsewhere at the LA's discretion. Furthermore, the owner should remain occupier for at least five years, and landlords were obliged to guarantee that the property would remain available for letting for five years.¹²¹

These measures were introduced in order to prevent the direct capitalisation of grants. However, this would of course influence the effect of the encouragement embodied in this strategy.

Therefore, the Conservative Government in the 1980 Housing Act introduced certain relaxations of these measures:

'Intending owner-occupiers are still required to provide a certificate of owner-occupation...but following the sale by an owner-occupier the local authority can only reclaim grant if the new owner does not occupy the house in accordance with the provisions.'

'...a LA has the discretion...not to demand a payment from the owner of the dwelling if a grant condition is breached, or to demand a lesser amount/than the original grant plus interest rates.' 122

In other words, both the obligation to repay the grant and to remain an owner-occupier has in reality been removed.

A landlord still has to provide a lettings certificate but he may raise rents by 12 per cent of the cost of the improvement, which must provide some consolation. 123

The possible capitalisation of grant by investment in unimproved property, grant-aided improvement and sale is considerable, as shown in this example from Newcastle, where two sets of prices has been obtained from housing officers: 124;125

	I	II
Price payed by private investor for pair of unimproved vacant flats	£ 3,000	£ 5,000
Personal investment in improvement	£ 2,500	} £15,000
Improvement grant etc.	£10,000	
market price for both flats	£12,000	£14,000

This gives a profit of invested capital of more than 100 per cent.

Another example is from Edinburgh, where the abolition of any grant restrictions on repayment has been the major factor in the increase of grant applications to 60 per cent since the 1980 Act came into operation. 126 This is mainly developers, buying up, getting a grant and selling with a profit, Due to these provisions, empty, unimproved property is an asset for investors.

An example of an Edinburgh conversion is:

Price for a large unimproved vacant house		£ 30,000
Grant	£ 18,000	
Modernisation cost apart from grant	<u>£ 20,000</u>	£ 38,000
Sale of 3 flats	£ 35,000	
	£ 40,000	
	<u>£ 40,000</u>	£115,000 127

With a conversion time of six months and the flats sold immediately after conversion, this gives a profit of about 120 per cent. In her Guide to Housing, Mary L. Smith says:

'Evidence was put forward that, in areas of housing shortage, houses were being improved with grant aid and then sold at a high figure or let as expensive flats, furnished or with services, to those who can afford the high rents.' 128

It seems to be reasonably documented that the encouragement system supported by grants, leads to gentrification even if it succeeds in terms of housing improvement.¹²⁹ Furthermore, the above mentioned examples demonstrate that public subsidies are capitalised to a high degree. Cullingworth made a comment to the 1969 Act, which may, however, apply to the 1980 Act as well:

'If an improved house is sold, there is no obligation to repay the grant. The possibility of someone making a profit out of the improvement grant scheme was thus thought to be of less significance than the fact that a house had thereby been improved. 130

As opposed to a choice between rehabilitation or redevelopment, the economic effect of direct public intervention in housing improvement is more complicated to consider. Here, the present tenants must necessarily be taken into consideration in its implementation as an intervention would aim at improving their living conditions. In determining the relationship between public subsidy and the effect on housing conditions of this subsidy, a more sophisticated cost-benefit analysis should therefore be applied. However, in the context of this study, the main question is hardly the economic but rather the social consequences of applying one strategy or the other. In an earlier section, it has been demonstrated that the application of the encouragement principle to housing improvement leads to gentrification, thereby causing social disruption to the present residents. Therefore, this principle will not be further pursued in the context of this thesis.

Social provisions

Preface

The original intentions for introducing area improvement included a concept of resident involvement, as stated in the 1975 Circular:

'The successful planning and execution of schemes of area improvement depend on three main factors: the organisation set up by an LA promote and administer the project, the formulation of realistic and economic proposals..., and the involvement of owners, residents and other interested in the scheme.' 131

In the following section, the more detailed framework for resident involvement in housing and area improvement will be outlined. Which provisions have been introduced? Do these provisions make a contribution towards preserving and strengthening the present

community, at a scale agreed with the present residents? Accordingly, the various measures for resident involvement will be analysed, compared to the scales of resident participation which was set up in Chapter Four.

Framework

In the statutory provisions for the various area approaches, a separate procedure for resident involvement has been introduced in each case.

For clearance areas, the residents in the area may object to the declaration, in which case a public enquiry will be held. At the enquiry, the LA will have to prove that the majority of houses in the area are unfit, and that the most satisfactory way of dealing with the problems is to demolish and rebuild. However, residents and owners seem to have little actual influence on the result of the enquiry. If the Compulsory Purchase Order is confirmed, the residents must be rehoused and the properties demolished 'as soon as possible.'¹³²

When a Conservation Area is declared, the LA is supposed to take into consideration that 'public interest and participation is... essential for success in conservation.' LAs are asked when preparing schemes for conservation and enhancement to seek the advice and views of local residents and amenity groups, and also that 'the public in general are aware of any meeting held to discuss proposals or progress.'^{133;134} Local authorities are advised to establish Conservation Area Advisory Committees, committees of local residents advising the LA on applications affecting the conservation area. However, these committees have no power and no budget.¹³⁵

When a GIA was declared - according to the 1969 provisions - there were no formalised contact with the residents prior to declaration, and no formal enquiries or appeals. Usually, the council's declaration was published in local newspapers, together with general information of the detailed procedure for grant applications. It was left to the LA to contact the residents and owners in a suitable way, even though it was recommended to appoint a liaison officer to take care of the relations between the tenants and the LA.¹³⁶ This informal approach was revised in 1974 Act, where HAAs were introduced, and the provisions for

resident involvement in GIAs revised.

The official approach of 1974 was:

'Experience with other area policies shows that unless the support of the people in the area is secured, it is unlikely that an HAA programme could be carried out effectively. He/ the Secretary of State/wishes authorities to consider carefully how to bring their plans to the attention of the residents...and to take into account representations they receive...' 137

If 'voices emerge', the LA is furthermore recommended to take an advisory role in 'legal, educational and welfare matters, and keep the council in touch with local needs'.¹³⁸ The LA is asked to 'meet the individual needs of residents', and to 'exchange opinions with groups that may emerge'.

The Circular furthermore recommends the set-up of liaison or steering committees with members both from the LA and resident groups 'to ensure a regular flow of information about progress and problems that may be encountered'.¹³⁹ Concerning households that are not accustomed to speak or read English, the LAs are recommended to 'develop channels of communication' with these groups, directly or through contact groups, and translate letters and leaflets prior to distribution.¹⁴⁰

When the LA decides to carry out environmental improvements in a GIA or HAA, much emphasis is often put in involving local people, through public meetings and through news sheets. The Circular points out that:

'The public meeting is not simply an occasion for the local authority to mount a public relations exercise, but should be the first step in an exchange of views between all interested parties.' 141

The Circular furthermore recommends a local presence in the neighbourhood, preferably by setting up an area team in temporary or mobile offices. An 'explicit' role is furthermore to be played by 'neighbourhood groups and such organisations as tenants' co-operatives and HAS'.¹⁴²

Concluding remarks

These provisions for resident involvement constitute a framework within which the LA may select its own procedure of resident involvement. Therefore, it is left to the LA in which form and to which degree the residents should be involved in the actual

implementation of policies. However, there is a clear indication through these provisions of which sort of involvement is anticipated by Central Government, or rather successive governments; the LAs are advised to 'seek the advice and views of local residents', 'to bring the plans to the attention of the residents', 'to exchange opinions with groups that may emerge', and 'to ensure a regular flow of information'. However, there are no guarantees that proper account is taken of public representations when decisions are actually made.

In other words, the DoE encourages the LAs to implement their policies consulting the residents with the emphasis on information and not working participation.

It remains to be seen, however, how the LAs have interpreted this framework in terms of resident involvement.

10.4 Closing note

In this chapter, the British system of housing improvement have been outlined, and some of its consequences described. In the context of this thesis, the goal of residents involvement figures predominantly. In the following, the concept of HAAs will therefore be pursued in more detail.

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Chapter Eleven + Housing Action Areas - Success or Failure?

11.1. Preface

In the Housing Act 1974, Housing Action Areas (HAAs) were introduced for tackling areas of severe housing stress, where bad physical conditions are combined with lack of amenities and overcrowding, and where special action is required 'in the interest of the residents'.¹ Thus, the selection process for HAAs was to include an evaluation of social conditions, and to introduce a procedure which would improve housing conditions for the present residents, one of the keynotes of the HAAs being urgency.² The details of this procedure are, however, left to the LA, including the degree to which the residents are involved in improving their home environment.

To give a full impression of the possibilities in the context of this study, the more detailed provisions for HAA declarations will be outlined in the following. Here, special attention will be given the involvement of housing associations in HAAs and the practice of this involvement on the local level.

Following this outline of HAA provisions, an appraisal of the HAA results will be attempted, according to the original objectives, and to the requirements in the context of this study. Which problem have been encountered, how have the problems been solved, and which are the lessons to be learned in a Danish context?

11.2. Framework and procedure

Selection and declaration

In declaring an HAA, the aim is within a five-year limit, to secure:

- '(a) the improvement of the housing accommodation in the area as whole, and
- (b) the well-being of the persons for the time being resident in the area, and
- (c) the proper and effective management and use of that accommodation'.³

The White Paper visualised the declaration of two broad categories of HAAs:

- 'a. areas of high pressure where many houses are in bad condition but where nevertheless there is a great demand for accommodation. This is typically found in London, and characterised by multiple occupation, sharing of amenities, overcrowding and disrepair
- b. areas, characterised by poor physical and environmental conditions, are typically found in older industrial towns where the population may be declining and the pressure of demand low but where there is little money available for repair and improvement, often because of elderly residents or unemployment'.⁴

Prior to declaration, a survey of the housing in the area concerned is prepared by the LA itself or by consultants. However, the LA may also act on the basis of a report prepared by neighbourhood councils, residents' associations or housing associations. In the survey, the LA will have to give regard to both the physical condition of the housing accommodation and to social conditions.⁵ Local authorities should have regard to 'the extent to which physical and social factors combine and interact to create unsatisfactory living conditions'.⁶ Only properties with dwellings can be included in the HAA, which usually consists of a physically coherent block.

Following the survey the LA can publish the declaration in newspapers, and send letters to inform owners, landlords and tenants. Furthermore, the LA forwards a HAA statement to the DoE, including an indication of whether the LA wish to involve HAs in the implementation of housing improvement. The Secretary of State has power to rescind the HA or to reduce it in size, but this rarely happens.⁷

In England and Wales, there is a statutory requirement for public information on declaration. Attention is focussed on gaining the support from people in the area, even though the LA itself decides on public information prior to declaration.

In principle, a local residents' group can prepare a report to trigger off a declaration of a HAA, but it is still the council's decision whether or not to declare a HAA. If the council is not

prepared to put their own resources into a housing action area, there is no power which can make them.⁸

In Scotland, the term HAA is applied to all areas where action is to be taken. This was similar to the 'housing treatment area' of the 1969 Act, in which at least half of the houses were below the tolerable standard.⁹ In the Housing (Scotland) Act of 1974, there were provisions for three types of HAA:

- a HAA for demolition, where more than half the houses must be below the tolerable standard
- a HAA for improvement
- a HAA for demolition and improvement.

The latter two can be declared when more than half the houses are either below the tolerable standard or lack one or more of the five basic amenities: a bath/shower, a wc, a handwash basin, a kitchen and hot/cold water at three points.

The HAA declaration in Scotland differs from the English in certain specific ways:¹⁰

1. There are no statutory provisions for a social survey
2. The HAA process can only be started on an LA survey and not by residents
3. The HAA is declared specifically as an HAA for improvement, demolition and improvement, or demolition
4. The HAA is not declared before the Secretary of State has approved of a draft resolution
5. After the approval, the resolution is published in local newspapers and by letters to residents. The owners and residents then have a period of two months to object to the resolution: after this, the LA has another two months to 'consider any objections'.¹¹

There is no obligation for the LA to include objections from residents in the final resolution.

The HAA in England and Wales will have to be completed within five years with a possible extension of two years. In Scotland, there is no time limit.

Size of housing action area

The 1975 Circular on HAAs recommended that 'an HAA should not be so large that significant progress towards improving the living conditions cannot be secured within the first five years'.¹² The Circular recommends an optimal number of 200 - 300 dwellings for an HAA, the size emerging from an appraisal of the most successful GIAs.

The number of dwellings in HAAs, declared in the first four years, varied from over 1,700 to less than 10 dwellings, the average size being about 300 dwellings.¹³ On the Scottish scene, more than one-third of the HAAs declared for improvement have less than 50 dwellings, and more than half is below 100 dwellings.¹⁴ In Scotland's cities, the average number of dwellings in HAAs were 75 - 80 dwellings between 1978 and 1982.¹⁵

Obviously, the size and delineation of HAAs depends on both planning considerations and local circumstances; it is worth noting, however, that the Scottish HAAs on average contain a smaller number of dwellings than its English equivalent.

Housing associations in HAAs

In the 1974 Act, Central Government introduced the HAS to tackle housing improvement in areas with a high degree of private housing:16

'Ministers have made it clear...that registered housing associations can and should play an important role in supporting authorities..., particularly in tackling areas of housing stress and meeting the housing needs of special groups of people'.¹⁷

With an HA involvement in HAAs, the HA takes over the ownership, usually of council houses and houses in private letting, and furthermore from owner-occupiers who want to sell, acting as an agent on behalf of the LA.¹⁸ The HA takes care of decanting, development, allocation, maintenance and management of the properties, receiving a Housing Association Grant.

The Circular recommends LAs to work with existing HAS, or to set up new HAS in the area. A special role is anticipated for smaller HAS and co-operatives:

'LAs will wish to bear in mind the possibility of using... associations formed to meet the desire of certain groups of tenants to involve themselves in the management and improvement of their homes...'.¹⁹

In practice, the majority of districts have involved HAs in their HAA programme. Of the HAAs declared by the end of 1976, HAs were thus involved in 119 of 169 HAAs.²⁰ The way in which the HAs are involved, does however, vary profoundly from LA to LA, and policies for HA involvement differ: from England to Scotland. In England, it is mainly larger, existing HAs which are involved in HAs, while in Scotland, both the LAs, the SDD and the Scottish Housing Corporation promote a policy of smaller HAs and co-operatives, in many cases with direct resident involvement.

In Scotland, the Housing Corporation and the LAs of Glasgow and Edinburgh have, during the last decade, depended heavily on community-based HAs in their HAA programme. A community-based HA is set up in a specific rehabilitation area by a steering group and the local residents as an ad-hoc association running as long as there are dwellings to rehabilitate. After this, the HA changes into a management HA still controlled by the residents.

With the public sector, a number of interesting experiments with tenant involvement are being carried out, with the tenants' management co-operatives being far the most interesting. In these co-ops, tenants take over some or all of the management functions on their estate, the ownership remaining with the LA.²¹ Further reference is made to Appendix V.

Zoning

In the Circular, it is recommended to the LA that - in each urban renewal area - only one HA should be active.²² This is demanded in order to increase effectiveness, and to avoid competition in e.g. acquisition of rented property.

In most cases, the LA defines areas in need of rehabilitation, and allocate each zone to a HA. These zones which contains dwellings of all standards vary in size, according to local policy. In Edinburgh, the areas in need of rehabilitation were delegated to five existing HAs, each HA taking care of an area with 5,000 dwellings with 500 dwellings in need of rehabilitation.²³

Contrasting with this, a Glaswegian HA takes care of an average of a 1,000 dwellings, with 700 in need of rehabilitation.²⁴

In other LAs, the HAs are not area-based, but works all over town, i.e. Newcastle and Birmingham.²⁵

Action programme

Having declared an HAA, a programme for action must be implemented; in the Circular, some directions are outlined: 'A programme will have to be sensitive to the characteristics of the area, the role that it plays in the wider neighbourhood, and to the needs, expectations, and resources of its residents. The authority will need to be ready to modify it if public consultation or experience shows this to be desirable'.²⁶ The directions emphasize that the programme must respect the housing and social needs that an area fulfils; if residents have family or other close connections within the area, they should be allowed to stay.²⁷ The LA is recommended to establish a local presence in the area, a recommendation which has been followed by about half of all LAs declaring HAAs.²⁸

A typical HAA programme, from Newport, can be summarised thus:

Phase 1: Preparations and public meeting

- meeting with local residents' committee
- letter to each resident and landlord with information leaflet and invitation to public meeting
- first meeting of HAA-team to consider action programme
- HAA-team discussion with the Housing Corporation, building societies, single residents and builders
- public meeting.

Phase 2a: Physical and social surveys

- initial survey of problem households
- contact with problem landlords
- physical survey of tenanted property where the landlord was willing to improve
- campaign for take-up of grants in owner-occupied property.

Phase 2b (concurrent with phase 2a): Public participation

- area liaison meetings with members of local residents' committee and ward councillors concerning environmental issues
- display of traffic plan in HAA and comments from individual residents
- forming of a steering group for a co-operative HA.

Phase 2c (concurrent with phase 2a): Finance

- finance from the HC through a co-op
- funding from the Welsh Office 'to aid the construction industry'
- securing Building Society Finance to owner-occupiers.²⁹

Cost limits

Building costs of HA schemes of rehabilitation are controlled by cost limits set by the HC, in Scotland by the SDD, and paid for each bed space. The problem of a fixed cost limit and rehabilitation is the large variations in unimproved property. In reality, many schemes are allowed to proceed beyond the cost limit. Hunter states ten per cent in Glasgow³⁰ and a certain contingency sum of five to ten per cent is allowed as well.³¹

With the relatively small flats in the Scottish tenements, amalgamation into larger, family-size flats is possible, but not encouraged through the cost yardstick. Only 20 per cent of improved Scottish HA flats is a result of amalgamation.³² In Appendix I, the subsidies to HAs are outlined in more detail.

Compulsory purchase

Compulsory powers applicable outside HAAs may, of course, also be applied within the area.³³ In addition to this, the LA can acquire any property (with dwellings) in HAAs, regardless of standard and condition. These powers would be used in the following cases:

- a house in disrepair or lacking standard amenities, where the owner is unable or unwilling to rehabilitate it
- where improvement of a block/close is prevented because of multiple ownership
- in a privately rented property where tenants are subject to harrassment
- where a property in multiple occupation is unsatisfactorily managed.

According to a report issued by the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, these strategic powers have been 'extensively and successfully used by many authorities'.³⁴

Within HAAs, a system of notification gives the LA a possibility of identifying tenanted property which is being bought or sold, and where tenants are at risk of replacement. Owners must notify the LA of all notices to quit, and the LA must respond to such notifications within four weeks.³⁵

The Housing (Scotland) Act 1974, gave the LAs more power in two respects:

1. Compulsory purchase powers were strengthened
2. LAs got the right to buy houses in HAAs.

Furthermore, tenants got a right to stay in their flat:

3. Tenants were allowed to stay in improved dwellings, owned by the LA or a HA
4. Displaced tenants should be locally rehoused.³⁶

Environmental improvements

In the original circular on HAA, it was emphasized that 'the priority for attention is likely to be the houses themselves', and that 'the assistance towards environmental works in HAAs is on more limited scale than that in GIAs'. Consequently, subsidy for environmental improvements was set at a considerably low level, of £ 50 per dwelling.³⁷ As a result of this limited government funding, all sorts of public and private financial sources in addition are generally used, like charitable trusts, the EEC

Regional Development Fund, or the Historic Buildings Council.

In 1980, the eligible expense limits for environmental improvements in HAAs were raised to £ 400 per dwellings, matching the amount available in GIAs.³⁸

Decanting

Neither the LA nor the HA have any power to allocate flats in private renting, and tenants are therefore being rehoused in LA or HA property, inside or outside the HAA.

In general, tenants have the option of being temporarily decanted and return to their former house after improvement, or to be rehoused on a permanent basis. 'Hotel' flats and houses bought especially for temporary decanting, seem to be fairly common, thereby giving the residents the option of returning to their flat and stay in the area. If an HA is involved in the HAA, it will usually take care of decanting, supported by the LA in case of special need.³⁹

Closing note

In the first five years since the 1974 Housing Act came into operation, 325 HAAs with more than 100,000 dwellings have been declared; by 1981, more than 150,000 dwellings were in declared HAAs. Generally, around ten per cent of the dwellings in an HAA are not in need of housing improvement; accordingly, around 135,000 substandard houses are covered by an HAA declaration, giving access to grants for improvement, and initiating public intervention by HAs.

Of the first 32 HAAs declared, an average of 70 per cent of the dwellings were improved or in the pipeline five years after declaration. In other words, the number of dwellings improved in the HAAs during the first seven years may be close to a 100,000 dwellings.

However, the number of housing improvements inside the HAA programme is not impressive compared to the total number of housing improvements. During the 70s, the total number of improvement grants given was:

Grants for conversion and improvement

England 1973 - 1977

1973	329,000
1974	216,000
1975	118,000
1976	119,000
1977	119,000 40

In other words, the number of improved dwellings inside HAAs is relatively small, compared to the housing improvement outside. This is partly due to the fact that the majority of substandard dwellings are not part of a present or potential HAA.⁴¹ However, it is the large majority of grants which have been granted outside HAAs, and this cannot be counted as a success for the HAA approach when it comes to the objective of housing improvement.

11.3. An appraisalPreface

In an evaluation of the success of the HAA approach, a range of different viewpoints may be taken. Have they been successful according to economic, social, conservation, environmental and sanitary objectives? Have the intentions of the original policy been fulfilled? These questions involve both quantitative and qualitative aims, and a further consideration of the original HAA objectives is therefore necessary prior to any appraisal.

The first objective for HAAs was that they should secure 'the improvement of the housing accommodation in the area as a whole'.⁴² The original intentions for declaring HAAs were based on the assumption that 'poor housing conditions are easily identifiable on a geographical basis', and that an effective housing improvement is encouraged when public subsidy is given towards housing improvement in smaller areas, thereby increasing the encouragement element. Furthermore, a mixed policy of both encouragement and direct public intervention was applied, the 'carrot' to improve owner-occupied property and 'the stick' to ameliorate housing conditions in property for private renting.

According to Central Government objectives, priority should be given to 'helping those who live in houses without amenities, or in need for repair, or who suffer social disadvantages'.⁴³

The aim is to secure 'the well-being of persons for the time being residing in the area'.⁴⁴ Thus, both physical and social perspectives have been a clear feature of HAA policy in legislation recommendations and practical implementation.⁴⁵

Accordingly, an appraisal following the original HAA objectives should include:

- what is the rate of housing improvement?
- has the application of housing improvement in areas meant a relative increase in this improvement rate?
- has direct state intervention improved the housing conditions in privately rented property?
- has the interest of the present residents been considered?

At the end of this chapter, the perspectives for Danish urban renewal are drawn up, and the demand for further research specified. However, it is pointed out that there are variations in the extent to which this improvement action has reduced the scale of unsatisfactory housing. In one HAA, selected for evaluation by the DoE, all households had a bath at the end of the HAA's life time; in another, thirteen per cent of the households still had no bath at the end of the five years.⁴⁶ In the HAAs declared and completed by early 1979, improvement varied widely, from 100 down to four per cent. Of the 26 HAAs declared in 1977 and 1978, thirteen per cent were improved and 37 per cent more dwellings awaited improvement by early 1979.^{47,48} In the DoE sample, the six selected HAAs had improvement rates of 69, 50, 77, 92, 60 and 89 per cent of the HAA stock respectively, giving an average improvement rate of 70 per cent.⁴⁹

A number of sources are available on HAA progress, providing both overall and more detailed assessments. However, there are few up to-date comprehensive analyses, covering the HAA approach in full. The main source is a report, commissioned by the DoE, from the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies (CURS) in Birmingham,

'Housing Action Area Policy and Progress', (1983), by Pat Niner and Ray Forrest.⁵⁰ In the study, six different HAAs are examined in detail, with the purpose of looking at HAA progress from the point of view of the residents. Other sources are Elizabeth Monck and Gillian Lomas and their report from the Centre of Environmental Studies,⁵¹ and Andrew D. Thomas' report from the Beeches' Road HAA.⁵²

Housing Action Areas - success or failure?

Rate of housing improvement

In the previous section, it was pointed out that the number of housing improvements inside HAAs were relatively small compared to grant uptake in general; here, the character of housing improvements in HAAs will be assessed in more detail.

More than a 100,000 dwellings have been improved under the HAA declaration. Niner and Forrest lay stress upon the fact that 'physical improvement has undoubtedly taken place'.⁵³ In Scotland the total number of dwellings below tolerable standard have been reduced substantially over the last decade.⁵⁴ Similarly, in England the percentage of all households in Britain lacking a bath declined from twelve to five per cent - a percentage reduction of 58 per cent.⁵⁵ However, whether this can be counted as 'success' ultimately depends on an assessment of what might have happened had the areas not been declared HAAs.

Niner and Forrest point towards the fact that in the six HAAs which constituted their sample, the percentage reduction in households without a bath varied from 60 to 100 per cent, thus suggesting a greater progress in HAAs than the national average.⁵⁶

All factors show a very slow start of many HAAs. In Scotland, an HAA survey from the Scottish Development Department showed a 22 per cent improvement rate after one or two years, and a likely rate of improvement of 50 per cent after two to three years.⁵⁷ This may point towards the fact that a five-year lifetime is a time limit adopted at random.⁵⁸ Niner and Forrest suggest that even though the five-year horizon is valuable in concentrating effort and resources, it may not be long enough

to physically implement all the work anticipated by the LA.59
 In Niner and Forrest's analysis, the distribution of housing
 improvement in the various tenures was as follows:60

43

Action streams in HAA housing improvement
 Sample of six HAAs, England

% of HAA stock

Improvement with grant	20%
- without grant	11
LA improvement	7
HA -	30
New built	1
Improvement on site	3
No completed action	27

In other words, one out of every three dwellings improved has
 been improved by a HA.

According to Niner and Forrest, the extent of voluntary improvement
 - with and without grants - has been stimulated by HAA declaration,
 and that, in terms of physical change, the case study HAAs can be
 counted successful.61

Improvement of houses in areas

The area approach to housing improvement was originally based on
 the assumption that 'poor housing conditions are of limited extent
 and easily identified on a geographical basis'.⁶² However, this
 must be answered in the negative. As seen in Chapter 8, the
 majority of substandard dwellings are situated outside HAAs and
 GIAs. However, as Turney points out:

'...the fact that social and physical problems exist
 outside the areas and may be more acute in individual
 cases is not necessarily an argument against HAAs'.63

The problem is rather that the existence and expectations of
 GIAs and HAAs have meant a concentration of funding in the areas
 instead of in the patches or low quality housing outside, as
 demonstrated in South Tyneside, where investment in a few areas

has resulted in deterioration of the dwellings 'outside'.

Results of direct state intervention

The main targets for direct state intervention in HAAs were the privately rented sector, and particularly houses in multiple occupation.⁶⁴ The strategy for reaching these aims has, according to Central Government policies been the involvement of HAs to take over from the private landlords:, and, indeed, the change of ownership in declared HAAs has been considerable. In Niner and Forrest's sample, HAs took over a considerable part of the housing stock, with an average of eight per cent HA ownership prior to declaration against 30 per cent after. However, also a high degree of HA ownership has taken place; in 1977, those English HAAs with the highest degree of HA dwellings had 55, 30 and 25 per cent HA ownership respectively.⁶⁵

In Scottish HAAs, in the cities, the HAs managed in 1981 56 per cent of all housing improvement, against 21 per cent owner-occupiers and 20 per cent private landlords.⁶⁶ In other words, the main response to this objective has involved the transfer of property from the private to the public sector. More generally, the privately rented sector has decreased in all the HAAs, while HAs and LA ownership has increased.⁶⁷

From this evidence, however, only a limited conclusion may be drawn. In urban renewal areas, as well as in other areas, a general mobility is common,⁶⁸ and there is no reason to suppose that this mobility will cease with the declaration of a HAA. Therefore, the number of original residents left cannot be considered as a main indicator of the degree to which the present residents' requirements have been met. Secondly, this evidence alone tells us nothing about the other ways in which the well-being of original residents may have been ensured or enhanced, e.g. by rehousing in more suitable accommodation inside or outside the HAA. Thirdly, the LA or HA mainly intervenes if there are difficulties in securing housing improvement, e.g. in empty dilapidated property, for which reason there are no 'original' inhabitants to consider.

According to Mallpass and Murie, the close co-operation of LAs

and HAs in HAAs has increased policy effectiveness, an allegation which is supported by Niner and Forrest.⁶⁹

However, apart from meeting an objective of effectiveness, the HA involvement has meant a high increase in social ownership, thereby influencing the extent of social change in the area.⁷⁰

Interests of present residents

Have the interests of the residents living in the HAA prior to declaration been considered in the HAA procedure? According to this direct question, the HAA procedure has failed, because only few of the original residents would still live in the area. In Niner and Forrest's sample, 53 per cent of the households receiving grant aid had been residents since before declaration, while the similar percentage for LA and HA improvement were respectively four and nine per cent of the households within each tenure.⁷¹

According to Niner and Forrest, one must conclude that the same households are, broadly speaking, no longer residents. However, an important result of Niner and Forrest's analysis is that in their sample, little change is apparent in the demographic and social structure of the areas.⁷² In other words, the characteristics of outward movers were similar to the characteristics of the inward migrants, and broadly similar types of households still live in the areas. In this way, one of the main social objectives has been fulfilled. Furthermore, in Niner and Forrest's words, 'The eligibility and allocation priorities of the public sector agencies will now determine to a far greater extent who can live in the areas in the future, and thus their continuing social function.'⁷³

Conclusion

Success or failure? As Monck and Lomas conclude, the HAA policy can count both successes and failures. In terms of housing improvement, the declaration of HAAs has meant an increase in the number of housing improvements; however, it is recognised that present rehabilitation policies are too selective to deal with the widespread problems of improvement and disrepair in the older housing stock.⁷⁴

It was assumed that HAAs were to be identified by social factors, to relate to special needs in localities, categories of dwellings and groups of people.

However, most HAAs have in practice been chosen on the basis of poor housing conditions rather than social factors,⁷⁵ and in the HAA provisions, there is no financial structure to support the solution of social problems; assistance is purely for the physical environment, and seems to be about 'houses in areas' rather than 'areas'. Furthermore, there are no provisions for sufficient public services and community facilities coordinated with the environmental improvement.

According to Niner and Forrest:

'There is ...no assurance that physical improvement to dwellings and environment will necessarily affect the locational and social aspects. This reinforces the importance of adopting a wide approach to HAA implementation, and particularly of ensuring that the social dimensions are not ignored'.⁷⁶

State intervention is considered to be a success, and every third dwelling improved is improved by a HA. This transfer of property to the public sector will have important implications for future access to rented accommodation since it is now controlled by formalized lettings policies through the HAs.

The wider consequences of introducing the HAs in HAAs are yet to be seen in a long-term context; however, their contribution to a flexible policy of management, an effective procedure of housing improvement and, in Donnison's words, 'imaginative and humane rehabilitation of decayed housing, particularly in inner city areas',⁷⁷ is generally recognised. However, another question is whether their contribution to the relief of HAA-type stress has been useful for the LAs, but also beneficial to the residents.⁷⁸

Demand for further research

Having selected the organisational structure of non-profit co-operatives for investigation in the context of this thesis, a further analysis would naturally gather around the British HA involvement in HAAs. As seen in the previous section, the

HAs have operated according to certain social objectives. It remains to be seen, however, which type of HA would fulfil the requirements set up in the context of this thesis. In other words, do any of the British HAs in urban renewal areas provide for the present residents, as well as with them? This will be investigated through a number of British case studies, which will be assessed according to the requirements for resident participation set up in the context of this thesis and according to local objectives.

- how could these co-operatives be established, and how could they operate?
- how could the co-op be staffed?
- which size of area could the co-op cover, and how could the co-op relate to the local community?

As opposed to the questions posed in the previous section, the answer to this question requires a number of qualitative considerations,

- to which degree could the residents control the activities of the co-op? The single resident? The tenants in a close? The local interest groups?
- how could residents be involved in the best possible way, in order to allow as many residents as possible, especially those who spend most of their time at home, to be involved?

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Chapter Twelve + Introduction to Case Studies

12.1: Selection

In selecting a number of British case studies for investigation, the criteria should first and foremost be concerned with residents' involvement and provision for vulnerable groups. Therefore, the HAs which are selected in the context of this study, should all have an organisation with some degree of formalised resident influence. Then, a broad selection should be made, covering HAs of varying size and organisational pattern. Finally, the general situation of urban renewal in the city or town in question should share some characteristics with the Copenhagen situation.

On this basis, three different HAs in three different cities, and four different rehabilitation projects have been selected, all being exponents for the respective LA's general policy of housing improvement through HAs:

- case study I: a community-based housing association implementing housing improvement on an area basis (Central Govan Housing Association, Glasgow)
- case study II: a small housing co-operative, managing the rehabilitation of their own dwellings (Lister Housing Co-op, Edinburgh)
- case study III: a large housing association, managing a large HAA and a small area with conservation interests involved (North Housing Group, Newcastle-upon-Tyne).

With regard to the cities in question, they all share some, but not all, characteristics with Copenhagen. However, in the context of this study, any similarities in urban organisation and physical texture are considered to be of minor importance, the emphasis being concentrated on the HA and its organisation. Therefore, the choice of cities in which to select case studies have furthermore been determined by the aesthetical pleasures which the cities could offer as a compensation to a hard-working architect with a minimum budget.

12.2. Base for appraisal

In a further analysis with regard to the requirements for resident participation set up in the context of this thesis, the task is:

- to investigate the implementation of the same national policies but varying local policies
- to analyse the procedure of housing improvement, assessing the sequence and the problems encountered, seen in relation to the assessments of the officers involved
- through a closer analysis of a number of tenants, to analyse how the applied strategies have affected the type of tenant provided for, socio-economic group, household composition, age and employment
- to consider the various approaches to resident participation and assessing these on a community and an individual level, according to the requirements set up in the context of this thesis.

Methodology

The following chapters are based on original material collected by the author through a number of interviews from March 1981 to December 1982. Notes were taken at each interview, and an accurate account written down immediately afterwards.

Identification and selection of case studies usually took place through initial contact with one person who suggested a case study and the persons to contact for further information.

In all three cities, a point has been made of interviewing staff from both the Housing and Planning Departments while less emphasis has been placed on interviewing the architect responsible for the restoration. Selection of tenants interviewed has not been made at random, but does not pretend to be representative either. Tenants for further investigation in St. Thomas' was, however, selected randomly out of North Housing's files.

Tenants' interviews have been informal, though partly structured. The average interview took one-half to one hour, during which time

the tenant's opinion was asked on a number of issues related to the actual process of housing improvement.

Due to difficulties of a practical nature, it has been impossible to carry out interviews with groups of involved with the same characteristics in each case study. The case studies should be seen as a series of 'measurements' at specific points in time, which taken together, may or may not show a development.

Reference is made to the list of interviews.

Chapter Thirteen + Case Study 1: Glasgow - a Community-based
Housing Association

13.1 Introduction

The City

Glasgow is Scotland's largest city and the traditional centre for heavy engineering and commerce. Its location on the banks of the river Clyde was suitable for shipbuilding and industry, developing through the 19th century. The dominance of industry in Glasgow and the surrounding area brought about a rezoning of Scotland's population, which concentrated in the south-west and centre area. Combined with considerable Irish immigration, this led to extensive housebuilding on the fringe of the (now) Inner Zone of Glasgow, and to overcrowding of tenements.¹

In those days the 'red' Glasgow emerged, a strong socialist base with working-class organisers of national importance. Harry McShane writes about the first years of this century:

'The South Side, Govan and Gorbals, was a very lively place for socialist propaganda. We sold literature, we held meetings, and for a big event we bill-posted everywhere. You couldn't walk through without seeing the pavements chalked with socialist slogans.'²

The population of Glasgow rose from 400,000 in 1861, over 800,000 in 1911 to its peak in 1941 with well over 1.1 mill inhabitants.³ At the end of the Second World War, one in seven of Scotland's population lived in a few square miles in Glasgow's fringe areas, labelling Glasgow as 'the worst crowded city in western Europe'.⁴

Glasgow's tenements escaped relatively lightly from most of the bombing during the Second World War. However, during the following decades, large areas of housing were demolished in the slum clearance programme which effectively changed the physical fabric of the City, in Govan as well as in other fringe areas. Industrial decline and the impetus for decentralisation provided by Central Government through New Town development led to a decrease in population within the Glasgow District boundaries, the population being 800,000 in 1975.⁵ During these decades, Glasgow built more houses than any other city, in particular during the 60s high-rise boom.

In the late 60s, various planning studies carried out in Glasgow recommended a switch from redevelopment to rehabilitation. However, both the social and physical fabric had suffered severely during the years of slum clearance policies, the residents being split up and scattered to the housing schemes throughout the city, or to the New Towns outside.⁶

The huge problems facing Glasgow may be illustrated by the example of the GEAR area east of the city centre, where major programmes subsidised by Central Government has been set up.⁷ Here, slum clearance and industrial decline have resulted in a decrease of population from 150,000 in 1961 to 40,000 in 1983.⁸ Vacant land accounts for 20 per cent of the total, and the area contains 500,000 square feet of disused industrial floor space. In 1983, the unemployment rate for men was nearly 30 per cent, or twice the national average.⁹

The problems encountered have demanded a comprehensive effort from the City and from Central Government, in order to ameliorate the effects of the economic crisis. In terms of housing improvement, the City has since the early 70s been committed to a large-scale programme of housing improvement with an annual budget of about 70 mill (1981).¹⁰ It is this programme for housing improvement which will be further pursued in the following sections.

The housing stock

The majority of Glasgow's tenements are Victorian, and placed in the outskirts of the (now) Inner City. The tenements in Govan, the area of the following case study, were mostly built from the 1880s to 1910 for a relatively small number of private landlords.¹¹

These working-class tenements are typically built in four stories with a single common staircase called the close, and giving access to two, three, or four flats on each landing. The two-room flats have a bed recess in the far end of each room.¹² The kitchen arrangement is usually situated inside one of the rooms, being a bedroom, dining room and kitchen at the same time. The toilet was originally in the backyard, or at the stairhead of each close.¹³ Later, toilets have been established inside the flats or at the half landing off the stairs. From the stairs, a door gives access to the backyard, which usually contained smaller industries, workshops and work houses.

These tenements have a simple but indisputable aesthetical quality built as they are in red or white sandstone, with elaborate cornices, large rooms and pleasant bay windows with large panes.

Standard and condition

Even though the City's policies during the last decade have resulted in a considerable number of housing improvements, about 10,000, there are still problems of standard and condition in the remaining stock. Of the City's 300,000 dwellings, there are approximately 100,000 pre-1919 dwellings. 80,000 of these are flats, distributed according to standard:

44

Flats by standard. Glasgow

Housing Action Areas for demolition	10,000 dwellings	
Housing Action Areas for improvement (present or future). 15,000 already declared	30,000	-
Dwellings of tolerable standard 15,000 of these with repair problems	40,000	-

14

In other words, there are still a high number of flats waiting for improvement or repair works to be carried out. In 1976, fourteen per cent of all owner-occupied dwellings were below tolerable standard, against 32 per cent in private renting. A further 33 respectively 46 per cent were in need of major repairs.¹⁵

The providers

Since the 1860s, the Glasgow Corporation or District Council has intervened in housing matters, demolishing the worst houses and finding homes for the homeless. Before the First World War, a commission which was set up to investigate into Industrial Housing in Scotland reached the conclusion that 'private enterprise had failed to keep pace with demand, and that the state alone, operating through local authorities, is able to take up the responsibility.'¹⁶

The Housing Department was set up in 1916, and the rate of Corporation house building rose steadily through the following decades, supported by the Labour Party, which has had control of the City Council since the mid-thirties, except for short intervals.¹⁷

In various tenure groups, the distribution is:

Dwellings by tenure. Glasgow, 1981

Council houses	64%	
Housing associations	9%	
Private renting		
Owner-occupation	24%	18

As seen in Chapter Seven, there is a considerable difference between the English and the Glaswegian tenure pattern, the proportion of council houses being more than twice as high in Glasgow.¹⁹ The long tradition for socialist policies, and an especially poor housing stock are the main determinants for the present high proportion of council housing.²⁰

Glasgow is not just another big city with a housing problem. Clydeside has long-standing socialist traditions. The strikes in 1915, among them the Rent Strike, in which 25,000 tenants refused to pay their rent, protesting against the uncontrolled rents in private tenancies, was a manifestation of community spirit and class solidarity.²¹ Also the workers' work-in at the liquidated Upper Clyde Shipbuilders about ten years ago is an example of this.²²

The solid Labour Council majority and a large working-class population are both factors essential for the present housing and improvement policy in Glasgow.

Policies of rehabilitation

Prior to 1974, the City Council itself had bought and rehabilitated a limited number of houses. However, when the 1974 Housing Act made increased funding available and furthermore enabled the LA to enforce improvement on privately rented dwellings, a new policy was laid out.

In the Inner City, the demand for housing was low, and the profit motive for housing improvement therefore non-existent. Accordingly, the City Council decided to follow a strategy of public intervention in housing improvement, requiring an institution or agency with the necessary resources for carrying through the task. According to Malcolm C. Mathieson, only central and local government emerged as possible candidates.²³ However, Central Government strongly recommended the HAS as agents for the LA in housing improvement; furthermore, due to expenditure and staff cuts in the LA, the HAS were brought in as agents for housing improvement in Glasgow.

The style in which these HAS worked was mainly inspired by a research project, set up in the beginning of the 70s, ASSIST.

A research project: ASSIST

The project started in 1972, under the auspices of the University of Strathclyde, funded equally by the Scottish Development Department and a charitable trust.²⁴ It was an action-research project for examining the feasibility of community involvement in improving Glasgow's tenements, through formation of community-based HAS. The main aim was to promote a renovation of tenements with the tenants' consent and cooperation, and the strategy was:

(i) to give owner-occupiers, landlords and tenants legal and financial advice in renovating their properties

(ii) to acquire privately let tenements and improve them.²⁵

The second part of the strategy, the HA taking over from the private landlord and improving, formed the base of a pilot scheme in Taransay Street in Govan, set up in cooperation with the recently established Central Govan Housing Association. In the project, 185 flats were improved to a basic standard over a period of two years. It was a low-cost and short-life project. However, in being a success, the project was of a particular importance for the Council's decision to rely on community-based HAS in their improvement programme,²⁶ the main aim for which is to allow as many households as possible to continue living in their present area but in improved housing conditions.²⁷

A Housing Corporation office was set up in Glasgow in 1974, and began its co-operation with the LA, setting up community-based housing associations.

An initial survey by the LA identified the areas in which the housing stock were in need of rehabilitation. These areas were divided into zones of interest for each individual association.²⁸ The size and delineation of these areas were not, according to Mathieson, officially defined, but generally large enough to allow the association a pool of at least 600 houses, thought to be the minimum size for efficient and effective operation.²⁹ Within these areas, HAAs, usually consisting of one block with from 10 to 300 dwellings, were defined.

Community-based housing associations

Since 1974, the following number of community-based HAs have been set up:

46

Community-based HAs set up 1974-1980. Glasgow.

1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	in all
3	3	5	5	3	1	1	21

30

The decline in growth of new HAs is due to the fact that all the presently declared HAAs are now covered by an HA.

One of the first steps of the Glasgow Housing Corporation was to set up an organisation for acquiring suitable properties in proposed HAAs for later transferral to future community-based housing associations.³¹ This ad hoc organisation was called Glasgow Fair Housing Association, and had a management committee of half Housing Corporation representatives and half LA representatives, both councillors and officers.³²

Thomas Hunter gives a description of the formation of a community-based HA:

'Any new housing association is set up by the Housing Corporation. Action is initiated by a project team, which, after a possible HAA has been highlighted, moves into the area and starts gathering together local public interests, the local authorities, and other bodies. Public meetings are held, and an HAA is declared. A steering committee is formed with the help from the HC../it/works towards forming a management committee and finalising the rules of the HA../The management committee is formed/ usually from local residents/ but also members who have/ skills which would be useful, e.g. lawyers, accountants etc. At this stage full time staff are employed.. the final set-up is, in many ways, similar to a miniature local authority.'³³

Thus the HA is in a position to start decanting and improvement works with very little notice, once the first HAA is approved by the Housing Corporation.

The Housing Corporation Scotland has assumed the following model for HA growth:

- Year One - association established, little acquisition, no improvements.
- Year Two - association begins area acquisition programme; few, if any improvements.
- Year Three - continuous acquisition, some improvements, but relatively few.

Year Four - acquisition programme continues. The improvement programme equals the annual acquisition programme during previous years.

Year Five - acquisition programme either continues or begins to decline, depending upon size of area. Improvement programme continues at rate of previous year. 34

According to the LA's Housing Plan Four, this cooperation between the LA and the Housing Corporation has been working reasonably well and the council will continue to use the HAs as agents in future HAAs and support the work by using their compulsory powers.

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Housing Corporation funding for Strathclyde, 1981.

New built	£ 9.4 mill.	
Rehabilitation	£ 30.0	-
Acquisition app.	£ 4.0	. 35

This is equivalent to 60 per cent of the total funding for HAs in Scotland.

According to Mathieson, 'the present role of the HC Glasgow is not necessarily a permanent one, and rests entirely on political agreement between local and central government.'³⁶ A conservative central government could gear the Glasgow HC into opposition against the Glasgow District Council. However, this has not yet been the case, probably because the relative success of the HA programme.

13.2 Central Govan Housing Association

The area

The Govan area is situated south-west of the City Centre, on the southern bank of the Clyde, and the centre of ship-building in Glasgow.

Up till 1911, Govan was a village outside Glasgow with its own town hall, council, police and fire brigade, a situation which has allegedly given a special identity to Govan and the Govanites, even today.³⁷

In 1960, Govan had a population of 35,000 and 9,400 dwellings. The dwellings were 'in the whole small, overcrowded, poorly equipped and in bad repair'.^{38;39} In the neighbouring area of East Govan, 46 per cent of dwellings were assessed to belong to Category 3b, dwellings of 'very limited life'.⁴⁰

Like in the City's other fringe areas, a substantial amount of slum

clearance has taken place, leaving 'islands' of older tenements. At the beginning of the 70s, these tenements of which the majority was in private renting were nearly all in need of rehabilitation. By 1975, the ratable value of property in Govan was thus at a very low level, compared to Glasgow in general.⁴¹

In terms of vulnerable population groups, the distribution in Govan is similar to the Glasgow average:

48 Vulnerable population groups. Glasgow, 1982.

	Govan	% of all HHS Glasgow	
One-parent families	2.5%	2.2%	
Single elderly	20.3	18.9	
Large families	24.6	26.6	
Teenagers 16-17 years	3.4	3.7	42

Compared to a Danish situation, there are thus relatively few elderly people and a relative high proportion of large families in Govan.

Govan is fundamentally a working-class area. Around 40 per cent of the present residents in Govan work in 'Govan Shipbuilders', maybe 10-20 per cent work in shops and in the hospital, and 10-20 per cent are unemployed. According to the CGHA director, there may be 'an odd Uni lecturer in between'.⁴³

The centre of Govan was - and is - the area around Govan Cross and the Pearce Institute which is today the area allocated to Central Govan Housing Association (CGHA). CGHA's area contains about 1,000 flats in four-storey tenements of which about 700 were in need of rehabilitation.⁴⁴

The CGHA area adjoins 'Govan Shipbuilders'. It contains two churches, a former school, now turned into workshops for the community, a cinema and the Pearce Institute. This Institute was founded around 1910 by the owner of Govan Shipbuilders - the grandfather of the present HA chairman - as a charitable foundation for the benefit of the local community. The activities of the Pearce Institute which are administered through the local parish church, includes 'social nights' and a canteen, still supported by Govan Shipbuilders.

The new underground station and the bus station are situated near the traditional centre of Govan, 'Govan Cross', at one end of Govan Road. Govan Road is the main shopping area for Govan and for the

neighbouring communities, and many former Govanites still shop here.⁴⁵

The idea of a commercial centre next to the station was introduced about fifteen years ago, backed up by the shopkeepers who wanted to retain and strengthen Govan's position as a shopping centre. A centre with about 20 shops has now been built, with decreasing support, however, from the local shop owners, as trade in the area has been less profitable in recent years.⁴⁶

In Govan, there is a tradition for cooperation between residents and the LA, through joint organisations or committees. One of these is the Govan Working Party, which were started in the early 70s as a reaction to the massive demolition programme. The Working Party is chaired by a local authority officer, and the representatives nominated by the HA, the Tenants' and Residents' Association, the community council, Govan Parish Church, the Pearce Institute, and a number of smaller organisations.⁴⁷

A recent case for the Working Party has been the proposal from the LA to pedestrianise the East End of Govan Road 'to link the centre and the station with Govan Cross.' However, a certain hesitation arose on the side of the shopkeepers, as customers cannot park outside their shops.⁴⁸ Their dissatisfaction was channeled through the Working Party which revitalised the Traders' Union opposing the plans.⁴⁹

At a public meeting where the proposed road closure was discussed, 50-60 Govanites turned up and voted against the proposal, while only six voted for it. Even though the Working Party has no formal power, the Planning Department gave in, and the problem will rest until the last of Govan has been rehabilitated.⁵⁰

Apart from the Working Party, there is another co-operative body working in Govan, the Govan Community Council.⁵¹

The Community Council was set up by the local authority around 1975 to 'express the wishes of different communities within Govan, coordinate problems and protecting residents' interests'.

The Council is the only recognised body for channeling grants for community purposes,⁵² and a recently built community hut has been built with funding partly provided by the council. Nevertheless, the Director of the HA considers the Community Council to be ineffective, compared to other organisations with resident influence.

A third resident association, the Govan Tenants' and Residents' Association was set up by local tenants to improve the housing situation in the area, to focus upon maintenance problems and bad landlords and to improve the social environment. The association has three executives, a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. The monthly meetings are held at a local school. There is no advisory service, but people 'usually get in touch if there is anything coming up', usually complaints about unimproved property.⁵³

According to the chairman - a key person who is also a member of the HA management committee, the Community Council, and spokesman for the Traders' Union - the area is too small to make a success of social organisation. The Residents' Association occasionally organises a bingo, dances or joint demonstrations to the City Chambers.⁵⁴

According to the HA, the Residents' Association hold a strong position in Govan. The HA has cooperated closely with this organisation, especially around mismanaged properties in private lettings. According to CGHA's former director, the tenants' organisation has in some cases organised a rent strike in a private property, thereby forcing the landlord to sell to the HA.⁵⁵

Another example of strong resident activity was seen in the fate of plans for a road link between the M8 and the Clyde Tunnel which was anticipated directly through the centre of Govan. With the area's inclusion in a major programme of rehabilitation, the road then had to go round the built-up area. In the initial plans this involved the demolition of three tenements at the end of Shaw Street; this was, however, prevented by the residents through insisting on compulsory purchase the process of which is lengthy and which would have delayed the road scheme for years. Eventually, the road was changed in order to avoid the Shaw Street tenements.⁵⁶

The Housing Association

History

Central Govan Housing Association was Glasgow's first community-based HA, set up in 1970 by local community groups, supported by ASSIST and a local architect, Raymond Young.⁵⁷ The aim was to purchase from landlords and other owners who did not wish to improve

their property in order to carry through housing improvement in the area. The HA was registered as a friendly society in 1971.⁵⁸

Before 1974, 48 dwellings in Taransay Street were renovated, to a basic standard due to the plans for a motorway through the area. ASSIST was the administrative key factor in the beginning, gradually handing over to CGHA.

After this initial success, CGHA 'fell asleep'. There was no permanent staff, and management committee meetings were held only every three months. An old-style firm of rent collectors took over the housing management. As the CGHA had previously been financed by Glasgow Corporation, it had to be re-registered after 1974 by the Housing Corporation, and this caused 'some bureaucratic hustle'.⁵⁹

Once again, Raymond Young, by then the director of the Housing Corporation Glasgow, 'parachuted' into Govan and triggered off a new development. Since this reorganisation, the HA has grown steadily.

By 1980, the HA had acquired 560 dwellings, of which 420 had been improved by 1980. Nearly all blocks with sub-standard housing are now covered by HAA declaration.⁶⁰

Organisation

CGHA has at present about 280 voting members. Nearly all members live in Govan, but are not necessarily tenants of CGHA, even though tenants are encouraged to participate. The Annual General Meeting decides the procedures, appoints the full-time staff and elects the Management Committee (MC). Members of the sub-committees are not elected at the annual meeting - they are either Management Committee members or shareholders co-opted to the committee. No committee members are paid for their effort.⁶¹

The Management Committee (15 members) decide policies, future aims and take overall decisions, 'advised by the full-time staff'. In CGHA, there has been no policy of encouraging professional people to enter the committee. The members are therefore all local people - including the ward councillor Patrick Keegan - except for the chairman, a retired shipyard owner. However, he is accepted due to the integrity and local reputation of this specific person.⁶²

The monthly meetings in the MC are not open to members. According

to the development officer in CGHA, because 'as elected members they feel they have the confidence of the shareholders'. In practice, however, members seem to be allowed to attend MC meetings if they have a special interest in a specific case, or if they are generally interested in following the work of the MC. Architects and other professionals carrying out salaried work for the HA cannot be members of the MC.⁶³

All MC members get minutes from the sub-committee meetings and have the possibility to react if they feel it is necessary. Some MC members are also members of sub-committees.

The Development Sub-committee (five members) has the traditional role as the client in the building process subject to final confirmation by the MC. Here, the actual decisions concerning present and future projects are taken, the committee being 'advised by staff'. The members meet once a month and have a close contact with the maintenance sub-committee, especially around new projects.

The Finance Sub-committee (four members) meet monthly. They decide on financial affairs and financial planning.

The Maintenance Sub-committee (eight members) is a fairly new committee, meeting once a fortnight. It is headed by the maintenance manager, and takes care of ordinary as well as cyclical maintenance, providing feed-back on design solutions to the Development Sub-committee.

The Housing Management Sub-committee (eight members) meet once a fortnight or more often, to allocate flats and take care of transfers, rent arrears and other tenant matters.⁶⁴

The association were in 1982 staffed with fourteen persons, and furthermore a maintenance team, fully employed with repairs: one joiner, one plumber and two apprentices.

In 1981-82 CGHA received £ 1.47 mill from the Housing Corporation. This was a 40 per cent cut, which was, however, later regulated up to its previous level.⁶⁵

Allocation Policy

The waiting list of the HA is narrowly restricted to special groups of people. Apart from the tenants in need for rehousing, the following groups may at the moment be accepted on the waiting lists:

- (i) tenants or sub-tenants living within HAAs in Central Govan
- (ii) members of tenant households which have been based in Govan for more than a year
- (iii) shopkeepers with shops in HAAs in Central Govan.⁶⁶

These provisions reserves CGHA dwelling for very few population groups. Owner-occupiers within HAAs are not entitled to rehousing and for applicants from other parts of Glasgow it is difficult to get in. A few years ago, when the waiting list for unimproved properties was opened, there were 230 applications for a dozen flats; only three applicants had no connection with Govan. Obviously, people seek access to CGHA's improved properties through becoming tenants in unimproved property.

Concern has been expressed that this will mean 'inbreeding' within the community.⁶⁷ The in- and outflow of population which is necessary for all stable communities may have stopped to a certain extent in Govan. The matter will be further investigated in a survey of tenants in a specific close, before and after renovation.

Decanting

Officially, the LA has a right to allocate 50 per cent of HA flats to applicants on its own waiting list. In Govan, however, CGHA and the council co-operates on decanting 'on a flexible level'. The council usually rehuses the tenants who get homeless because of amalgamations, and also provides a smaller number of flats for temporary accommodation. If there is a surplus, applicants from the LA waiting list are allocated a flat from CGHA's stock.⁶⁸

As in other HAAs, the HA had the problem of a sufficient number of decanting flats in the first years of the programme. CGHA solved the problem by acquiring a number of improved flats concentrated in a few closes to use as decanting 'hotels'.⁶⁹ Thus, the residents in the area was given the following options when rehabilitation was due to begin:

- to remain as a tenant and be temporarily decanted
- to be permanently rehoused by the HA in same area
- to be permanently rehoused by the local authority.

In later years, the HA has had an increasing number of improved flats to offer new tenants, due to the speed of programme, but also due to residents moving away, especially older people for whom a HA tenancy is new and unfamiliar.⁷⁰

According to an HA dev.officer, only four out of ten/eleven residents generally return to their close. This is a feature of the later years, and there may be several reasons for this development. In principle, tenants had a free choice; in practice, however, this choice was determined by the options available.

The loss of an economic incentive in moving back was abandoned by the Housing Act 1980, and has been mentioned in an earlier chapter; another determinant is the fact that in the first years of the HA's life, people had to return because the HA did not have an improved flat to offer them on a permanent basis. This is not the case any longer. One straight move is less disturbing and less expensive than two which may be an important factor for elderly people. And finally, the CGHA manager points towards the fact that the 'community spirit' within the close is not as 'close' as one could expect. Only in very few cases is the friendly relationship between tenants in the same close given by tenants as the main determinant for returning to their former flat. If tenants get the option of a more suitable flat in the immediate neighbourhood, they often accept.⁷¹

A CGHA renovation: 845 & 855 Govan Road

The following is a study of a rehabilitation programme within CGHA's programme, two closes in Govan Road built between 1895 and 1910.⁷²

The block contains eleven four-storey tenements with 109 flats prior to renovation, most of the ground floors being occupied by commercial premises.

The purpose of the renovation of 845 & 855 Govan Road was:

- (i) to get a separate bedroom and kitchen (eight flats)
- (ii) to obtain the former and to extend the flat (with one or two bedrooms (four flats)
- (iii) to provide a new bathroom and to get a separate kitchen and bathroom (four flats)
- (iv) to install gas fires
- (v) to carry out the necessary repairs.

Seven owner-occupied shops on the ground floor remained unchanged by the renovation and continued trading during building works.

Flat distribution before and after renovation. 845&855, Govan Road.

	845		855	
	before	after	before	after
Ground floor	3 shops	3 shops	3 shops	3 shops
First floor	3 flats (1 with- out bath)	2 flats	3 flats (1 with- out bath)	2 flats
Second floor	3 flats (1 with- out bath)	3 flats	3 flats (1 with- out bath)	2 flats
Third floor	3 flats (1 with- out bath)	3 flats	3 flats (1 with- out bath)	3 flats
In all	9 flats	8 flats	9 flats	8 flats

Action programme ^{73,74}

- Nov 77 1. Feasibility Survey. The local authority instructed the survey to be carried out, dealing with standard, condition, possible demolition, structural condition and an estimate of the cost level.
2. Declaration. After a period of two months where the community could object to the HAA, the HAA was declared.
3. Acquisitions. CGHA became involved, and the CGHA MC decided to 'buy as many flats as possible'.
4. Appointment of consultants. The management committee decided to use the firm Lane, Brenner and Garnett, which occupies a local office next to CGHA's office, and which is the only architect firm working for CGHA.
5. Survey of user requirements. After having appointed the development officers responsible for the case, a door-to-door survey was carried out in the closes, identifying the need for decanting, and identifying the owners wanting to improve. In this case, there was only one owner-occupier who had both a café and a first floor apartment in no. 855.
6. Preliminary project. The architect prepared accurate measurements and a detailed project, with alternative proposals for lay-out of flat, approved of by the development officer and the housing manager.

- Sep 79 7. Close meeting. The tenants in the close were then invited to a close meeting, where they were informed of the various practical details and of the project in itself. Alternative proposals were presented and discussed and the options for decanting were put forward.
8. Decanting. The decisions made by the tenants regarding returning to their original house or being rehoused elsewhere, were made over a period of time. Certain tenants made their decisions clear at the time of the close meetings i.e. that they wished to return to specific flats. Others changed their minds during the works period as they were offered other modernised property. Most tenants wishing to be rehoused by the local authority had been rehoused prior to the start of improvement works.
- Nov 79 9. Final Project. The finalised drawings were submitted to the Housing Corporation (SHC2) together with a cost plan and project specifications. The Housing Corporation approved this seven weeks afterwards.
- Apr 80 10. Production drawings. Contract drawings were prepared, and after submission of the project to the local authority, planning permission was obtained.
- Mar 80 11. Tender. In this case seven contractors were competing. The result was submitted to the Housing Corporation (SHC4). As the tender cost was 12 per cent over the cost limit, the project was delayed, until the cost was brought down by negotiations between the HA and the builders.
- Jan 81 12. On site. Building works started, and was expected to be finished by the end of Jan 1981.
13. Allocation. In order to assess who was actually given a flat an analysis of tenants before and after improvement is shown on the next pages.
14. Delivery and control. The project was handed over to the staff on Feb 2nd (845) and Mar 2nd (855) 1981.
15. Backyard scheme. The plans for amenity areas are not included in the improvement works, and a separate scheme for the whole backyard was completed in 1983.

Status

As the buildings are not listed or part of a conservation area, no outside authority have controlled the conservation side of the project. It is the responsibility of the architect involved, the HA staff and the development sub-committee.

The fact that these buildings have been preserved should be considered as a conservation success in itself. Seen from the conservation approach, there are, however, some details which may be criticised:

- (i) the fine Glasgow tradition of tiled closes by a string of decorated Art Nouveau tiles has been vulgarised with stencilled kitchen tiles with a wooden edge and handrail.
- (ii) the windows on the back side of the buildings are stained from the outside and painted from the inside.
- (iii) the sandblasting seems to break down the edges of the sandstone. Some cases are worse than others, presumably dependant on the tools of the contractor. Even though sandblasting is the cheapest method, it is not the right one in this case.
- (iv) seen from a conservation point of view, the matte-stained windows, together with the cleaned sandstone, provides a 'dry' impression which is not original, and which does not add to the texture of the tenements' rather delicate features.
- (v) the internal stucco work in the ceiling have been damaged by electrical installations and repaired crudely.

Apart from the sandblasting, the errors are not irreversible. And the 'right' decisions have been taken in a number of areas, including keeping a rendered surface in the rooms, instead of plaster boards. In conclusion, the design solutions were not outstanding, but absolutely inventive.

Seen from a sanitary approach, the separation of kitchen and bedroom functions in two separate rooms, and the installation of a bathroom in the six flats which did not have one before, are both advantages. But the demolition of existing bathrooms and instalment of new, does seem a luxury, in spite of the increased use value.

Tenants before and after improvement

The main aim for the community-based approach is to allow 'as many

residents as possible to continue living in their present area but in improved housing conditions'. Accordingly, the residents which are given the highest priority on Central Govan's waiting list are HA tenants living within a declared HAA in Govan. With this requirement in mind, characteristics of the tenants in 845 & 855 Govan Road will be further analysed in the following section.

(table next page)

Moves

	Number of tenants
Returned	4
Moved to another flat in close	2
Moved to another CGHA flat	2
Moved to LA flat outside Govan	6

Only few tenants return to their flat. Of the six households moving out of Govan altogether, three were one-person households of retired people - presumably moving to better nursing conditions. The other three moving out are families with children - actually, three of the four existing families with children wanted to move out of the area, while four more families with children have moved into CGHA property.

Length of residence

is remarkable, an average of 17 years prior to renovation.

Type of household

	Before	After
Couple with children	4	2
Single with children	-	3
Couple without children	1	1
Single without children	8	7
Other	1	3

This shows no marked change in household sizes, except for an additional number of children.

Number of persons

accommodated has grown from 24 to 35.

TENANTS IN GOVAN ROAD 845 AND 855 before and after renovation

Flat	BEFORE										AFTER										Comments												
	Household moved to:	other flat in close	other CGHA flat	LA outside Govan	Size of flat	Length of residence	Couple with children	Single with children	Couple without ch.	Single without ch.	Other	No. of persons in HH	Age of HoH	Age of Soc.ec. group	Employment status	Comments	Household stayed	Household came from:	other CGHA flat	LA outside Govan		Size of flat	Length of residence	Couple with children	Single with children	Couple without ch.	Single without ch.	Other	No. of persons in HH	Age of HoH	Age of Soc.ec. group	Employment status	Comments
845/11	x				2	2		x			1	x	under 25	professional	x	schoolmaster of local school	Household stayed	x			4		x					8	x	over 64	professional	x	came from unimproved prop.
845/13			x		2	2		x			1	x	25-64	other non-manual			other flat in close				2		x				3	x	25-64	skilled manual			
845/12	x				2	26	x				3	x	25-64	professional			Household came from:				2		x				3	x	25-64	skilled manual			
845/21	vacant											under 25	professional				Household stayed										2	x	25-64	skilled manual			
845/22	x				2	16		x			1	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				2						2	x	25-64	skilled manual			
845/23	x				2	2		x			1	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				2						1	x	25-64	skilled manual			
845/31	vacant		x		2	2	x				3	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				3						1	x	25-64	skilled manual			
845/32	x				2	12		x			1	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				2						1	x	25-64	skilled manual			
845/33	vacant											under 25	professional				Household came from:										2	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/11					2	16					3	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				2						2	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/12	x				2	10		x			2	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				4						3	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/13	x				2	60					3	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				2						2	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/21			x								1	x	25-64	other non-manual							2						1	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/22	vacant				2							x	25-64	other non-manual							2						1	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/23	vacant				2							x	25-64	other non-manual							3						2	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/31			x		2	26		x			1	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				2						2	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/32	x				2	7		x			1	x	25-64	other non-manual			x				2						1	x	25-64	skilled manual			
855/33			x		2	14	x				4	x	25-64	other non-manual							3						4	x	25-64	skilled manual			

Age of head of household

	Before	After	Of these, former tenants
Under 25	-	3	-
25-64	5	6	1
Over 64	9	7	3
	14	16	

The HA has in this case generally accepted younger households.

Employment status

Prior to renovation, only four households were actually in employment the rest were retired. After, the pattern is much more mixed, even though there are still seven OAPs living in the two closes. Thus, the renovation has meant a general replacement of tenants out of work with economically active tenants.

Where the tenants came from

Two of the new tenants came from the same close; the rest (nine) came from unimproved Central Govan Housing Association property, two of these being children of CGHA tenants. There are no evidence of length of residence in these tenants' former flat. No tenants came from the local authority or directly from a dwelling outside Govan.

In conclusion, the HA has convincingly provided for the present tenants, and with a preference for people already living in Govan. The allegation that community-based HAs seek to exclude undesirable groups cannot be applied to Central Govan Housing Association, on the basis of this case study. Whether CGHA has provided for the need in the area cannot be properly assessed on the available material.⁷⁶

Resident involvement

Individual level

A first proposal for the future lay-out is made prior to any resident contact. The development officer prefers to make the suitable design for the flat first and then ask the tenant to take that flat or choose another of the HA's flats which are more after his choice.⁷⁷

Thereby, the tenants in the close do not have much influence on the future improvement works, even though reactions at the first close

meeting have changed some projects. According to a development officer, this is because the HAs know that many tenants will leave anyway. Therefore, the HA has to come up with its own designs, approved, however, by the development sub-committee.⁷⁸

Throughout the building works, there were individual meetings with tenants about individual problems and complaints. After the building works have finished, reactions have been gathered in an 'informal manner in the course of everyday meetings'. However, recently a more formalised survey of tenants' satisfaction has been set up.⁷⁹

Of the four interviewed tenants, two stayed in their closes. Neither of the two households got the option of returning to the same flat, as both flats were incorporated in larger ones. Both chose, however, to come back to the same close; and both were temporarily decanted around the corner in improved flats, one for eight months and one for ten.^{80,81}

The four tenants interviewed typically complained about design decisions: few cupboards in kitchen, fences in backyard too low. One tenant had extra cupboards built following a visit by the architect, and the fences are discussed at development sub-committee level. The tenants are satisfied with the flat in general, and the recorded satisfaction with the HA is high as well. It is seen as an advantage that the HA office is just around the corner, and 'they are nice when you go there with a problem'.⁸²

Community level

Committee decisions

The first question to be considered is the range and type of decisions taken by the MC and sub-committees.

During the actual building process, the Management Committee has decisive powers in the following matters:

- acquisitions ('advised by staff')
- appointment of consultants (a formality)
- drawing up of a tender list. This can be a rather important decision, e.g. for local contractors
- approval of tenders.

In other words, the MC has the traditional role of a client. However, many of the actual decisions are left to the sub-committees.

At the Management Committee meeting attended as a part of this study

the subjects discussed and decided upon were nearly all referred from the sub-committees:

- (i) what to do with tenants in serious rent arrears
- (ii) decision on final draft for tenants' handbook
- (iii) acquisition of computer for housing management
- (iv) choice of new candidates for MC elections
- (v) new members of staff to be interviewed by MC sub-committee
- (vi) support or not for local councillor's campaign to re-open the Govan Baths and steamy.⁸³

It seems as if the sub-committees are responsible for day-to-day decisions and for planning within their area of responsibility, while only major decisions formally are left to the MC.

During the building process, the Development Sub-committee is kept informed on progress, taking minor decisions on lay-out and technical details like tiles, doorknobs etc. A site visit is normally arranged at the end of each project.

At the Development Sub-committee meeting attended as a part of this study, the design decisions taken by the committee seems to be relatively inferior to the overall lines of each project.⁸⁴

However, the details that the committee does not approve of are noticed, and changed in the next project. This feed-back control is important, and perhaps the committee's most important task.

Issues on the agenda of the Development Sub-committee illustrates the local and informal character of connections between the HA and the local residents, allowing for this feed-back:

- (i) 'tremendous attendance at the close meeting for 22 Rosheath Street...A good idea for a Management Committee member to be present at close meetings.'
- (ii) 'Members living down the Luath Street area stated that they could not get reception of certain channels on their TV.'
- (iii) 'heating in 865-867 Govan Road causes problems to a tenant that the development-officer had met. The performance of this heating system is at present being monitored'.⁸⁵

It is difficult on the basis of the material collected in the context of this study to assess to what extent staff is actually taking the decisions on behalf of the residents. In the case of 845 & 855 Govan Road staff decided which flats were to be acquired,

and on which terms. The MC would only be notified, 'if problems arose'.

At the Development Sub-committee meeting attended, staff suggested that windows in a specific project should be stained instead of painted.^{86,87} Even if a slight opposition among the committee members was expressed at the meeting, the decision was approved of by the committee, without further explanation.

If HA staff is determined to carry through a specific solution to a technical problem, it is difficult for a lay member to oppose. On the other hand, resident influence in the HA depends on sufficient staff advice and support. As HA activity is to maintain a constant level in terms of improvement and administration, a certain staff influence is thus to be accepted.

Representatitiveness of MC

The MC was set up in order to represent the community; therefore, the second question to be discussed is whether its members are representative for the Govan population.

One of the first decisions to be taken by the CGHA MC was to restrict the membership to local people, and not taking the advantage of accepting members with skills which could be useful for the HA. A cross-section taken in the occupations of present MC members (baker, housewife, school teacher) does not seem uncharacteristic to the community as a whole.⁸⁸ However, a more thorough analysis is required if results are to have any statistical significance.

In spite of the fact that a large proportion of the head of households in Govan work in Govan Shipbuilders, the male shipyard workers seem to have a modest representation in the MC. However, the question is whether this analysis should concentrate on the heads of households. Most committee members are women; furthermore, meetings are usually held on Thursday nights where shipyard workers work late. Therefore, it seems a reasonable assumption that many wives of shipyard workers participate in committee work.

At the Management Committee meeting where this author was present, a matter came up which indicates the representativeness of the committee, and how political aspects are handled. This case will be described in the following paragraphs.

Pat Keegan and the Govan Baths

The Govan Baths contained a swimming pool, hot baths and, most important, a 'steamy'- a laundry, which apart from its sanitary function served as a meeting place for the residents of Govan.

Baths were closed down during the Easter Vacation of 1982. Many Govanites protested against the closure, and the Labour councillor for Govan, Pat Keegan, handed in his resignation in protest.⁸⁹

At the following by-election, Pat Keegan stood as an independent, and obtained 819 votes, while 299 voted for the official Labour candidate. In other words, Pat Keegan seems to have the full confidence of the community, and the subject, closure of the local baths and the steamy, should be considered as a 'hot' issue in Govan.

The above mentioned Management Committee meeting was held during the days when the campaign for reopening the baths was running out of steam (!). Pat Keegan was present as a Management Committee member, and asked the Management Committee for moral support and a (token) contribution for his campaign. The Management Committee voted on this topic, and astonishingly, declined to give just a small amount of money, even though Pat Keegan pointed out to the Committee that the refusal would show a lack of solidarity which could be fatal for the campaign.⁹⁰

Two wings within the Management Committee suddenly emerged: the established, long-time Management Committee members opting for an 'a-political' management committee, and recently involved members opting for the HA taking part in the political life of the community.

For an outsider, it is difficult to appraise this incident without having a full picture of the background. Many local determinants may have influenced this decision. However, the major impression left is, that the community HA will not support a community cause like the reopening of the Govan Baths.

Pat Keegan obviously has the general support of the community. Therefore, there seems to be an indication of the fact that the decisions of the MC are hardly representative for the community.

Evaluating the meeting some time afterwards, the MC member (a shop steward at the shipyard) who strongly supported Pat Keegan, believes that this was not a party-political decision of the Management Committee as such. Generally, the Management Committee does not involve itself in any decisions with a political content. 'I can't

remember when the Director has spoken in favour of a political case.' Asked whether a decision in favour of another political line would have been treated differently, he replies in the negative.⁹¹

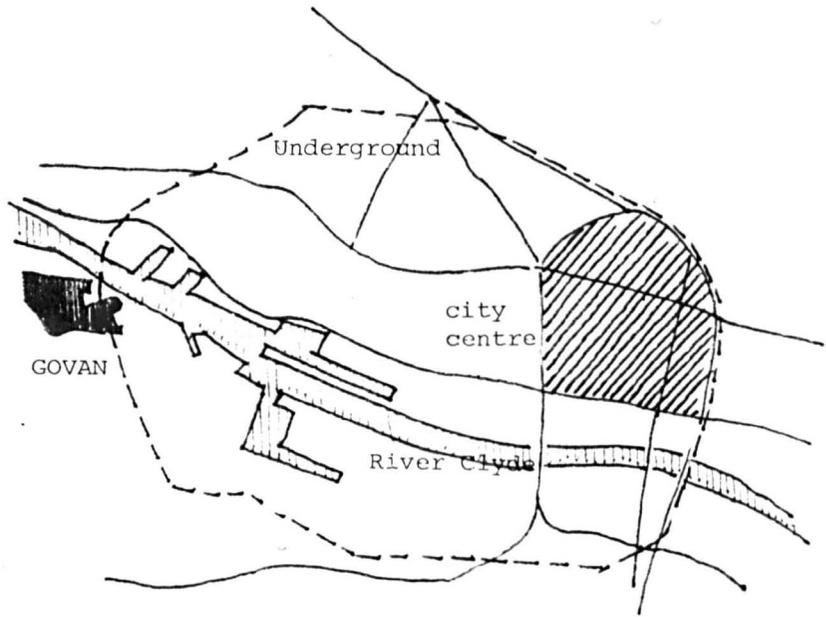
Following the above mentioned Management Committee meeting, the shop steward was disqualified as a Management Committee member because he had not attended a sufficient number of meetings...

Later, Pat Keegan rejoined the Labour group in the City Council,⁹² and much later, the shop steward took over his seat for Govan in the City Council, but that is another story altogether.

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13.01 Map of Glasgow. Govan is situated outside the City Centre, on the line of the Underground.



13.02 'Entrance' to Govan. The ringroad continues to the right; the house in front is unfortunately going to be demolished.



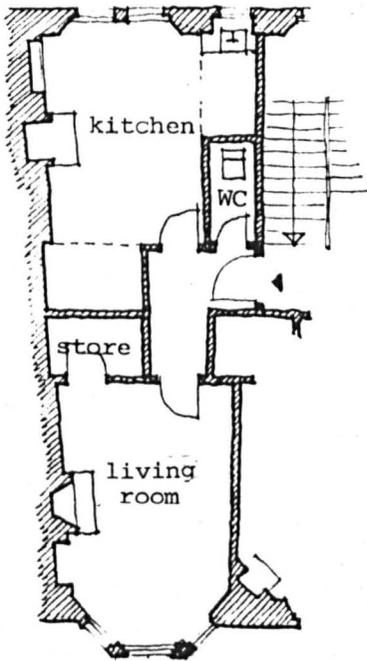
13.05 The unpretentious office of Central Govan Housing Association.



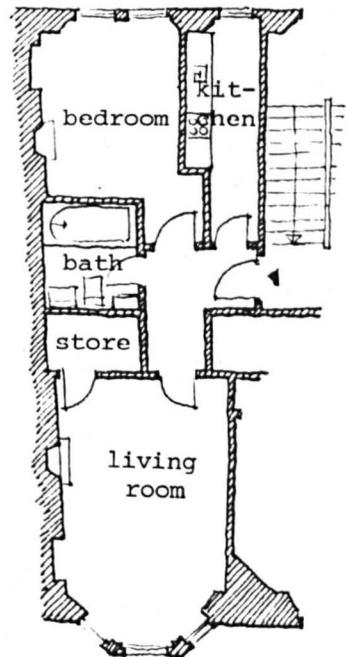
13.06 Meeting of the Management Committee of Central Govan Housing Association. The boards in the back were used in the Govan Fair procession in 1982.



13.07 Before and after renovation. Note the new windows and the removal of the chimney stacks which considerably changes the appearance of the buildings.



before renovation



after renovation

13.08 Central Govan Housing Association flats in Shaw St. before and after renovation. The awkward lay-out of the renovated flat is - for a certain extent - due to the application of Parker Morris standards of storing space.

Chapter Fourteen + Case Study 2: Edinburgh - a Housing Co-operative

14.1. Introduction

The town

Apart from occupying one of the finest sites of any city in the world, Edinburgh has since the 15th century been the capital of Scotland, and contains a range of nationally significant monuments and buildings. It is often called the Athens of the North, or compared with 'Petersburg, as well as Copenhagen, Berlin and Munich'.¹

For the continental visitor, also comparisons with 19th century Vienna and Paris come into mind. Edinburgh has always had a close political and cultural relationship to the Continent and the 'unenglishness' of the city is evident. The dramatic location and historic fabric have furthermore established Edinburgh as a centre of tourism, which is a constant pressure, especially for the Old Town.

The traditional areas for small industries are Gorgie and Dalry. The harbour of Edinburgh is Leith, still an important dry dock area. Granton in North Edinburgh has a gaswork and a harbour, and newer industrial areas spread to the West and South, not interfering with the more historical part of the city.²

Brewing is one of the main industries; in addition, chemical industry and engineering is important together with the traditional occupation of printing and publishing. But still, industries only employ seventeen per cent of the working force, while 75 per cent are white-collar workers, Edinburgh being the administrative and educational center of Scotland. The District of Edinburgh had in 1961 about 490,000 inhabitants, the number of which had in 1979 fallen to 455,000, due to a regional redistribution of population.³

The old Edinburgh was situated at the ridge which implied a special town planning lay-out. The broad High Street ran along the ridge, lined with houses. Each house had a narrow stripe of land, a toft or a close, running down the side of the ridge.

From the 13th century, where Edinburgh had 2,000 inhabitants, the population rose steadily, and in the 1630s Edinburgh was regarded as one of the most crowded cities in Europe.⁴ In 1863, Edinburgh had a population of 40,000 people, the vast majority still living in the same area as in the 17th century. This expansion was absorbed by building high and sub-dividing the houses into flats.⁵

However, since the 1760s, a 'New Town' was being built at the other side of the Valley of the North Loch, connected with the Old Town by the North Bridge.⁶ As a result of an architectural competition, this new area was laid out with a formal grid-pattern of a rather monumental nature.⁷

The City had the power to impose certain regulations on the buildings, and this regulated the development into a uniform neo-classical townscape, designed by the famous architects of the period, from 1767 and 80 years ahead.

The houses from the period are usually in three storeys, with a sunken basement. The material is Craigleith sandstone with a greyish surface. The house is often separated from the pavement by a basement area, and the main entrance is reached by steps and a platt bridging the gap. The ironwork around the entrance area and its detailing is one of the finest and most typical features of the Georgian facade, together with the porticos around the doorways and the elaborate fanlights.⁸ Windows are sash windows, subdivided into smaller panes, many still with crown glass. The slate roofs are normally pitched.

This simple Edinburgh building tradition was to continue in the 'better' areas through the 19th century,

The Lister Block which is the subject of this case study was mainly built during the beginning of the 19th century, and belongs to the architectural tradition of the New Town housing.

The housing stock

In 1980, the number of dwellings in Edinburgh was 180,000, with only seventeen per cent of the stock being built before 1919, compared to 27 per cent in England and Wales.⁹ The older dwellings

are predominantly flats:

51 House types. Edinburgh, Old town.

House type	Edinburgh District	Old Town (ward 41+42)
Detached houses	15%	0.4%
Semidetached & terraces	18	1
Flats	67	98

10

As seen in an earlier chapter, the level of owner-occupation is higher in Edinburgh than in Scotland in general:

52 Distribution of tenure. Scotland, Edinburgh. 1971, 1980

	Scotland 1971	% of total stock Edinburgh 1980
	11	12
Public housing	54%	32%
Housing associations		3
Private renting	17	10
Owner-occupation	29	53
Others	-	2

The problems of housing improvement are mainly concentrated in five areas: Portobello, South Side, North Merchiston, Gorgie-Dalry and Leith, corresponding to a number of area offices recently established by the LA. The Lister Block is situated near the South Side area.

In 1979, 13,000 dwellings were proposed for future action on the grounds of:

(i)	dwellings below tolerable standard	6,400
(ii)	dwellings contained within tenements with more than 50 per cent dwellings below tolerable standard	2,800
(iii)	properties adjacent to (i) and (ii), which contain some unfit dwellings, and are in need of common repairs	1,800
(iv)	individual unfit dwellings	2,000

19

The relatively low number of dwellings below tolerable standard, about four per cent of the total stock, is accounted for by the fact that a comprehensive programme of housing improvement has been implemented during the 1970s. From 1975, when HAA policy started to have any effect, and to 1979, 10,000 dwellings were rehabilitated.^{14,15}

Improvement policies

Edinburgh has a large number of historic buildings; in 1977, there were 6,700 listed buildings,¹⁶ the largest single number for any city outside London. Therefore, housing improvement is governed by both conservation and sanitary interests.

Prior to 1972, dwellings below tolerable standard were - if not listed - generally demolished. However, the local authority's conservation planning started in the early 70s, triggered off by a planned system of highways around - and through - the City Centre. Furthermore, in the Comprehensive Development Areas the whole of the South Side was zoned for demolition.¹⁷

The programme is nearly completed, the LA having designated 24 conservation areas, of which three were 'outstanding', the New Town, the Old Town and South Queensferry. According to an LA survey, about 31,000 households in Edinburgh lacked one or more basic amenities, in 1971.¹⁸ With the specific involvement of HAS embodied in the 1974 Act, the City - till 1983 conservatively dominated - decided to involve HAS in its programmes, and the areas in need of rehabilitation were then 'zoned' and allocated to five existing HAS already working in the area.¹⁹ Within each of these areas, the HA was made responsible for:

- (i) acting as agent for the LA dealing with owner-occupiers
- (ii) acquiring properties, mostly from private landlords, and renovate it.

In December 1974, about 1,000 dwellings were transferred to the HAS for later improvement, the total number exceeding to 4,700 dwellings in HA ownership in 1976.²⁰

Till 1978, only 250 dwellings (or one out of twelve improved dwellings) had been improved by the HAS.²¹ Like in many other

HAA's, the upstart had been relatively slow, as compared to the take-up of grants by owner-occupiers.²² In September 1979, however, the HAs in Edinburgh had improved 2,000 dwellings.²³ Nevertheless, the LA settled in its programme from 1979 'Rehabilitation in the 80s' with the HAs and the continuation of the HAA programme. It was suggested that the LA should maintain overall control of HAA operations. Furthermore, the HAs should only be brought in when the LA 'has clearly established which houses should be upgraded...by the owners or occupiers themselves',²⁴ obviously to avoid HA take-over as far as possible.

These intentions were realised through the establishment of LA area offices in five urban renewal areas, each staffed with two-four LA officers.

The main task of these offices is to promote rehabilitation in HAA's, and to encourage common repairs to all dwellings, without changing the pattern of ownership in the area.

In Edinburgh, the HAs have mainly been agents for the LA, acquiring and improving empty property. However, the case study selected in the context of this study is a special case, the improvement being initiated not by the LA, but by the residents themselves.

14.2. Lister Housing Co-operative

The area

The block of tenements, bounded by Heriot Place, Lauriston Place, Keir Street and Graham Street, were built between 1815 and 1900, as flats for the middle classes.²⁵ Between the first and last development, there is a considerable span of years. In terms of architecture, however, these buildings blend well in their Georgian and Georgian Survival style. The houses towards Lauriston Place are B-listed, while 12 - 32 Keir Street are C-listed, with no statutory significance, however.

The Old Town Conservation Area did not originally incorporate the Lister area. However, it was extended in 1977, mainly because of the Lister project, thereby allowing for additional

conservation grants to be given.

Prior to rehabilitation, the buildings contained 108 flats in seventeen closes, plus a property in Heriot Place which is now demolished. All properties were built as tenements, with two, and three, but also seven-room flats. There were two or four flats per landing.

Originally the block was part of a larger, Georgian development, with houses on both sides of Keir Street and Lauriston Place, with a stair access down the hill to the Grassmarket.²⁶ However, nearly all the surrounding Georgian tenements have been demolished, and replaced by institutions connected with the University. On the other side of Keir Street is Edinburgh College of Art; the recently-built Royal Infirmary is situated at the other side of Lauriston Place, and the neighbour in Heriot Place is George Heriot's Hospital from the 17th century.

In spite of this mix of buildings with different uses, Lauriston Place has some distinctive urban qualities. Across the road from Lister, a number of Georgian houses are still left, and further along the Neo-baronial University buildings lends character to the streetscape.

Towards Heriot Place, the benefit from the neighbouring Heriot's Hospital and its park in Keir Street, the streetscape has been spoiled by the demolition of all the houses at one side of the street - but on the other hand provided the residents with a magnificent view of the Castle.

Situation prior to renovation

The housing standard of the flats prior to renovation varied considerably. The properties towards Heriot Place were small and with no amenities, while the Lauriston Place flats were generally larger and fitted with bathrooms. 50 flats, mainly in Heriot Place, were empty at the time of Lister take-over.

The resident mixture was a rather special blend of population groups:

Tenants in Lister before rehabilitation

% of all residents

Sudanese medical students	10%	
Elderly tenants in residence for a number of years	50	
'a dozen Uni lectures'	10	
Back-up staff of University	30	27,28

Originally the site belonged to the Lister Trust under the University of Edinburgh, the rent income being used as funding for medical research. However, by the late 60s, the University wanted to build a new teaching hospital, and later a dental school on the site.

In the Development Plan, the site was zoned for residential use, and the University therefore in 1973 applied to the local authority for rezoning for non-residential use.

There was a strong core of active tenants in the block, mainly working at the University. One of these, a housing lecturer, who worked for SHELTER, obtained funding from this organisation to carry out a feasibility study.

Resistance was organised, and in the end, a petition against the demilition was signed by 106 tenants. To 'everybody's surprise', the local authority refused to grant Edinburgh University's application to rezone the site, and redevelopment for University purposes was then out of the question.

Lister Trust Tenants' Association was formed in 1974, and the tenants discussed what to do next. As the University then decided to sell the property, the tenants' association decided to form themselves into a co-operative and buy the dwellings 'out of fear of getting a new landlord and maybe tougher factors'.²⁹

The idea of a co-operative was not very popular with the Housing Corporation who suggested that Edinvar, a relatively large HA working in the South Side area, took over the administrative responsibilities. Edinvar was - and is - an efficient HA working mainly with empty buildings. The tenants' association did not,

however, consider Edinvar's type of housing development and administration as congruent with their own aims and preferences, and preferred to form their own HA.³⁰ Eventually, the Lister people agreed to an 'umbrella' arrangement.

A joint working party set up an extensive formal management agreement where Edinvar was responsible for the day-to-day work while Lister took policy decisions. In July 1976, the Lister Housing Co-operative was registered with the Housing Corporation, and in September, the ownership of the block passed on to Lister.

Action programme

T.M. Gray and Associates, a local architect with a reputation for dealing with Georgian buildings, were chosen, mainly on Edinvar's recommendation. A feasibility study was carried out in which demolition of the worst housing was recommended.

The co-op established an office in Lauriston Place, which were, during and after renovation, staffed with one person, paid from various sources, and taking care of tenant relations.

In the vacant flats, a number of pilot schemes were carried out, these flats being later used for rehousing.³¹

No tenants wanted to be decanted out of the area, and all decanting was held within the block. Under these circumstances, there was no real choice of decanting flat.

Amalgamation of smaller flats and sub-division of the largest flats made the total number of flats in existing houses rise to 119, most of them with four rooms. In addition to this, eighteen new built flats have been provided in Heriot Place, among them three flats for disabled and five amenity flats. This gives a total of 137 flats in the co-op.

The first of four contracts started in January 1978; the rehabilitation ended in February 1982.

Lister is an HA and thus qualifies for housing association grant. Furthermore, the local authority has given an environmental improvement grant, equal to grants for owner-occupiers. Finally, the Historic Building Council has given a grant towards repair works.³²

Lister organisation

The organisation of the co-op has been subject to changes during the process of housing improvement. However, the main aims as expressed in the Tenants' Handbook 1980 have been maintained:

'The co-operative's aim is to provide decent, sound cheap housing for a wide range of people, maintaining a social mix that was present at the conception of the co-operative'.

'...in the Co-operative, we have an established democratic system which gives us, the member-tenants, the opportunity to get involved and to participate in the decisionmaking which affects our lives at a very fundamental and local level and to control and manage the running of our own housing'.³³

Thus the aim of the co-op is not only provision of housing, but also to involve the residents in the process of provisions and in housing management. The assessment of the co-ops' success' should be seen in this light.

Open meetings for all tenants are the backbone of Lister organisation, and the decisions taken at these general meetings (GMs) are of a higher order than those made at MC meetings.³⁴ At the Annual General Meeting, a management committee (MC) is elected. Here, the accounts are presented, and the auditor for the coming year elected.

Minor policy decisions are taken at MC meetings, while major decisions will be taken at GMS. These can be called in by demand of ten per cent of the members, the MC or the Housing Corporation.

Accordingly, the number of GMs vary. In 1981, half a dozen GMs were held, with a varying degree of attendance, however.³⁵

The monthly MC meetings are open to all members, but only the fifteen MC members have voting rights. The management committee is entitled to delegate any of its powers to sub-committees, consisting both of MC and co-opted members. The number and structure of sub-committees change after demand. In 1982, they were:

- (i) Finance sub-group
- (ii) Maintenance group - co-operating with the architect

- (iii) Allocation group - allocating flats to new tenants
- (iv) Back green group - taking care of design and use of the back green area.³⁶

While the meetings of the allocation committee is confidential, all other committee meetings are open. Decisions taken by the sub-committees may be changed by the management committees, but 'that never happens'.³⁷ About 40 residents are active in co-op committees.

As opposed to the HA in the Glasgow case study, the Lister co-op demands a certain level of activity from its new members. Accordingly, the allocation policy is a central part of co-op organisation, and will be further described in the following paragraphs.

Allocation - how to become a member of Lister

Applications are accepted from all people living within the City of Edinburgh. Priority is given in three areas:

- (i) present housing need
- (ii) interest and value to the co-operative
- (iii) special needs.

The factors which are of 'interest and value to the co-op' would be:

- knowledge of the co-operative idea
- willingness to discover what a co-operative is
- present level of social involvement
- past experience of social/voluntary activity etc.

Consideration is also given to applicants with 'strong connections with the Lauriston Place area', and to former members of the co-op.³⁸ In other words, the Lister Housing Co-op will give a high priority to applicants who are already active in resident and community work, especially those who have a local connection, a term which is not further defined.

The co-op has four waiting lists (1982) each corresponding to

flats of a certain size:

- single bedroom flats
- two bedroom flats
- three- and four-bedroom flats
- multi-occupancy flats.39

The overall distribution of flats in Lister is as follows:

54 Lister Housing Co-op. Flat distribution. % of total stock

<u>no. of bedrooms</u>	<u>percentage</u>
1	7%
2	38
3	41
4	7
5+	7

40

There are at present seven flats in multiple occupancy. Four of these were collectives prior to renovation, and three has been designated as collective flats by the co-op.

These figures should be seen in relation to the co-op waiting lists and the number of applicants for each type of flat. While there are relatively many applicants for one-bedroom flats, only 'less than a dozen' have applied for three- and four-bedroom flats, and 'few' for multi-occupancy flats.41

As for all HAs, the LA has a right to nominate tenants from the council waiting lists to 50 per cent of the vacant flats of the co-op. The new flats for disabled people in Heriot Place are allocated to local residents, according to LA preferences. However, for the remaining flats, there is not much interference.

The local authority usually sends a list of applicants, but, as the co-op officer says, 'we can always phone back and say: look, we don't think they are suitable'.42

Status

In terms of conservation, the Historic Buildings Council as well

as the LA has followed the conservation work closely, and also contributed with grants. In Edinburgh, the LA grants for conservation would normally cover special repair works:

- restoration of facades to original appearance
- replacement of original features
- reinstatement of original materials
- stone cleaning where desirable.⁴³

The Historic Buildings Council has in return for their grant requested lead flashings, iron railing, repairs with real stone, brass knockers, six-pannelled Georgian doors, and inside fireplaces kept.

As a result of these requirements, the restoration of the building fabric in Lister is of a high quality, even though the stone repairs seem less successful. The interiors have not been restored with the same care; however, the fire places have been kept, and no major changes in the interiors seem to have taken place.

In addition to the Conservation grants, a further £ 50 per flat has been provided by the LA for environmental improvements. As this was not sufficient to carry out both a reasonable courtyard scheme and a stone cleaning of all facades, the co-op decided to clean only the facades towards the courtyard.

However, both the LA, the HBC and Housing Corporation considered stone cleaning to hold a higher priority. The co-op did, however, insist on the courtyard scheme, and eventually, facades were cleaned with an additional grant from the LA and the HBC.⁴⁴

The result is a highly pleasant scheme with an excellent courtyard, with semi-private drying areas near the buildings and a common grass area in the middle of the courtyard.

Sufficient information of the total cost of renovation has not been obtained in the context of this study.

It is the declared aim of the co-op to maintain 'the social mix that was present at the formation of the co-op'. In the following, the question of whether this aim has been obtained will be considered.

As all tenants of Lister had the opportunity to stay in the block in their former or in a new flat, there is no doubt that Lister has provided housing for all former residents. Another question is whether the declared aim of the co-op, to provide for the same population groups as before, has been fulfilled.

In replacing the tenants who left, 'no great effort has been made to retain the student population', and the Sudanese medical students living in Lister before renovation have gone back to their country. Furthermore, a number of elderly tenants have left.⁴⁶ Half of the present tenants are new, mostly families with children, but also tenants in multiple occupation. New tenants tend to be families with children, sometimes teenagers, and older tenants incline to feel that 'they are taken over'.^{47,48}

In conclusion, it is obvious that the co-op has not provided for the social mix that was present at co-op formation. Considering the allocation priorities, they seem to concentrate new tenants in a rather narrow group, depending on the applicant's 'interest and value to the co-op'.

Furthermore, the distribution of flat sizes has meant a change towards provision mainly for families. There is thus a shortage of flats for elderly and single young people, for which there seems to be a high demand in the area.

14.3. Resident involvement

Individual level

Generally, the architect determined the lay-out of the flat, while the future tenant had a say in kitchen layout, sockets, colours and wall paper.

One of the tenants interviewed wanted a wall to be demolished in order to have a larger kitchen, and this was done at no extra expense for the tenant. Another wanted the bathroom kept as it was, which was accepted as well. Extras were paid for, and wallpapers 'were not the cheapest ones'. All three tenants interviewed express satisfaction with their present accommodation.^{49,50,51,52}

Prior to renovation, a management committee group visited every tenant, in order to inform about the project and possibilities for decanting. Of the three households interviewed, two opted for one straight move, while one household returned to the same flat. They had lived in the Lister block for 37, 40 and 7 years respectively.

The tenant who was decanted temporarily, found her decant flat 'too small'. The other two were one-person households, and they were both offered basement flats. Obviously, the HA had decided on providing family flats, and there were not many one-bedroom flats to offer.^{53,54,55}

In conclusion, the residents were offered some choice in minor design decisions, but little choice in terms of alternative rehousing, due to the limited number of flats for single people that the co-op had to offer.

Community level

At the general meetings, all members of the co-op has an opportunity to participate directly in decisions affecting their housing situation.

'As member-tenants we can control our own very local housing situation...Together, the members take the decisions which the landlord usually takes...The answer to the question: 'Who is the landlord?' is 'We are''.⁵⁶

Another question is the extent to which the residents participate. In Lister, the resident activity has clearly fluctuated, following residents' interests at various stages in the process.

At the formation of the co-op and during development, a high number of tenants have been active. However, entering the post-development phase, the co-op has moved towards a stability, and ideas and activities have changed in character. According to both the co-op officers and an MC member interviewed, many of the older tenants now 'lean back' to a certain extent, having obtained housing of a higher quality than before, and with relatively little interest in co-op activities.

Closing note

Sometimes the co-op staff consider it difficult to stir up interest. At one GM, only 20 tenants turned up, and the MC 'had to send two or three out to get them', in order to be able to take decisions according to co-op rules.⁵⁷

At the Annual GM in June 1982, however, about 50 people turned up, out of about 120 households,⁵⁸ which seems a manifestation of a continuing resident activity. This activity is, according to the co-op officer, mainly due to new tenants,⁵⁹ and the fact that co-op members are expected to be active in the organisation.

Confronted with the question of size of the co-operative, the co-op development officer said that there is no such thing as optimal size as such.

'In terms of housing management, the co-op is small; in terms of welfare and rent problems, four times too large'⁶⁰

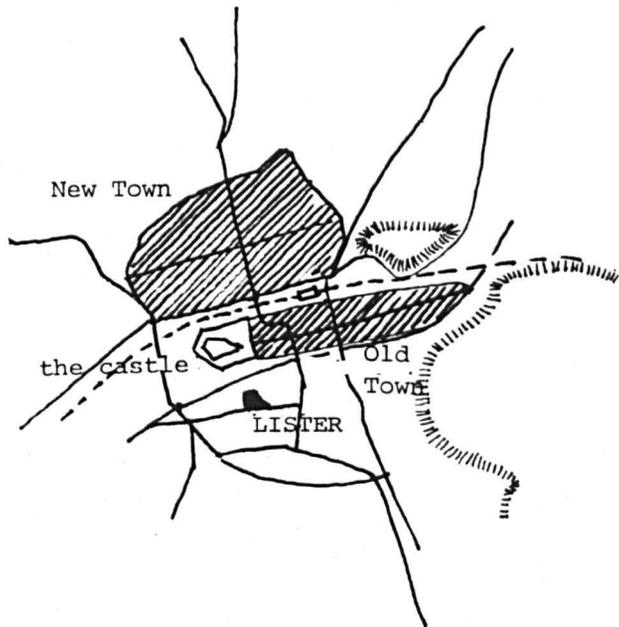
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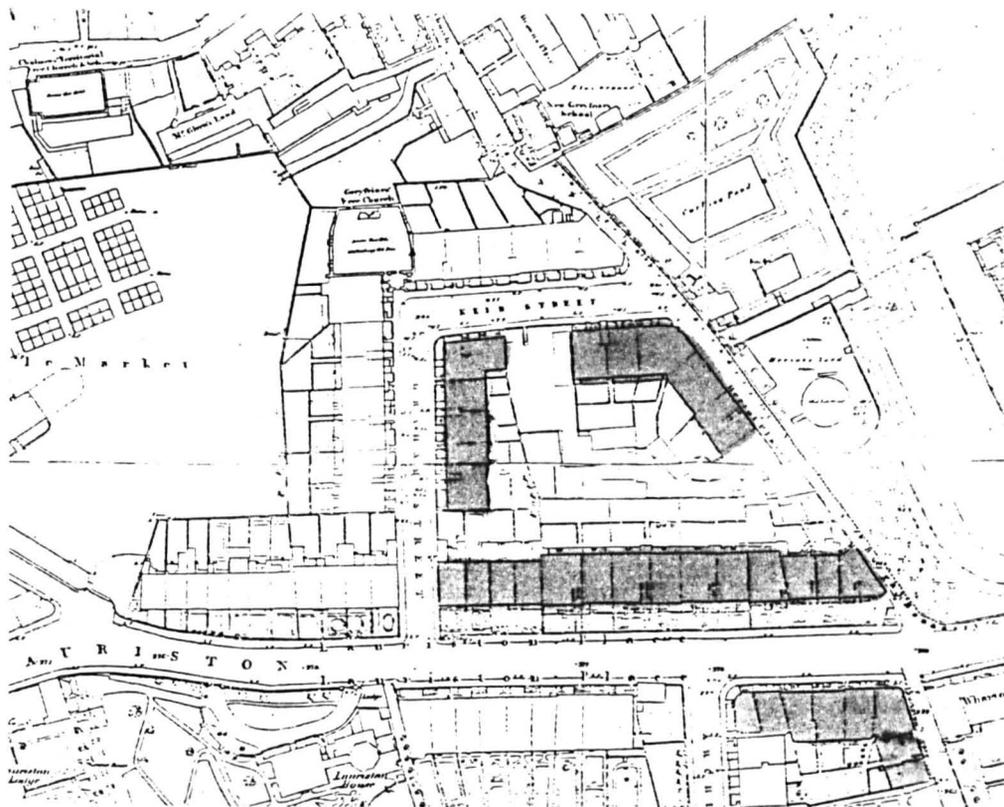
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60. Interview no.46.



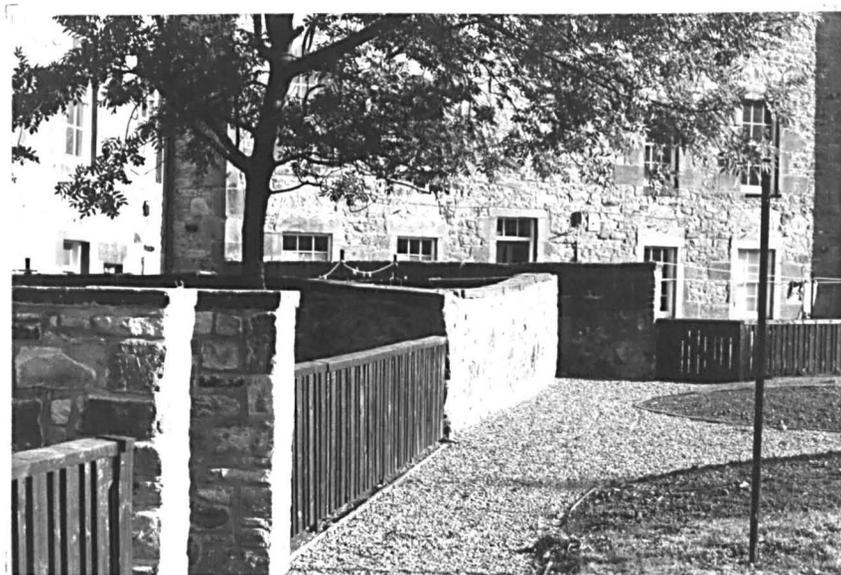
14.01 Lauriston Place. Flats improved by the Lister housing Co-operative.



14.02 Plan of Edinburgh. The Lister Block is situated in the Inner City and within walking distance from the Old Town and the University, being an attractive option for people connected with the University.



14.03 Plan of Lister Block and its immediate surroundings in 1852. Today, only the buildings marked with a darker shade is left.



14.04 Buffer zones in Lister yard.

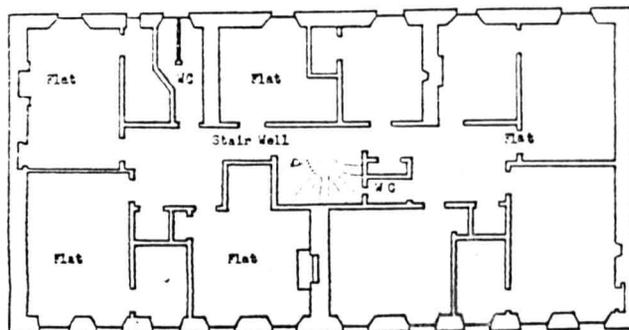


14.05 Back facade of Lauriston Place houses; to the left the new built sheltered scheme towards Heriot Place.

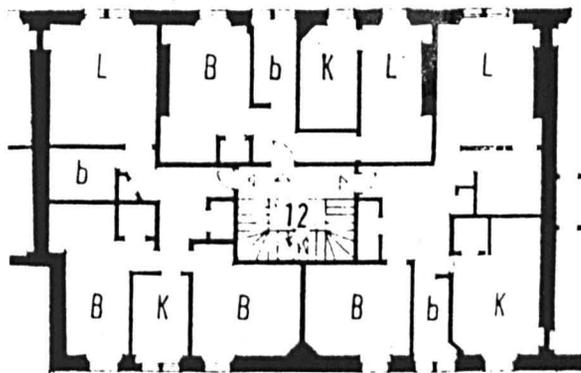


14.06 The shop at the corner of Graham Street. The shop owner had one of the former shops, projecting from the Lauriston Place facade, and refused to move. A compromise was reached, and he moved into this corner shop, which is now very prosperous.

14.07 Typical lay-out
New Town flat prior to
renovation. Cumberland
Street, Edinburgh.



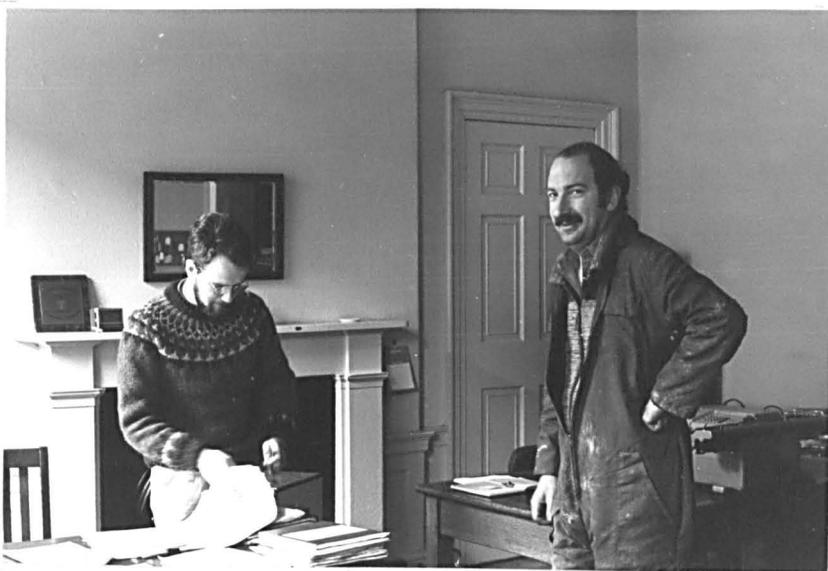
14.08 Lister flats in Keir
Street after renovation.



14.09 Living room in Lister Flat. Note the spacious
rooms, the original fire place and the elaborate plaster
corniches.



14.10 Kitchen in Lister flat - seen with Danish eyes, a rather Spartan lay-out.



14.11 Keys are collected at the informal office of Lister Housing Co-operative.

Chapter Fifteen + Case Study 3: Newcastle - Two Projects by
a Large Housing Association

15.1 Introduction

The City

Newcastle-upon-Tyne has been the main city of Northern England for centuries. According to Esher, this is based on its location at the crossroad of the only all-weather north-south and east-west highways in the North, and furthermore its location at the River Tyne which provided a sea-road for the export of coal.¹ The coal were being worked at a great number of localities on a small scale, with Newcastle as the regional centre for further transportation.²

In the 18th century, Newcastle and Gateshead at the other side of the river had more than 20,000 inhabitants,³ growing to more than 43,000 people in 1800.⁴

In the beginning of the 19th century, the economy of the region was transformed. Coal was no longer for domestic use only, but the 'prime energy source of modern industry', industry being wooden shipbuilding, iron working, glassmaking.⁵

Plans for transforming Newcastle into a city capable of fulfilling its function as the great commercial capital of the region started in the early 19th century. In 1835, the municipal boundaries were extended to include the outer zones of buildings which then surrounded the old city.⁶

Beginning with the redevelopment of sites made available by the recent demolition of the City's northern wall, a vast scheme of street development was implemented under which St. Thomas', one of the case studies in the context of this study, was developed.

Accompanying the industrial development, the population of Tyneside rose sharply during the 19th century, and housing spread along the river, on both banks.⁷

This increase was accommodated mainly in terraced housing behind the riverside industries. Esher notes:

'Workers' terraces climbed the steep slopes behind /the river/. Your height and distance from the river soon became a status symbol.'⁸

The area of Arthur's Hill was developed during this second period of expansion.

Planning history and urban development

The first Development Plan for Newcastle was published in 1951, but was soon to undergo major changes as a result of changed requirements for traffic systems, and, in Esher's words, a 'need for the possibility of redevelopment and environmental improvement not contemplated in earlier days.'⁹

At the beginning of the 60s, Newcastle had about 175,000 inhabitants and 80,000 dwellings. Of these 25,000 were unfit and 40 per cent were without proper plumbing. There were 30,000 pre-1914 dwellings and the inner city was still overcrowded.¹⁰

The City Council was taken over by Labour in 1958; from then on, a new policy for urban and industrial development was introduced, led by the powerful Labour councillor T. Dan Smith, seconded from 1960 by Wilfred Burns, the Chief Planner of Newcastle. According to Esher, T. Dan Smith 'made no bones about it.. Newcastle was to be transformed into a Brasilia of the North,'¹¹ and Smith's goodwill at Central Government level secured the necessary investment to fulfill his ambitious plans.¹²

In 1963, a formal Development Plan Review was sent out, suggesting a new Town Centre with 'concern for environmental areas, conservation and the securing of all this by a system of urban motor ways...', in Esher's words. The development plan suggested demolition for both Arthur's Hill and St. Thomas'. Arthur's Hill was being zoned for new housing and small industries, while St. Thomas' was to be demolished because of the new West-Central motorway.¹³

During the 60s and beginning of the 70s, a part of the outlined highway system was being implemented.

The East-Central motorway was cut through the City, with many of the old areas in the City Centre being drastically changed. However, the West-Central motorway was abandoned, partly for economic reasons, but probably more for reason of disillusionment of the city as a community at what had already been done. Furthermore, the policy for slum clearance and new built was delayed and changed by the national reorientation of policies by 1974. In Newcastle, this trend was reinforced in the growing vocal pressure from local groups concerned with their immediate environment.

The building stock and housing improvement

Before 1970, about 11,000 dwellings had been subject to slum

clearance; around 1975, the annual rate of clearance ran at 3,700 dwellings a year, compared to an average new built of 6,600 dwellings during the same period.^{14,15} However, following the 1974 Housing Act, the clearance programme was reconsidered, and 3,000 houses taken out of the programme, among them Arthur's Hill and St. Thomas'.

In 1975, a 'Revitalization Agency' was set up by Ken Galley, the new city planner who showed a considerable interest in the conservation of historic areas as opposed to his predecessor. The aim was to rehabilitate 1,000 dwellings a year, a goal which was actually reached in 1977.¹⁶

Standard

In 1981, the total number of dwellings within Newcastle Metropolitan District was 114,000; of these, 42 per cent were flats.¹⁷ In 1979 around 25,000 dwellings were pre-1919; of these 8,500 substandard. In addition to this, about 7,000 of the 37,000 interwar dwellings needed renovation.¹⁸

However, in recent years, the situation has changed; in Newcastle, there are now less than 300 houses without an inside WC. The character of the problem has changed, due to intensive housing improvement, and the focus is now on a general need for repairs, mainly in pre-1919 owner-occupied housing and interwar LA estates, but also in fairly new council estates.¹⁹

Housing providers

55

Tenure pattern. Newcastle, 1971, 1979, 1981.

	per cent of total stock		
	1971	(1979)	1981
Council housing	41%	47%	45%
Housing associations	-	3	2
Privately rented	30	14	54
Owner-occupied	28	36	20,21,22

Unfurnished renting has declined in Newcastle because of an increase in furnished accommodation for students, especially in renewal areas.²³

In 1974, 90 per cent of the privately rented accommodation was owned by absentee landlords, often elderly landlords owning a few

houses, or charitable housing trusts.²⁴ Recently, however, large property companies or builders have started to operate in HAAs.²⁵

During the last two decades, Newcastle has suffered an extensive loss of population. In 1981, the metropolitan district of Newcastle had 287,000 inhabitants, against 336,000 in 1961.²⁶ Unemployment is above the national average, due to the fact that employment in the region is still dependant upon a few basic industries which are in declining sectors of the national economy.

Even though the number of inhabitants has fallen, the number of households remained static for a number of years, and have increased during the last couple of years. The reason for this is an increase in the proportion of one-and two-person households, and a decline in household size. The existing stock does not fit the actual need: 63 per cent of the stock has three bedrooms or more, while 54 per cent of the households consists of one and two persons.²⁷

In view of this, the housing surplus of 4,000 dwellings does not indicate that the housing problems of Newcastle are solved, and there are still 14,000 people on the council's waiting list.²⁸

Policies of housing improvement

In 1975, eight HAAs were declared, and the largest effort has since been directed towards these areas, which contain about 2,800 dwellings. 80 per cent of the dwellings in declared HAAs were improved by 1979, which must be considered as quite a success for the area approach.²⁹

With Newcastle having relatively few substandard dwellings left, the Council has had to readjust its policies accordingly. In its Housing Strategy Plan, accompanying the bid for Housing Investment Programme allocations, the council has set out its policy, which 'is designed to stimulate new investment', create new jobs, and conserve those already there, whilst housing policies are 'concerned with/improving/conditions in the inner areas, and providing a sufficient range of accommodation to meet both needs and demands within the existing stock.'³⁰

Priority Area Teams

were set up in 1977, in deprived areas of Newcastle. The twelve areas, based on regional ward boundaries, have an average of 9,500 inhabitants.^{31,32} The areas were originally defined as areas of

social as well as physical deprivation. Employment status, number of children in care etc. was taken into consideration. 60-70 per cent of potential GIAs/HAAAs were situated within the Priority Areas.³³

The Priority Area Teams are subcommittees of the City Council; in contrast, however, to usual committees which are responsible for a specific subject, the PATs are locally based and cover a broad variety of issues.³⁴

The team comprises three ward councillors and one county councillor. The team visits each smaller community within the ward 'several times a month', and hold meetings in schools or community centres, with representatives for the community, where 'anybody can come along'. The PAT would typically handle housing problems, complaints on the police, public and private services and health issues, and channels these requests into the appropriate official channels. The team conducts public discussions, and supports residents groups.

Each has a budget of £ 50,000 a year. Furthermore, they have access to Urban Aid, Inner City Partnership Funding, which for Newcastle is presently £ 6 mill a year. This is usually given to larger projects which will benefit the community. As an example, Arthur's Hill PAT spent £ 5,000 on various activities within the HAA.

LA Staff

Prior to 1974, the general improvement areas were administered by officers from various departments, meeting regularly and centered around a housing team.

In 1975, the Revitalisation Teams were formed out of the Planning Department. There is a team for each area; the Inner West Team covers an area with 80,000-100,000 inhabitants. It is staffed with eight people. Their role is to take care of all planning applications, local planning and development control in the area, as well as processing grants and offering package deals to owner-occupiers.³⁵

The revitalisation team is a reactive team, compared with the Housing Action Team which is pro-active. They are two-three people whose role is to get out in the community, taking up contact with residents, encouraging landlords to take up grants, rehousing tenants, consulting residents on environmental schemes, carrying through Compulsory Purchase Orders, and modernising acquired property.³⁶

While the Revitalisation Team are mainly technicians, the Housing Action People are qualified in planning and administration.

Involvement of HAs

Newcastle City Council decided, due to professional staff shortages internally, to involve Housing Associations in the implementation of its HAA programmes,³⁷ each HA being responsible for a specific area of the city. A number of HAs were interviewed to discuss with them their views, management structure and their capability of handling a new (and sensitive) housing concept. The local authority stresses the need for HA involvement in HAAs, but under financial control of the local authority. The HAs are not involved in preparation of Housing Investment Programme statements.³⁸

North Housing Group, later North Housing Association, in the following called North Housing or NH, was selected provisionally to undertake the Arthur's Hill HAA, and subsequently St. Thomas'.

North Housing Association

Being the subject of this case study, and the HA involved in both areas investigated, North Housing will in the following paragraphs be further introduced.

North Eastern Housing Association was established before the Second World War by Act of Parliament, in order to provide low-income housing. In 1974, North Housing Group was formed out of North Eastern Housing Association in order to make it possible for the HA to be involved in improvement of older housing.³⁹ In October 1980, the North Eastern Housing Association and North Housing Group were amalgamated into North Housing Association, which is registered by the Housing Corporation.

In the following, the HA will be referred to as North Housing or NH.

Organisation

The aim of the HA is to provide homes by purchasing and improving older properties and by building new houses. In addition to meeting general housing needs it aims to provide for the special needs of the elderly, the disabled, one parent families and single people

The association is led by a chairman and two management committees, one for the North West England, and one for the North East England. They each consist of half a dozen members, of which one is elected by the North Housing tenants in the region.

Administration is divided between:

- (i) administration
- (ii) finance
- (iii) housing management
- (iv) development and technical services
- (v) improvement
- (vi) new built and special projects

These departments are all based at the Head Office in Regent Centre, Gosforth.⁴⁰ For the HA's 22,000 dwellings, there are three Housing Management Offices. The Newcastle office which is relevant in the context of this case study covers Tyneside and Northumberland.

In 1982, North Housing owned nearly 6,000 dwellings in the Tyneside area, of which one-third are dwellings which have been acquired and renovated. At present, a little more than half of the HA's activity is based in housing improvement as opposed to new build.^{41,42}

Allocation

The HA has three different lists:

- (i) a priority list. People on this list will get a house whenever there is anything vacant
- (ii) a list with applicants who are adequately housed, but who may get a flat if there is a surplus
- (iii) applicants who will not at the moment hold a high priority in allocation.⁴³

The declared aim is to rehouse those in greatest need, and tenancies are made solely on the ground of housing needs which is in principle the allocation policy for all estates, whether rehabilitated or new build.⁴⁴

Tenant relations

During the 70s, at the time of the Arthur's Hill case study, the HA employed a Community Development Officer, for the overview and liaison between the different projects of the HA, while a Project Officer took care of the practical details of each project, e.g. decanting or allocation.⁴⁵

During the recent years, however, NHG has changed this system so that one person, the Tenant Relation Officer, follows the HAA all the way through.^{46,47} In Tyneside, each of the Tenant Relation Officers is responsible for an area of around 1,500 dwellings, both

new built and rehab. 48,49

Closing note

North Housing is an HA which in its organisation and administrative practice is quite close to the large Copenhagen HAs - apart from the fact that half of North Housing's activity is rehabilitation. Therefore, the rehab activities of the HA will be explored in more detail, in order to compare the methods of the HA and the results, seen in the light of the requirements set up in Chapters Four and Seven.

15.2 Arthur's Hill HAA

The area

Arthur's Hill (probably named after the developer) is a residential area situated on sloping ground one mile to the west of the city centre and one mile north of the River. It was developed in the last quarter of the 19th century. A map from 1978 shows the development and layout of the streets, while an ordinance survey map of 1976 shows the dwellings substantially complete.⁵⁰

The area is near to the City Centre, with a wide range of shopping facilities in West Road, and close to the main employer in the area - the Newcastle General Hospital. It has traditionally been a mixed community of working and middle class residents with a stable community; although lacking in community facilities and community life, many tenants are of long standing.⁵¹

The standards of the housing gradually reduces from top to bottom of the hill rising west to east. Croydon Road marks a boundary between the better housing to the west and the poorer housing to the east.

In the declaration report for Arthur's Hill GIA, the Planning Department concluded:

'The existence of vehicular traffic through the area and the consequent increase in traffic volume has been a main factor in the resultant deterioration in the environment and dignity which the area once possessed'.⁵²

In the City Development Plan of 1963 the whole of the Arthur's Hill site was to be redeveloped for residential use, apart from an area between Croydon Road and the hospital East with the new Arthur's Hill development further down the hill. The smaller area was situated immediately to the south-east and surrounded by cleared sites, Westgate Road and a council estate and HA dwellings from the 60s.

Housing Stock

At the time of declaration, the HAA contained 870 dwellings in terraces. 823 of the dwellings were 'Tyneside Flats' - a phenomenon found almost exclusively on Tyneside. Such development has the appearance of normal terrace housing, but with double the expected number of front doors. The flats are planned one over the other, with direct access into the ground floor and staircase access to the first floor from a separate front door. At the rear there are offshots

containing access stairs from the rear back street to the first floor flat, and, usually, kitchen and bathrooms (where these existed).⁵³

The remaining 47 dwellings were typical terraced houses, some with attic bedrooms.

56 Distribution of flat sizes. Arthur's Hill HAA, 1975.

Nb. of bedrooms	nb. of dwellings	per cent
2	15	1.7%
3	489	47.0
4	373	42.8
5	64	7.3
6	10	1.1
		54

In 1974, in addition, there were 34 commercial premises, mostly shops and mostly in Stanhope Street and Fenham Road. Some of these were family businesses with an average trading life of 21 years.

In the clearance area, these Compulsory Order Areas were declared, and demolition started at the bottom of the hill.⁵⁵ However, redevelopment was never completed totally.

In two of the CPO areas, the City Architect designed local authority housing schemes and on the third CPO area, a large supermarket, a new community school and a sheltered housing scheme of 30 units have been built.

In the Development Plan, a community centre was envisaged for Stanhope Street, and a clinic and church actually built. A further proposal to build shops and a petrol filling station was abandoned, but a 'social club' was constructed 'much to everybody's relief'.⁵⁶

The area between Croydon Road and the Hospital was declared a general improvement area in 1972. Today 80 per cent of the mainly owner-occupied houses have been improved, and the scheme has been very successful.⁵⁷

The area, which eventually became the Arthur's Hill HAA, was zoned for demolition within the 1963 Development Plan. Shifts in central and local policy and the 1974 Housing Act saved the area, and in 1975, it was scheduled as Newcastle's first Housing Action Area, although the DoE argued against it, mainly because of the envisaged difficulties of improving the insulation qualities of solid brick

external walls.⁵⁸

The HAA

The HAA included two areas, one large, one small. The large area was bounded by Nunsmoor Park to the North, the GIA to the West, Westgate Hill School to the South, and a cleared site to the East.

Standard and condition

The houses are of brick, with sandstone lintels and string courses. Many have wooden slated canopies over the front doors, and the roofs are slated.

In general they were in poor condition through lack of maintenance, probably influenced by the 'blight' on the area because of the 1963 clearance proposals. Roofs were leaking, gutters and downpipes were defective, timber windows had rotted, and internal plaster was badly eroded. Structurally, however, they were generally sound.⁵⁹

In terms of housing standards, a substantial number of dwellings were unfit:

57 Dwellings by lack of amenities. Arthur's Hill HAA, 1974.
per cent of total stock

Unfit dwellings

Dwellings without inside WC	88%
Dwellings without bathroom	62
Dwellings without modern hot water system	63
Dwellings without or with inadequate electric power circuit	65

60

There was in addition a general problem of insufficient daylight into rooms facing the backyard, especially on the ground floor, because of the offshots which were a feature of the Tyneside Flat.

Only eight of the dwellings within the HAA had previously been improved or extended, so the size of the rehabilitation problem was a substantial one.

Tenure

The tenure pattern was as follows:

58 Distribution of tenure. Arthur's Hill HAA, Newcastle, 1975,1971

	per cent of total stock	
	HAA	Newcastle
Owner-occupation	15%	28%
Private renting resident landlord	10	30
absent landlord	53	
Council housing	22	41
		61,62

It will be seen from this, that the Arthur's Hill area had a high proportion of private renting tenants, and that more than half of the dwellings were owned by absentee landlords. A large number of the tenants were students.

Social mixture

Arthur's Hill HAA had a high proportion of inhabitants over sixty, compared to a Newcastle average. Nearly two-thirds were one- or two-person households. In terms of employment, 52 per cent of the working force were employed, 10 per cent were unemployed, and 37 per cent were retired. (1974)⁶³

Only one out of twenty residents were born outside the UK,⁶⁴ many residents were of long standing, and 32 per cent of the households had lived in the area for more than twenty years.⁶⁵

These figures indicate a relatively stable community which share many characteristics with the population in Danish urban renewal areas.

Situation prior to designation

As a part of the City's overall policies for housing improvement, North Housing Group, later North Housing Association (NH), was selected to undertake the Arthur's Hill HAA. The agreement made between NH and the City was that the City would delegate all powers to the HA, other than Compulsory Purchase, and the HA would be responsible totally for dealing with owner occupiers and private landlords. This proposal was agreed by the Housing Corporation, not without some hesitation.

Choice of consultants

One of the first decisions made by North Housing and the Housing Action Team responsible for this area of Newcastle was over the

choice of consultants to plan and execute the professional work on the project. It was recognised that Arthur's Hill was the first and largest HAA in the country, and would need an experienced organisation. Eventually, the National Building Agency (NBA) was chosen for a variety of reasons.

The NBA had been set up by Central Government during the housing boom of the early 1960s, initially to undertake studies on the use of new industrialised techniques for mass housing.

The 1975 DoE Circular on the 1974 Housing Act had recommended:

'...a most valuable reinforcement/for the local authority/...is the NBA which has over the last five years acquired substantial experience in devising and implementing schemes of environmental and house improvement...The Sec. of State hopes that authorities will take the opportunity to use the services that these organisations can provide.' 66

The NBA was centrally funded, although required to supplement its funding from fees. Being a quango, the assumption was that there might be added advantage in working with a semi-governmental body on a large HAA. Furthermore, being grant aided, funds were available within the NBA to carry out the essential feasibility studies, for which NH through the Housing Corporation was not empowered to pay.⁶⁷

A survey was carried out by the NBA, and a report published in 1974, with statistical material and alternative models for housing improvement in the HAA. The report underlines the fact, that 'more than one solution may be adopted, the final choice being dependant upon resources, costs and occupiers' needs.'⁶⁸

Initial contact with residents

NH started by meeting a residents' organisation which had been active in the area for some months. It was called Stanhope Street Housing Action Committee, in the following called SSHAC. A core of active residents within the new association had gained experience through a battle with the LA over the area's inclusion in the previous clearance programme. A recent survey conducted by the association had shown that 67 per cent of the residents were in favour of improvement rather than demolition. These initial consultations were followed by a public meeting in November 1974, where a majority of the 50 residents present voted in favour of the involvement of the NH in the project, largely because they saw it as 'a good thing to get things going'.^{69,70}

The stage was set for action, and the designation of the HAA was made in January 1975.

Staffing

A project team was set up with officers from NH, the NBA, the City Councils' planning, housing, and administrative departments, together with relevant technicians and experts as were needed from time to time during the process. This team met regularly, once a month at the start of the project, then once a fortnight during the productive stage, and towards the end once every three months. The task of the team was to review progress and ease communication between the parties involved. Much of the following information has been collected from the minutes of the Project Team Meetings.^{71,72}

Within North Housing, the Community Development Officer was involved throughout the project. When actual building started, a Project Officer was appointed, operating from a local office from six months after declaration, while NH's Development Officer and his assistant followed the scheme 'from beginning to end'.^{73,74}

Action programme

As with all new concepts a number of things were happening at the same time and 'everybody was feeling their way'.⁷⁵ The choice of improvement strategy - grants to owner-occupiers or HA take-over - was a topic at one of the first meetings of the Team in March 1975. It was discussed for instance 'whether to maintain or raise the level of owner occupation'. The matter was 'left open', but it was decided on the general 'principle that initial effect/should/... be concentrated on absentee landlords', while 'owner occupiers were allowed to respond'.⁷⁶

The pattern of ownership caused problems, particularly during the early stages of the HAA. Some property was already owned by the Council, and it was proposed to 'transfer' these to NH in order that a quick start could be made on improvement. But the properties had to be bought by NH from the LA, and a dispute arose concerning the difference between the valuation put on the houses by the Local Authority Estate and Property Department, and the District Valuer. Eventually the District Valuer's view prevailed, but the delays were substantial.⁷⁷

Another unforeseen delay concerned the acquisition of properties. Landlords and owner-occupiers were encouraged to sell. If an

absentee landlord wanted to keep the house and not improve, an improvement notice was served, and later a compulsory purchase order.^{78,79} By July 1975, North Housing had been offered 130 dwellings from absentee landlords and 36 from owner-occupiers. In the HAA, 'hundreds' of compulsory purchase orders were started, and only 'a dozen' completed.⁸⁰

Housing mix

The aimed housing mix, or distribution of flat sizes, was a topic of many discussions throughout the life of the HAA. In the initial stages of the project, it was decided that a housing mix should be determined by the LA prior to any work taking place.⁸¹

The decision which subsequently had to be taken was whether to provide for the same household sizes which already existed in the area, or whether to provide dwellings for one- and two-person households, for which there was a general demand in the area. It was an overall policy of the City Council to 'bring families back to town'; on the other hand, the Chief Planner and his department were generally more prepared to build for single people, as this was the general demand. Residents in the area, as represented by the Stanhope Street Action Area Committee, were furthermore active to promote a higher number of one-bedroom flats. With this outset, the discussion continued:

59 Suggested household mix. Arthur's Hill HAA.

No. of bedrooms	% of all dwellings					
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
	Jan 75 Exst.HH	Jan 75 Wait.li.	Jan 75 Pl.dep.	Nov 75 NBA	Aug 76 Pl.dep.	Oct 79 obtained
1	19	35	20	12	19.5	9.2
2	41	37	38	44	40.5	44.0
3	33	23	35	37	30	42.1
4	6	5	5	5	6.5	1.1
5	1	-	2	2	3.5	2.8

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First, the mix of dwelling sizes to meet the requirements of the existing households in the HAA (a) was estimated. This was compared with the council housing waiting list of people wanting to be rehoused in the Inner West Area (b). Reconciling these and some other minor trends in demand, a preferable mix was recommended by the Planning Department (c), and agreed by the Housing Department.

This proposal meant about 150 more one-bedroom flats than already existing.

However, due to design considerations, the NBA protested and suggested the mix revised to 12 per cent 1-bedroom flats (d). This was supported by the Housing Department who reported difficulty in letting 1-bedroom flats in a nearby council estate. The housing mix (d). was then agreed.

However, the Planning Department insisted that this base for decision was not correct.

- (i) all trends showed a high demand for 1-bedroom flats in the area
- (ii) in order to decide which mix North Housing should try to reach (450 dwellings), it was necessary to consider how all the private owners (360 dwellings) would improve their property. It was assumed that they would usually be extended with an extra bedroom on top of the offshot, which meant that North Housing had to produce even more small flats than (c). According to the Planning Department, the recommended mix for North Housing should be (e).

In spite of this reasonable argument, it was decided by North Housing to stick to the mix suggested by the NBA (d).

By October 1979, the achieved mix was (f), thereby achieving the goals set by the NBA. However, in a comparison between the achieved mix (f) and the mix based on the present residents' demand (c), it is obvious that North Housing has not provided for the existing community, and not for the demand in the area, but perhaps for a more balanced community in terms of family distribution. One of the reasons for this result may be found rather in design problems than in the implementation of more overall policies:

In the initial report of 1974, the NBA showed several design options. In the Tyneside flats, it was suggested to remove the rear extensions,⁸³ giving the option of three possibilities:

- (i) a kitchen and a bathroom on each floor, contained within the house
- (ii) a kitchen contained in a new two-storey extension, and a bath contained within the house
- (iii) on the ground floor, kitchen and bath like (ii); on the first floor kitchen and bath within the house.

These options gave a flexibility of flat sizes within each house, as well as for the area as a whole, the final choice thereby 'being dependant upon resources, costs and occupiers' needs'.⁸⁴

At declaration, residents demanded 'immediate action', and from several parties it was suggested to industrialise 'to speed things up'. North Housing hesitated in demolishing the rear extensions altogether, and concentrated on the principle of new rear extensions.⁸⁵ By Spring 1975, the NBA presented two schemes in traditional design and one in a prefabricated unit. They were all three based on new (and identical) offshots for the whole scheme, i.e. identical flat sizes - in contradiction to the flexibility for the single resident mentioned in the earlier report. This report had hardly appeared before a change in housing mix towards larger flats were suggested by the NBA, supported by the Housing Department. The report analysed costs and benefits of these three solutions, and reached the conclusion that the traditionally constructed solution was more expensive than the prefabricated solution.

A large contractor offered a unit, based on their prototype, a timber frame with a grey pebble-like cladding. In September 1975, the Department of the Environment and the Housing Corporation approved of the idea to use prefabricated offshots, and a pilot project was decided, one offshot in Stanton Street.²⁶ However, once completed, this offshot was not popular with the residents. Some individual tenants protested fiercely, supported by the residents' association. Private builders were in the meantime building 'nice-looking' traditional offshots.^{87,88} At the same time, the contractor which had offered the offshots was taken over by another firm, and pulled out.⁸⁹ The idea of making prefabricated offshot was therefore given up, and traditionally built offshots of three different types were decided upon.⁹⁰ However, as shown the plans for prefabricated units had had an important impact of the distribution of dwelling sizes, which was not to the benefit of the existing residents.

Decanting

Tenants in North Housing property were offered a number of options if they had to be decanted as a result of building works:

- (i) getting a temporary flat and move back
- (ii) moving to another North Housing flat in the area
- (iii) moving to another North Housing flat elsewhere.⁹¹

It was agreed, that very elderly owner-occupiers would not be disturbed as 'nature would resolve the issue in due course.'

Initially, there were no improved flats in the area which could be used for temporary or permanent decanting. In order to start improvement in the HAA, the LA therefore rehoused 30 households in council houses outside the HA.⁹² Apart from this initial assistance, North Housing managed all decanting both for former council tenants and for tenants in private accommodation. North Housing made agreements with landlords so that the same facilities of temporary accommodation could be offered to the tenants of private landlords as were offered to North Housing Group's own tenants. Private tenants, however, did not get the possibility of a permanent rehousing.⁹³

About one-third of all residents opted for one straight move, and according to the community relations officer, nearly all were rehoused within the Arthur's Hill HAA.⁹⁴ The decanting period lasted from three months to one year. It could be prolonged if the tenant wanted a house that was further along in the programme.

In the early days of the project, most people chose to come back, contrary to the later years when most people moved for good. According to NE's Development Officer, the background for this trend is a legislative change in personal rent subsidies which took away any economic incentive in moving back.⁹⁵

For elderly people, a number of sheltered flats were established.⁹⁶ Eight flats were new built in connection with a new community centre in Stanhope Street, while twelve of the older Tyneside flats in the street were established as sheltered housing with a system of communication to the warden living in a house beside the Community Centre.

These flats offer an opportunity for elderly residents to stay in the area even if they need intensive care. According to the warden, there is no specific allocation policy for these flats. Nevertheless, the three tenants interviewed in the context of this study all had some connection with Arthur's Hill. One wanted to live near her son in Lansmere Road, one was an owner-occupier decanted from North Cote Street, and the third lived 'across the road' and did not want to move from the street.⁹⁷

Environmental improvements

In the beginning of the HAA's life time, housing improvement was considered to be the most important part of the programme, while environmental improvements were left to a later phase. However, in Arthur's Hill as well as in other HAAs, it has been difficult to establish confidence in the future of the area, if no provisions had been made for environmental improvements.

A grant of £ 50 per dwelling was the only contribution from the Housing Corporation towards environmental improvements.⁹⁸ Therefore, additional efforts have been made in applying for funding from other sources:

- (i) Housing Corporation £ 50 per dwelling was not taken up by the individual owners for individual use, but pooled by North Housing (with the owner's consent) and was used to paint all sandstone lintels.
- (ii) Urban Aid has financed landscaping with £ 65,000 (1977). An application was made for funding of pedestrianisation, with a preliminary investigation of the residents' attitude to this.
- (iii) The Priority Area Team payed £ 10,000 towards reinstatement of iron railings (1978) and catches and locks throughout the area, but refused to pay for lighting in back lanes (1978).
- (iv) Tyne and Wear County Council made £ 20,000 available under the job retaining scheme for environmental works in the HAA (1977).
- (v) Central Government provided £ 35,000 for environmental improvements to stimulate the building industry.^{99,100}

The character and design of the environmental improvements vary through the area. In its initial report, the National Building Agency suggested partial street closings.¹⁰¹ However, this was not a success in the neighbouring GIA, and eventually, single trees or groups of trees were planted in low stone boxes with a height of twenty centimetres. But this was not popular; 'cars drive over them, people tumble in the dark, and dogs make a mess'.¹⁰² Residents protested, and the Project Team Minutes read:

'Construction and planting of tree pits in Tamworth Road... deferred following the dissatisfaction of residents and councillors in the rest of this street.'¹⁰³

It was realised that the previous environmental scheme was unsuccessful, and that the planting boxes would have to be replaced.¹⁰⁴ A further £ 65,000 was made available, and the planting boxes were raised to a height of one metre - even though the residents did not approve of the tall planting boxes in front of their gardens.

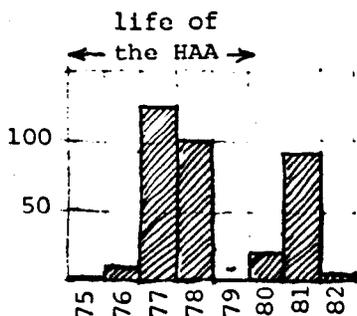
North Housing seems to have gone through a considerable effort in order to consult residents on environmental improvements, e.g. sending a newsletter to all households, asking for an opinion on the proposals for three planting and road closures.

Status

Per March 31, 1979, 657 dwellings or 76 per cent of the total stock were improved or in contract,¹⁰⁵ which must be considered as a success in terms of housing improvement. For North Housing's 450 properties, acquisition started in February 1975, and building works in November the same year, the last contract being completed in March 1982.

60

North Housing Property. Completion date. Arthur's Hill HAA.



From this evidence, it is clear that housing improvement has not been completed within the life-time of the HAA. The figure also reveals that the start was rather slow. The cost of renovation was an average of £ 20,000 per flat.¹⁰⁷

A few housing co-operatives have settled in the area, and the number of private landlords have increased, which has been interpreted by S.J. Cameron as a result of expectations for a long-term gain through sale for owner-occupation.¹¹⁰

In a consideration of socio-economic groups before and after renovation, it has not been practically possible to obtain any detailed information. According to a 1978 survey of tenants in North Housing property, a number of trends may, however, be detected.¹⁰⁸

The proportion of elderly residents has increased. At declaration, the number of OAPs constituted fourteen per cent of the residents; in March 1978, the similar percentage was 34 per cent, compared to a Newcastle average of 21 per cent. Similarly, the percentage of NH tenants above 45 years of age had risen from eighteen to 28 per cent of the NH tenants. Furthermore, the number of people in employment and in skilled jobs had declined.

For the HAA in general, the number of immigrant households have increased to about one-fifth, and the number of students to one-third.¹⁰⁹ Compared to the above mentioned characteristics of NH tenants after renovation, this increase in student population has thus predominantly been housed in the private sector.

In terms of conservation the character of the area has been kept well, even with the new planting boxes. New railings are modern well-designed railings with concrete plinths instead of sandstone; but their modesty suits the houses.

Where existing windows could be repaired, this was done. New windows are made as pivot windows (upstairs) and top-hinged on horizontal hinges (downstairs); this does not seem to disturb the general impression.

The new offshots are made in red bricks and reasonably acceptable. When a corner shop is turned into a flat, the facade is blocked up according to traditional house buildings.

In general, the conservation side seems to be taken good care of, the original modest character of the area taken into consideration.

North Housing is 'very pleased' with Arthur's Hill HAA which is considered a success according to the original objectives. According to the present Director of Housing, this is mainly due to persistent policies on compulsory purchase and dealing with owner-occupiers.^{110,111}

Also, the regional office of the DoE is relatively satisfied:

'expectations were low and it turned out better than expected... because there was an HA involved.'¹¹²

In contrast to this, SSAAC, the community organisation, does not express total satisfaction.¹¹³ The improvement took much longer than promised, and there are a number of complaints of present NH procedures in maintenance and management.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, residents had during the life of the HAA had a number of complaints about their role in the process; therefore, the degree to which residents

were involved will be further pursued in the next section.

Resident participation

According to NH, the residents played an important role in the HAA process in Arthur's Hill HAA. In the following section, the provisions for resident involvement and its outcome will be further considered. Most information on North Housing's attitude towards residents is based on files which were provided by staff at the North Housing headquarters in Gosforth.¹¹⁵

The first resident association

Prior to renovation, a community centre was established in the area, the Stanhope Street Action Area Committee, now Centre, and in the following called SSAAC. The Centre was in the beginning not especially concerned with housing problems, but more with residents' social problems in areas of slum clearance. It was set up by Newcastle Neighbourhood Projects, a national charity; the project was, however later funded directly by Central Government.¹¹⁶

SSAAC's main activity was, and is, running a community advice centre 'as far as possible run by local residents'. Thus, it is not a residents association as such, even though it played a role in the later process. In a leaflet, the centre described its activities:

- 'We back community groups who
- 1) run play projects
 - 2) tackle housing and planning issues
 - 3) advice on welfare rights
 - 4) help the old
 - 5) campaign for community facilities
 - 6) organise social events.'
- ¹¹⁷

Prior to declaration, a number of active residents had lobbied the council on the slum clearance issue, and gained experience through these activities. At a public meeting in June 1974, The Middle Stanhope Street Home Action Group (MSSHAG) was formed, with an active chairman, John Kemp. The group conducted a survey comprising half of all households, showing that 67 per cent were in favour of retaining the area and improving the houses.

In the NBA declaration report, it is stated that MSSHAG is:

'...an active residents' group which operates in the proposed HAA. The main objective...of this group is to ensure that the Arthur's Hill area is renewed...consultation/has/taken place between North Housing Group and the executive of the House Action Group, and it is intended that this dialogue be maintained during the proposed programme of renewal.' 118

It is worth remembering that the group had only existed for a few months.

Following the appointment of the HA and the architects, the residents were then invited to a public meeting by a newsletter from MSSHAG delivered to every door saying:

'...the purpose of the meeting is to confirm the recommendation made by your committee...that the HA, North Housing Group, /will/... be invited to co-operate in the revitalization of this proposed HAA...as this is a major issue which affects all of us in the area, we hope you will make the effort to attend. We could well be one of the first HAAs in the country.' 119

At the meeting, the about fifty residents present voted in favor of action in general, and North Housing in particular. In a leaflet from MSSHAG, this 'decision' was described thus:

'From experience gained it was decided to have discussions with North Housing Group and ascertain what this HA could offer. Satisfactory answers were received to all questions and at a public meeting held on Nov 22, 1974, it was decided to invite North Housing Group to work in this area...' 120

Note that the voting was in fact not the decisive factor in the choice of the HA: a zoning decided by the local authority. The Community Relations Officer says about this stage of the project:

'...if the tenants agreed to NH's involvement, then they would be involved...that was the drift of it.' 121

The Liaison Committee

At the meeting, a Liaison Committee was elected, comprising of both resident and North Housing representatives, and the local councillors. The residents really had belief in the work of the committee, and faith in North Housing's Community Development officer. 121

North Housing did not regard MSSHAG as a representative group for all residents, nor the binding factor in the community, as it was not possible to get a representative committee for all residents. Only a core had been active, and 'nobody else was terribly

interested'. It is on this background that North Housing's attitude towards the Liaison Committee should be seen.¹²²

The next problem was to define the role of the Liaison Committee. At a MSSHAG meeting in January 1975, the residents' association was worried because 'it had only been allocated three places in the Liaison Committee...residents should have equal representation with ...LA/NH representatives.'¹²³

At this stage, the Project Team was established, and at a meeting a fortnight later, problems arose:

'...there is the difficulty of deciding who decides on the Liaison Committee. From the limited discussion allowed it was clear that NH considers the role of the Liaison Committee to be confined to discussion and information only, while the LA regards it as a decision-making body under whose direction the Project Team works.' 124

Here, a clear difference of opinion emerges, between the local authority and the HA. At the meeting, a number of demands from the MSSHAG were forwarded:

- '1. The Project Committee should be subject to the Liaison Committee'
2. 'Even mix of members' between residents and others
3. The Liaison Committee should have 'the final word'.¹²⁵

The North Housing minutes read:

'...this is a new situation which will take time to sort out...'¹²⁶

No panic, but a certain amount of uneasiness.

A note dated Jan 2, 1975, from the Community Development Officer to the Chief Executive sums up the view of the HA:

There is a 'divergence of views between NH and the LA as to the scope of the Committee. I understood that its role was to be clearing ground for complaints and queries, to act as an advisory body and to be kept up with developments. I certainly did not envisage it being a decision-making body.' 127

This is a clear statement, and an indication which cannot be misunderstood, on North Housing's intentions concerning the Liaison Committee.

At the Liaison Committee meeting in February, North Housing put forward that the Committee should consist of: local authority representatives, including the three ward councillors, the Community

Development Officer, a few representatives from the National Building Agency, the local authority HAA officer, and three from MSSHAG. However, it seems as if the tenants got their ways: a number of eleven nominees from the MSSHAG attended the monthly meetings during the next year and a half.

North Housing's Information Centre

In the meantime, North Housing had set up an information centre in the area. Newsletters were sent out 'when there was anything to talk about'.¹²⁸ They tend to be of an informative nature, and asking the tenant's opinions on certain changes. The reactions from tenants - if any - seem to have been taken seriously and changed future projects, especially environmental improvements.

A question-and-answer handbook was provided at the beginning of the project.

The office was open every day, not in the evening. Towards the end of the project, the task was taken over by the rent collectors, who were supposed to deal with minor problems, in cooperation with the project officer. After completion, the office is still open a few times a week, for enquiries.

Break-down of MSSHAG

In June 1976, a divergence of opinion seems to have arisen between the MSSHAG and their representatives on the Liaison Committee. North Housing tried to 'renovate' the Liaison Committee, on the grounds that only five of the eleven representatives still lived in the area.¹²⁹

During the remaining months of 1976, MSSHAG faded away. According to a member of the committee, this demise was due to a conflict between the chairman and the other members of the committee.

'The chairman was gifted with words...too involved with North Housing...everybody walked out..it did a lot of harm to residents' work in the area...' 130

According to the North Housing Chief Executive,

'...the problem stems from the fact that the Liaison Committee has no proper constitution, has never made any decision as to how it should re-elect its members or its chairman.' 131

The HA's Director of Housing who was actively involved, says:

'Results were ready; the curiosity element of tenants'

representatives had gone, and so had the self-interest.' 132

The Community Development Officer assesses that it failed in the end because the committee in no way could be representative. The residents' members were 'unhappy about criticism from other residents' who stated that the Liaison Committee members failed to communicate with the residents as a whole. 133

The second resident group

As more renovation work started, and tenants were directly affected, a new effort was made. The minutes from the Project Team meetings read:

'The Housing Department and North Housing had heard nothing recently either from the 'Home Action Group' or from any other residents' organisation...SSAAC was trying to organise a new pressure group for residents.' 134

This group was 'fairly antagonistic' towards North Housing. It was never a strong group, and SSAAC suggested that one of the reasons for this is the high proportion of students 'who do not make the effort', and immigrants 'who will not make the effort'. 135

According to North Housing's Housing Director, the second residents group contained some members from the first group. There were many incoming tenants in the Liaison Committee, for whom it was a learning situation , but they 'tried hard'. 136

Closing note

At an NFHA conference in 1976, North Housing's Director of Development discussed the relationship between the residents, the HA and the Housing Corporation, with special reference to Arthur's Hill:

'The Department of the Environment and the Housing Corporation still seem to have serious reservations about North Housing Group's total commitment to public participation...137

'...The people of Arthur's Hill feel they still have a long way to go to get the same commitment from the Department of the Environment and the Housing Corporation as we ourselves feel towards residents' involvement. It is obviously much easier to write about public participation than make the concept work.' 138

It is easy to recognise the (engaged) frustrations of the person actually involved in day-to-day work. However, in the light of previous discussions on resident involvement in Arthur's Hill, the 'total commitment' of North Housing to public participation should

be further questioned. Furthermore, this statement was given at a time where Arthur's Hill HAA was at a stand-still. Therefore, it may be considered an attempt to excuse the delays with the 'tiresome' procedure of tenants' participation - even if this was not quite the case.

15.3 St. Thomas' Crescent

The area

The St. Thomas' area is situated just outside the former city walls of Newcastle on the fringe of the present city centre. Although within walking distance of the city's cultural, educational, civic, commercial and recreational facilities, and very close to the busy Percy Street, it is a relatively quiet and stylish area.¹³⁹

The site itself is bounded by St. Thomas' Terrace, St. Thomas' Street and a curved back lane parallel to St. Thomas' Crescent. To the west is Leazes Park, to the north Newcastle University and the Royal Victoria Infirmary, and to the south east are some storage buildings and stables for the dray horses used by Newcastle Breweries.

From north west to south east the ground falls almost seven metres, with the result that the ground levels in the properties are all different from front to back, changing a basement floor into a ground floor on opposite sides of the houses.

For ease of reference the term 'St. Thomas' will be used for the area which is described in this case study.

The Housing Stock

The stock consisted originally of 53 town houses designed as individual dwellings, except for some basement accommodation and a few flats in corner houses. The area was developed by a speculative consortium of builders between 1838 and 1863, some of whom became owner-occupiers.^{140,141} The design is generally attributed to a distinguished local architect, Thomas Oliver, although, according to Mr. Cyril Winskill, the architect for the renovation, John Dobson, an even more distinguished architect, might have been involved in some of the designs and detailing.¹⁴² As a whole, the development represents a high standard of late Georgian design, enhanced by the 'drama' of the site and the rising character of the ground.

All the houses were Grade 2-listed and formed part of the Leazes Conservation Area. As the work progressed, the Conservation Area was declared 'outstanding', which had a consequent effect on the funding available.¹⁴³

The building materials used were grey slate roofs and grey/yellow

bricks, with sandstone cornices, lintels, front steps, plinths, etc. The windows and doors were painted wood, and the door and window furniture generally brass. Originally cast iron railings fenced the front areas of the houses and basements, but most of these were removed in the 1940s.

Over the years additions had taken place, particularly at the rear of the properties; in particular offshots had been built housing kitchens, which were probably originally within the dwellings. Each back yard had its own well and pump and were, presumably, stone paved.¹⁴⁴

The size of the individual properties varied from four storeys (of 145m²) to two storeys (of 30m²).

The houses, which were owned by various landlords originally were taken over by a charity - the St. Mary Magdalen Trust - earlier in this century. The only exceptions were the Vicarage, the Pub and one house in St. Thomas' Street which had been bought by the University.

However, the stock was in poor state, and the area as a whole was very seedy. There were various reasons for this. The area had suffered from planning blight, due to the plans for redevelopment produced by the city in the 50s which scheduled the area for demolition and redevelopment. In addition the Trust had not been able to maintain the properties in good repair from the income from fair rents, and had not been able to sell them off because of the terms of the Trust.¹⁴⁵

As a result of this development, the houses were not well kept, but, however, with a basically sound structure. In terms of standard, an initial survey found that:

'half the dwellings had minor defects and only one could be classified as being fit in all respects'.¹⁴⁶

At the time of acquisition by North Housing in 1976, St. Thomas' was inhabited by a large number of short-term tenants - students, lodging houses for seamen, theatre people, long distance lorry drivers, etc., although there was a core of solid working class tenants with an average of nineteen years occupation.¹⁴⁷

Many of the 56 households in the area were relatively large, compared to a Newcastle average,¹⁴⁸ and only three of the houses had been subdivided into smaller flats.

This therefore was the broad picture of St. Thomas' when a series of events took place which eventually resulted in revitalisation.

Situation prior to improvement

Plans change: St. Thomas' saved from demolition

There were two main influences on the decision to renovate the St. Thomas area.

The first one concerned the change in attitude, partially resulting from changed economic circumstances, of society generally towards comprehensive redevelopment. The second one concerned the growing interest in conservation in order that the familiar might be retained and the disorientation resulting from the new minimised, a new attitude which in Newcastle gained momentum due to the drastic changes in the City Centre during the previous fifteen years.

In 1972, the St. Thomas' residents set up a residents' association to lobby the Council to remove the threat of demolition to the area.

'This association...concerned itself with the care of local residents, old age people, children and generally with the aims of 'improving and upholding the environment".149

The demolition threat was lifted, but the area and the association lay dormant until the acquisition by the North Housing Group, later the North Housing Association and in the following called North Housing or NH.

The involvement of North Housing in this specific area was the result of direct negotiation between the City and a number of HAS over the housing revitalisation programme which had become City policy. Following the Arthur's Hill HAA, NH itself had become involved in new thinking about its role and responsibility. Its new chairman, Peter Wrightson was chairman of the Civic Trust for the North East, and its Vice Chairman, Douglass Wise had been responsible for changing the old image of the NEHA into the new NHG with a capability of entering the field of housing improvement. In addition the newly appointed Chief Executive, John Dixon, previously the Director of Housing for Newcastle City Corporation, and then Chief Executive, brought with him a real interest in some of the existing housing areas of the city. This interest was shared by his successor, Alan Kilburn, who had been involved in the famous Byker re-development scheme which had involved a great deal of community participation. 150

Purchase

The Trust let it be known that it was interested in selling the estate. Some individual tenants tried to buy their properties, but this was rejected by the Trust.¹⁵¹ Subsequently, North Housing started negotiations for acquiring a substantial portfolio in St. Thomas'. However, this took some time. Initially the Housing Corporation was reluctant to get involved, fearing that the normal Housing Corporation cost limits would be inadequate for the proper restoration and rehabilitation of St. Thomas', but was persuaded by NH that the association would explore all other available avenues of finance, and would in addition put strong staff resources into the project. Also as Graham Cawthorne, the North Housing Development manager, said, North Housing wanted at this time to change its image, and St. Thomas' was seen as a 'flagship' or 'showpiece' to signal this.¹⁵² Accordingly, the land was registered with the Housing Corporation in 1976.

Choice of Architect

As soon as the project was formally registered with the Housing Corporation, NH started to look for an architect, the Newcastle firm of Barrett Winskill being chosen. The firm has impressive restoration experience at Whitehaven, was very familiar with projects in cooperation with local authorities, and had an obvious commitment and deep involvement in social housing.^{153,154}

Once chosen, the architects undertook an initial survey of the area, and entered into discussions of alternative proposals with the client. In the autumn of 1976, the first cost estimates were made, and the architect recommended temporary repairs in order to prevent further deterioration during the period of design development.

A social survey was also carried out in 1976 using a questionnaire¹⁵⁵ and

'...door to door interviews with tenants in every dwelling were held so that their preferences and prejudices about the area could be sought and recorded on these individual questionnaires.'¹⁵⁶

Further interviews confirmed the basic satisfaction of tenants.¹⁵⁷

It seemed from this that although the tenants cared about the dilapidation and low standards of the dwellings, correspondingly low rents compensated, and that the general qualities of the

environment and location, often difficult to assess and measure, were also seen as important.

First approach to residents

North Housing's initial aim was to 'make revitalisations for existing residents to keep the mix exactly as it was.' Furthermore, 'it was a pet idea of Mr. Kilburn to see a high input from residents, after twenty years of blight and neglect'. It was a promise that everyone could go back to their own property, if they so wished.^{158,}

¹⁵⁹ Against this background, NH suggested a Liaison Committee at the first tenants' meeting in December 1976. The purpose was to 'exchange information' between the HA and the tenants of St. Thomas'.

HA staffing

The overall responsibility for the St. Thomas' project was shared between the HA and the architect. All negotiations with the Housing Corporation was conducted by the HA, while the architect, assisted by the local Department of the Environment representative, was the agent for grant application and discussions with the local authority.

North Housing's Development Officer, Graham Cawthorne, and his assistant followed St. Thomas' as a coordinator through all phases, involving other HA departments if necessary. All contacts between various parties was through structured meetings with the coordinator present.^{160,161}

From the start of building works, an information van was parked in St. Thomas' one day a week, staffed with a tenants relation officer from the HA and a representative for the architect. Here, all negotiations with individual tenants took place, requiring in some cases a special contact to the Social Department of the LA.¹⁶²

In 1979, a new HA officer, Graham Browne, took over tenants' relations, and a permanent office was established in one of the houses. From this office, Graham Browne took care of general management, maintenance, rent collection, allocation and residents' welfare. According to the tenant relation officer, 'the tenants liked it better when it became an office'.¹⁶³

In 1981, the building which housed the office were to be modernised; therefore, the office was closed, and management divided between the rent collector and the North Housing office in Gateshead several miles away.

The project

Design

In the project, three different house types were established:

- (i) cottages (small houses), in the Island block
- (ii) flats, incl. flats for disabled, in the Terrace block
- (iii) preserving the large town houses at the long side of the Crescent.

All offshots towards the backyard were demolished, partly because they were not original, partly because they were of a low technical quality, and partly because they took daylight and space from the yard. This meant that a new kitchen and bath had to be placed internally.

Dormers were removed and in some cases replaced with rooflights. The windows varied throughout the area; some had smaller and some larger panes, due to the span of time in which the buildings were erected. This feature was preserved throughout the area, even though the Historic Buildings Council met this decision with reluctance.¹⁶⁴ Also entry phones were opposed by the Historic Buildings Council, but installed in the end.¹⁶⁵

As all the cast iron railings had been removed, it was decided to reconstruct the railings and reinstate them.¹⁶⁶

In order to improve the rear spaces of the houses, the former high rear walls were demolished, and replaced with low walls and railings on top.¹⁶⁷

Internal subdivisions were determined by 'the quality of the interior and negotiations with the actual residents'. Interior of 'fine architectural merit' were kept undivided; and restored 'within limits', and fireplaces kept 'wherever possible'.¹⁶⁸

Decanting

Many older tenants who lived alone in the whole house wanted to be decanted in a smaller flat in the area.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, nobody wanted to be even temporarily decanted out of the area. Therefore, all decanting had to be arranged in the St. Thomas' area. In order to obtain a sufficient number of decanting flats, all empty houses were therefore subdivided into smaller flats.

Funding

The total cost of renovating St. Thomas' is roughly estimated to £ 2 mill. Of these, the eligible restoration costs were about £ 660,000, which were funded thus:

61 Funding and costs. St. Thomas'

Historic Buildings Grant	50%	£ 330,000	
Local authority	12½	£ 82,500	
Tyne and Wear County Council	12½	£ 82,500	
Housing Corporation (extra)	25	£ 165,000	
		£ 660,000	170

The rest of the cost, £ 1.34 mill, was financed by a Housing Association Grant (HAG); this amount surpassed the HAG limit with about 20 per cent, but a waiver was given for this.

£ 18,000 was given by Inner City Partnership funds towards environmental improvement, and £ 15,000 by the Priority Area Team for a Community Centre.

62 Restoration cost per square metre. St. Thomas'

St. Thomas' £ 185 + £ 90 (restoration costs)	£ 275	
average renovation cost	£ 140	
other renovations by Barnett Winskell	£ 159-£ 167	
		171

In other words, the restoration of St. Thomas' exceeded the cost of an average renovation by almost 100 per cent.

Status

The improvement of housing in St. Thomas' was started in May 1978 and ended in January 1982, where 49 properties had been improved.

The project was carried out in two phases: Phase One consisted of eight properties which were scattered around the area and empty at the time of acquisition; in addition to these, the block between the Street, Square and Crescent, known as 'The Island'. During this phase, 21 properties were improved, to form 32 dwellings. In Phase Two, the remaining 28 North Housing properties were improved to form 45 dwellings. 172

In terms of conservation, the restoration of St. Thomas' has obviously been carried out with great skills and care. Especially the construction of the front garden railings, the texture of the facades and the treatment of the backyards seems very fortunate indeed. In fact, further qualities than the original seems to have been released from the buildings, thereby creating a unique urban landscape.

When it comes to an appraisal of the costs involved, there is no doubt that it has been very expensive. If Housing Corporation cost limits had been applied, about 25 more dwellings could have been restored, giving a home of a decent sanitary standard to maybe an extra 75 citizens of Newcastle, now living in intolerable conditions in unimproved property.

In this case, the sanitary and the conservation approach have opposing interests. However, the St. Thomas' area has environmental and interior qualities not equalled or surpassed by very much modern housing. Therefore it should be an obligation to preserve and improve these houses, for the benefit of present and future residents, even if the costs involved are high.

Tenants before and after improvement

Prior to renovation, North Housing promised the residents that 'everyone would get back their former property'¹⁷³ in order to investigate whether North Housing has fulfilled their initial aim of providing for the present residents, a sample of twelve properties and their inhabitants before and after improvement will be further analysed. The aim is to detect whether other population groups than the original have moved into the area.

(table next page)

In the following, the results of this will be considered with regard to a number of specific characteristics:

Moves

TENANTS IN ST. THOMAS' before and after renovation

house no.	BEFORE stay or go	type of HH	age of HoH	soc.ec. group	employ. status	comments		house no.	AFTER stay or go	type of HH	age of HoH	soc.ec. group	employ. status	comments
1	x	1 8	x			x		1a						bedsitter; stayed with mother
								1b	x					20 years of res. with parents
								1c						used as temporary accommodation
2	vacant	1 6	v	a	c	a	n	2a	x					20 years of res. with mother
								2b	x					Nurse; 30 years of res. with mother
3	x	1 5 10	x					3	x					college lecturer with children
4	x	1 6	x					4a						boarding house
								4b	x					used as temporary accommodation
5	vacant	1 2	v	a	c	a	n	5	x					12 years of res.
6	vacant	1 4	v	a	c	a	n	6a	x					Widow; husband born in St. Th.
								6b	x					Nurse; applied after divorce
7	vacant	1 6	v	a	c	a	n	7a	x					25 years of res. in digs in St. T.
								7b	x					15 years of res. Musician; 15 years of res.
8		x 1 5 6 5	x					8	x					social services residential car
9	vacant	1 6	v	a	c	a	n	9a		x				60 years of res. for family
								9b		x				former house w. dry rot.
10	vacant	1 8	v	a	c	a	n	10a	x					30 years of res. many years of res. for family
								10b	x					salesman; related to IOB
								10c	x					
11	x	x 1 6	x					11a		x				came from LA list disabled son
								11b		x				came from LA waiting list
12	x	1 6 40	x					12a						2 household stayed
								12b	x					divorced; lived in St. T. before

Of the six households living in St. THomas' prior to renovation, two returned to their former adress, one in a smaller flat. Three moved from large houses to smaller flats, and one (+ one from another household) was taken into social care.

From the information gathered at the interview, it seems that these individual tenants actually got a new dwelling that suited their situation, and that the HA took great care in finding the right dwelling for them.

Number of dwellings and residents

Prior to renovation, the sample contained twelve individual dwellings, houses mostly with six bedrooms. After renovation, 23 separate dwellings had been established. Only three town houses remained, the rest had become flats. Of these, ten had two bedrooms and ten one bedroom.

Thirteen residents were living in the twelve houses at the outset; 26 people lived in the same houses after, plus two temporarily vacant two-bedroom flats. 44 people live in all twelve houses now.

The project has accommodated a lot of additional people; however, these two numbers are not directly comparable, as many houses were vacant prior to renovation.

Length of residence

Information on this point was not available for all households. However, the number of years in residence indicated to the tenants' relation officer responsible for rehousing indicates that many tenants living in the improved flats have lived in St. Thomas' for many years.

Type of household

	Before	After
couple with children	0	4
single with children	2	3
couple without children	1	1
single without children	1	10
other	2	0
	6	18

More single households have moved into the area, and more children.

Age of head of household

	Before	After
25-64	3-4	16
64-	2	3

None of the head of households were (presumably) under 25 years of age. After renovation, the number of inhabitants of working age has increased. In the sample, three flats were occupied by OAPs who had all lived in St. Thomas' for 15 to 30 years.

Socio-economic group

Prior to renovation, there were in the sample only two heads of household actually employed: one was a male college lecturer and psychotherapist 'with three children, no wife, but cats and dogs' - compare to 'the odd Uni lecturer' in the Glasgow case study - the other was a secretary running a boarding house. Two heads of household were retired, and two unemployed.

After renovation, the residents spread evenly over all socio-economic groups, notably six residents in the non-manual group. Seven people were employed, four unemployed, two are housewives and three OAPs. St. Thomas' seems to have become a place with a more 'normal' distribution of household types, with a relatively larger part of the population in employment.

Initially, the residents feared that North Housing's 'big smooth operation would substitute long-term unemployed alcoholics with University lecturers and professors'.¹⁷⁵ It seems as if this initial suspicion of the tenants is exaggerated, but has some justification. The elderly have stayed to a great extent. However, the young moving in belong to other socio-economic groups than the former residents, even if the newcomers have spent their childhood in St. Thomas'. This is a result of higher rents than before, and of North Housing's allocation policy.

According to the architect, St. Thomas' has become institutionalised, the area no longer providing for a transient part of the population. Concerning the transient element, St. Thomas' has perhaps not provided for the same transient elements as before, the bohemians and Norwegian sailors, but for a more well-funded middle-class which may however, be just as transient.

Residents involvement

Community level

The choice of architect, initial sketches, estimates, and physical and social surveys were started well before a public meeting with all residents had been held.¹⁷⁶ It is not surprising therefore that at first NHA's movements were 'watched with suspicion'.

However, prior to North Housing purchase and well before any rehabilitation work started, North Housing held a public meeting for all residents in December 1976. Here, a Liaison Committee to formalise contacts between the HA and the residents was suggested.

North Housing requested:

'that the tenants' association and other interested groups form into a more represented grouping in order to act as a liaison committee, to accurately portray the views of all residents.'¹⁷⁷

In contrast to Arthur's Hill, the Liaison Committee in St. Thomas' was thus to consist of residents only, and it was left to the residents to meet with their own representatives, in order to act on behalf of all 60 households in the area.

The Resident Association decided to elect a management committee which then had the function of contact between the HA and the residents in the area. Apart from the initial tenants' meeting, four other tenants' meetings were held during 1977. According to the tenants' relation officer, later meetings were 'held when an issue arose', maybe six times a year.¹⁷⁸ The subjects could be letting, environmental improvements, heating and decoration and the HA considered meeting activity to be 'extensive'.¹⁷⁹

Apparently, these meetings had an informative and consultative nature, while the final decisions were made by North Housing.

There was no formal system of contact between the HA and the Liaison Committee. Apparently, the chairman of the association played the active role, contacting the HA when necessary.¹⁸⁰

The development officer of NH considered the resident association in St. Thomas' to be 'the most active resident association ever'.¹⁸¹

After the start of rehabilitation works, the residents association conceived a plan of taking over North Housing's property as a housing cooperative. The reason for this was originally that the residents 'were nervous of getting problem families into the estate'

and therefore wanted to participate in allocation of flats. However, tenant participation in allocation of dwellings was not part of HA policy, and the proposal was turned down by the HA. The idea of forming into a cooperative was then forwarded by the residents.

The chairman of the HA liked the idea, and a statement of the possible aims of the co-op was drawn up. The charitable fund of the National Federation of Housing Association provided support for an officer for one year to investigate the possibilities, and a series of meetings were held on the subject.^{182,183,184}

In spite of this massive support, the co-op was never established. According to the HA development officer, only a few were really interested;¹⁸⁵ this active core of tenants were not able to gather the necessary support. According to the chairman of the residents association, the tenants were interested enough, but were reluctant to accept the future management responsibilities, especially maintenance.¹⁸⁶ The NH development officer considered part of the problem to be the high proportion of long-time elderly residents which were not interested in any changes of their tenure.¹⁸⁷

The resident association or liaison committee did not have any formalised influence on the actual process of housing rehabilitation. However, as a community organiser, the association and its activities have played a major role in St. Thomas'.

Newsletters are sent out occasionally, and a number of activities like a bridge club, a mother- and toddler-group and Christmas lunches are arranged by the association. There are two clubs for youngsters, with videos etc., and the association also arranges trips for the elderly and a part for kids.^{188,189,190}

At a recent public meeting, of which the subject was a road scheme, 50 people participated. This is a relatively high turn-out when compared to the about 80 households now living in St. Thomas'.

The resident association has survived, and seems to have been able to adjust to periods of varying activities. The continuity seems to be provided by the chairman, being an essential figure in organisation and activity.

Individual level

From the outset, North Housing stressed the intentions of respecting the wishes of individual tenants,¹⁹¹ each tenant being consulted

prior to any improvement taking place.

In terms of design decisions, the tenants only got a limited choice between options. Generally, the tenants resisted the removal of dormers¹⁹² as this would diminish their internal living space. However, the dormers were removed for architectural reasons. Accordingly, the removal of offshots were not popular with all tenants.¹⁹³

None of the tenants interviewed were directly satisfied with their new home. Two of the tenants would have preferred to return to their former home, but that was not possible, due to the before mentioned decanting considerations, which furthermore determined which houses were to be subdivided and to which size of flats.

In the more detailed lay-out of flat, the tenant could decide the type of heating system provided, the kitchen lay-out, and the colour of the tiles. If the tenant wanted extra work to be carried out, e.g. a shower, or a coloured bathroom suite, it was possible if the additional cost was paid by the tenant.¹⁹⁴

According to the architect the direct question of whether the tenants decided the lay-out of their dwellings cannot be answered. It was 'a matter of negotiation', 'confidence started to grow both ways' the problems arising being 'solved in the end'.¹⁹⁵

However, none of the tenants felt that they had much say in the lay-out of their future dwellings.^{196,197,198} One tenant stated that the HA promised people to 'get the design they wanted'.

However, she does not have the impression that this was the way in which things developed. At the initial meetings, certain changes were suggested when the HA project was presented to residents, but according to the HA, plans could not be changed and were not changed.

The only major dissatisfaction seems to be NH's repairs system. According to all tenants interviewed, emergency repairs are not carried out as quickly as required by the residents, a subject which will be dealt with in the final section of this chapter.

15.4 North Housing management and maintenance

Both in Arthur's Hill and in St. Thomas', tenants were not satisfied with the maintenance carried out by North Housing. Especially the tenants of St. Thomas' considered the standard of workmanship and the repairs carried out to remedy these faults to be below an acceptable standard.

Part of the explanation for this may lie in the fact that many older houses have inherent failures which are not fatal to the building and which cannot be repaired. However, also the system for notifying the HA in case of repairs have been criticised by tenants in both areas. Therefore, North Housing's maintenance system will be further analysed in the following paragraphs.

North Housing maintenance is organised thus: The tenant reports to the rent collector who comes around once a week. He writes a receipt to the tenant with indication of the reported failure, but does not assess it further. After transferring the request to a Tradesman's Copy, this goes on to the Works Department where it is filed and furthered to one of the four depots, covering all 6,500 dwellings in the area. At the depot, a building superintendent may or may not inspect the work prior to execution. An agreement of access is made. If the tenant is not at home, a card with a telephone number is left.

According to the Housing Manager, repairs 'may be a matter of days'. and there is also a special 24-hour-a-day service on emergency repairs.¹⁹⁹

If the house is still within the defects liability period, the procedure is different. When the tenant has reported a fault to the rent collector, he reports to the repair section, which then takes the case to the development section for negotiation with the contractor. This is due to the fact that if the fault is due to any insufficient treatment by the contractor, he is obliged to repair the damage at no cost for the owner. In older housing, it may be difficult to determine whether this is the case, and negotiations will take their time. However, outside the defects liability period, these defects should not occur. It is rather the bureaucratised maintenance system which makes it difficult for a small estate like St. Thomas' to get repairs done quickly. St. Thomas' was too small an area for feeding a permanent management

office, once the worst stress of the building process was over.

In the day-to-day maintenance situation, the maintenance team which is based in Gateshead probably would require a certain work load before driving over to St. Thomas'.

This is again a question of size of area and distance between HA administration and the area administered. North Housing's head office is in the recently built Gosforth Centre, which is, however, considered to be conveniently close for North Housing's residents:

'No North Housing tenant is further than one hour away from the Head Office, or a quarter of an hour from a local office by car'. 200

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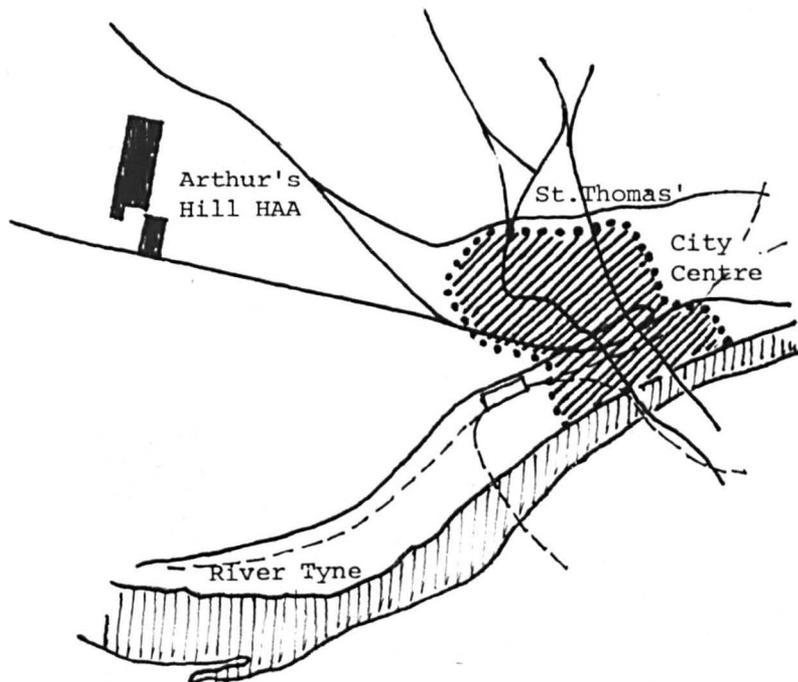
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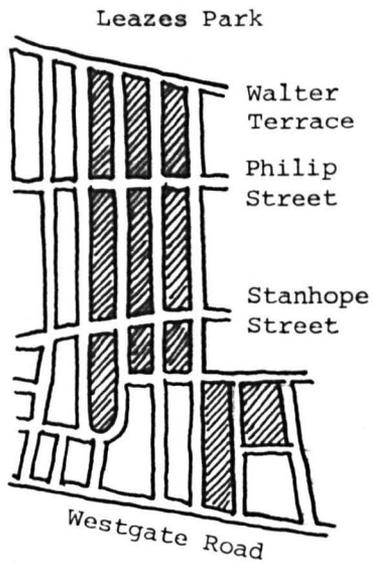
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15.01 North Housing Association. Head office in Regent Centre, Gosforth.



15.02 Map of Newcastle. St.Thomas' is situated in the City Centre while Arthur's Hill is situated out West-gate Road, at the top of the Hill.



15.03 Plan of Arthur's Hill HAA.



15.04 Tyneside flats renovated by North Housing Ass.



15.05 Stanton Street. The fences are new.



15.06 The community centre and sheltered housing in Stanton Street. The three derelict houses further down the street burned down later.



15.07 Children in Arthur's Hill. On the site, a new scheme is being built, and the building site immediately turned into an action area for the children.



15.08 The much-discussed prefabricated offshot in Stanton Street.



15.09 Old residents of Arthur's Hill waiting for their Age Concern dinner.



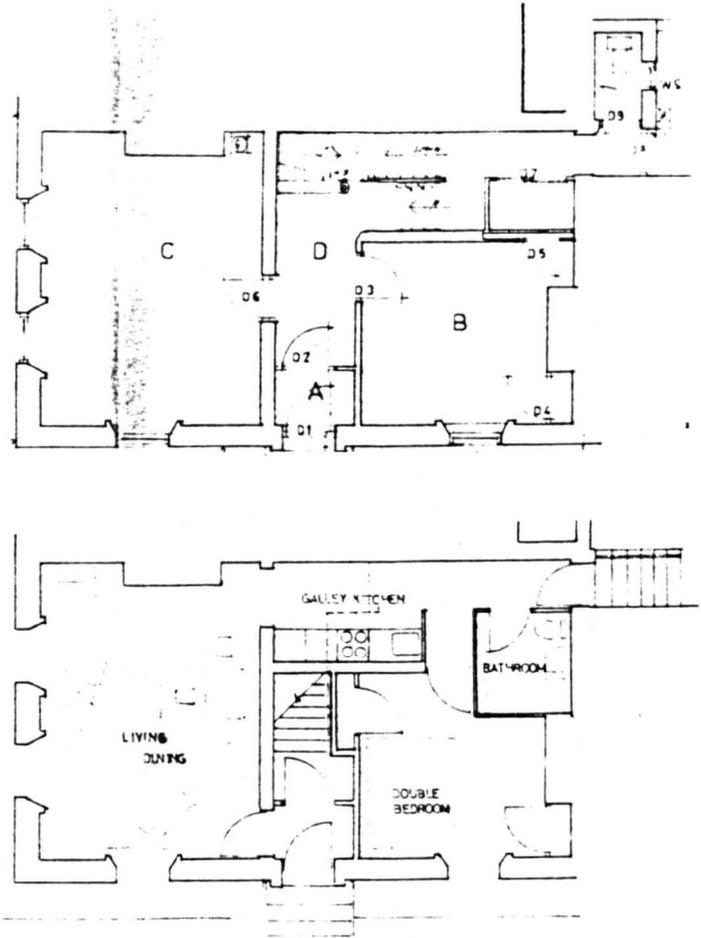
15.10 St. Thomas' Crescent, Square, Terrace and Street, with the Theatre still there, and the University buildings not yet built. The North Housing property is marked with a darker colour.



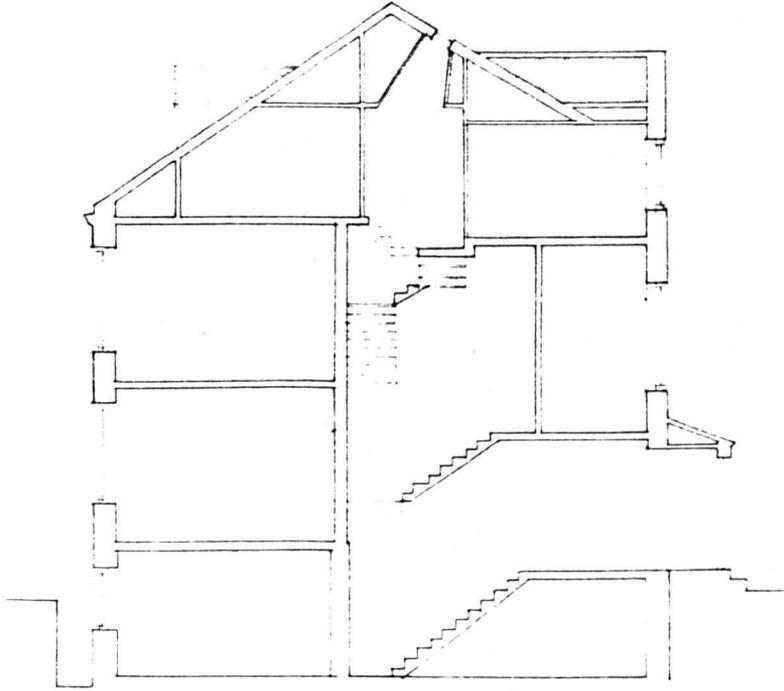
15.11 The beautiful curve of St. Thomas' Crescent, with re-instated railings in front.



15.12 The corner of The Terrace and The Street.



15.13 Existing and proposed ground floor plan of 1 The Crescent. The 'smallness' of some of the houses is well illustrated by this example.

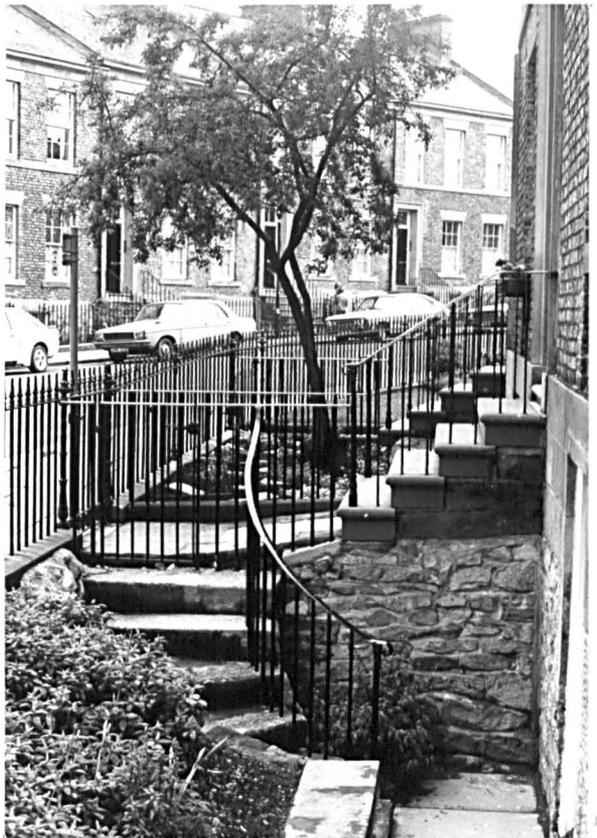


15.14 Cross section of 1 The Street. Note the varying ground floor levels.



15.15 Children in St Thomas'.

15.16 Staircase in The Crescent - the most elegant entrance to a basement flat that this author has ever seen.



15.17 Backyard of The Island Block - an excellent example of how to treat a small backyard.

Chapter Sixteen + Conclusion

16.1. Preface

In Chapter Four, a number of normative requirements to an organisational model for housing improvement were set up. These requirements were further specified with regard to the Copenhagen context in Chapter Seven. On the basis of an analysis of present Danish policies of housing provision, the non-profit housing co-operative was selected as a paradigm for organisation fulfilling these general aims and applicable in Copenhagen Urban Renewal of the 1980s. A number of specified requirements were set up:

- the co-op should be controlled by a management committee with some or all members elected by residents in the area
- the co-op should have the ownership of dwellings in need of rehabilitation in its area
- the co-op should have the control over housing improvement and allocation of flats in the area
- the co-op should have sufficient funding and staff for an effective implementation of housing improvement.

What remained to be considered, was the character of an organisation set up according to these principles.

In order to determine in more detail how residents could be involved and with which result, a number of British HAs, all with some degree of resident influence, have been described and analysed. In each case study, progress has been monitored, in the light of the five approaches to housing improvement. The question of whether the HAs in each case have provided for the present residents has been discussed, and the relative satisfaction of tenants with the degree of involvement has furthermore been accounted for. A description has been given of the provisions for resident involvement, both at the individual level and for the residents as a group.

In this final chapter, the case studies will be appraised, according to the - more ideal - requirements set up in the context

of this thesis. In other words, have these HAs carried out housing improvement with the residents? The appraisals will lead to a choice of which organisation should be recommended in the Copenhagen context, followed by a brief discussion of the problems involved in its application.

16.2. Appraisal of the case studies

Resident involvement

In Part One, it was established that a working partnership between the LA and the HA, or self-government within limits, should be aimed at in the context of this thesis. In the following section, resident involvement in the British case studies will therefore be appraised in the light of Ward's and Pateman's ladder of tenant participation.¹

Community level of participation

The first considerations are made with regard to the community level of participation, the degree to which residents have been allowed to participate as a group, how they have been able to articulate their common needs and wishes to urban renewal, and whether this resident involvement has had an influence on the final result.

In order to assess the degree to which residents took decisions during the process of housing improvement, the pattern of decision-making will first be considered.

In all case studies, the HA was headed by a management committee, (MC) where some or all members were tenants, elected by tenants.

The composition of MCs was thus:

64 Case studies. Name	Composition of MCs.		Govan, Lister, North Housing		
	no. of MC mbs.	of these tenants	no. of sub-committees	no. of SCmbs.	of these tenants
Govan	15	14	4	25	all
Lister	15	all	4	40/all	all
North HA	12	2	none	-	-

In Govan, the MC held the formal power over housing improvement. All members of the MC, apart from the chairman, were elected by and

from the tenants of the HA at the annual general meeting (AGM). Responsibilities in development, management, maintenance and allocation were delegated to sub-committees whose members were either MC members or shareholders (i.e. tenants) co-opted to the committee. Decisions taken in sub-committees were subject to MC confirmation.

In Lister, the residents' general meeting where all residents were entitled to vote was the forum where decisions were taken. All members of the MC were elected by and from the residents in the block, all residents being tenants of the co-op. The MC was in practice responsible for co-op decisions, but could decide to call a tenants' general meeting if the issue was considered to be important enough.

In North Housing, the MC held the formal power over housing improvement. Two of the twelve members were elected by and from the HA's tenants. In practice, the administrative departments in the HA were responsible for most decisions, but formally subject to MC confirmation. Decisions in North Housing were thus taken in a form where only two tenants - presumably not tenants of St. Thomas' or Arthur's Hill - were participating.

Bearing in mind this formal pattern of decisions, the next question to be asked is whether any power was delegated to the residents living in these areas. In other words, to which degree were the residents as a group allowed to influence and take decisions concerning the renewal in their area?

In all four case study areas, residents' committees were set up, in order to allow residents to participate. In the following, the brief of these committees will be appraised, in the light of Ward's and Pateman's ladder of tenant participation.

In the Govan case study, the decisive body and the resident committee was one, the HA set up specifically for the purpose of housing improvement, and the MC elected by and from the residents. Tenant representatives were involved in the day-to-day work at the HA office, which is situated in the local area.

The 40 members of the MC and sub-committees had decisive powers in a number of issues, taking decisions on behalf of 1,000 households.

The question of whether these tenants were truly representative of the community cannot be answered unambiguously. The high ratio of representation to population may, however, be taken as an indication.

In Govan, tenants were involved through committee work, and responsible for the decisions taken. Even though staff admittedly influenced decisions to some extent, this approach is obviously far from the consultative role.

Members of the HA committees are single individuals, living in the area, taking part in the co-operative work of the HA, individuals elected at an annual general meeting, where the person has a reasonable possibility of being generally known, at least by appearance. The size of the area involved implies that the single tenant and the committee members will meet in the course of everyday life. This gives the opportunity for each tenant to approach the MC and sub-committee members directly, outside the formal HA system, a flexibility which seems to be an essential and important part of the community-based HAs.

If the representativeness of the MC is accepted, the organisation of CGHA implies full participation, partnership and delegated power. As in Govan, the Lister housing co-operative was established in order to give residents an influence over the implementation of urban renewal. The decisive body was tenants' general meetings, where all residents had a right to vote. The co-op being relatively small, it seems that every tenant had a reasonable chance to influence decisions within the co-op by attending the general meetings. Furthermore, around 40 members out of 137 households were active in the MC and sub-committees, a very high ratio of representatives to tenants.

Within the rather small community, the residents in Lister control their environment, as opposed to Central Govan. The HA may therefore be labelled as a participatory democracy, with all major decisions taken by tenants in open meetings. In the Lister co-op, the tenants have come furthest in obtaining full control over their housing situation - still within Housing Corporation cost limits, however.

In contrast to the first two case studies, North Housing had an MC which was not specifically based in the areas in question.

Therefore, in both Arthur's Hill and St. Thomas', liaison groups were established in order to allow tenants to participate in the process of housing improvement.

In Arthur's Hill, the HA was obviously interested in involving a representative group of residents in the process, and a liaison committee was established, with both tenant, HA and LA representation. From the beginning, full participation was demanded by the residents' association. However, the liaison group was by the HA seen as a 'clearing ground', an 'advisory body', which was to be 'kept up with development'. The group was not given any decisive power and not involved in day-to-day decisions. Nevertheless, the eleven resident members of the liaison group had a high turnout at group meetings through a longer period of time, even though they had only a consultative role. When the HA at a late stage demanded these tenant representatives to be responsible for the decisions taken, past and present, it was - evidently - refused. The group eventually split up, probably due to the inability of the resident members to communicate with their hinterland.

As for the second resident group in Arthur's Hill, its difficulties seem to be partly due to the fact that it was set up as a pressure group to influence the project at a time when all plans were final, and building works in progress. In order to represent residents' interests at that stage of the project, a more individually orientated problem-solving group should have been established.

Obviously, these groups would have worked much better if the HA had used the groups for communication with the tenants. But the newsletters and the HA officers together provided the real means of contact. The liaison committee was thereby reduced to a function of providing token tenant approval.

In conclusion, full participation was demanded by the Arthur's Hill resident group partnership, delegated power, control of the decisionmaking. What they got, turned out to be pseudo-participation: therapy, information, and a certain degree of consultation.

Due to the limited size of community, the tenants in St. Thomas'

had a direct contact with the HA through a number of public meetings. However, these meetings tended to be of a consultative nature, and no decisions were taken. A liaison group was set up, which had, however, no formal powers.

As the residents' association was very active during some phases of the renovation process, it was consulted, and presumably influenced decision-making. However, the main determinants for decisions taken in St. Thomas' seems to be project and conservation considerations. The idea of a housing co-op was, however, heavily supported, practically and financially, by the HA.

When this is compared to the number of households and dwellings covered by these decisions, the result is:

- in Govan, about 40 tenants were actively involved in decisions covering 1,000 households in their area
- in Lister, all tenants were in principle actively and directly taking decisions covering the 137 households in the block
- in NH, no tenants from the two areas in question were actively involved in decision-taking covering housing improvement in their local area.

Individual level of participation

As opposed to community participation, individual participation is concerned with the tenant and his specific interests in the improvement of his own dwelling.

It was a general feature of the case studies that none of the tenants interviewed got any major right of say in terms of general lay-out of flat, only in smaller changes. In Govan, this was mainly due to the fact that the HA considered it more important to create generally acceptable flats, than to meet the special demands of the tenant in the actual flat.

In Lister, and in St. Thomas', the limited number of flats and the fact that decanting had to be carried out within the HA's housing stock, there were a number of restrictions laid on the distribution of flats, and therefore on the actual possibilities

for changing the lay-out.

As seen in the case of Arthur's Hill, flat sizes and distribution after improvement were mainly determined by design considerations and linked to the decision concerning the pre-fabricated off-shots. Therefore, the lay-out was predetermined, with two rooms upstairs and three rooms downstairs.

Only in Arthur's Hill, the elderly tenants could allegedly say 'no' to improvements; in the rest of the case studies this was apparently not the case for the elderly or for any other tenant. This freedom for the individual tenant in Arthur's Hill was helped by the general lay-out of houses with only two flats in each property, while in other case studies with many flats per close, gradual renewal in the form of improving one flat at a time would pose a number of technical difficulties.

In Arthur's Hill, St. Thomas' and Lister, the tenants had a choice of colours and kitchen lay-out in their new flats. In St. Thomas', the tenants did not get choice of wallpaper, unless they paid extra. In Arthur's Hill and St. Thomas', the tenants could furthermore decide which type of heating system they wanted.

In principle, all tenants in all case studies got the free choice of returning to their flat. However, only in Arthur's Hill this seems to have been a reality. In St. Thomas', Lister and Govan, projects with amalgamations or sub-divisions were made in advance which made it difficult or impossible for some tenants to return.

Assessing the level of individual participation, the results seem to indicate that the differences are relatively small between the individual case studies. However, North Housing's tenants got the freest choice individually, while there is only a minor difference between Central Govan and Lister.

Closing note

In each case study, both the community and the individual level of participation have been considered. On the community level, both Central Govan and Lister fulfil the ideal requirements set up in the context of this thesis, Lister being the case where the tenants have the highest degree of influence on their housing

situation. On the individual level, there is, however, little difference between the various case studies. These community-based approaches have not resulted in more power to the individual resident over quality and extent of housing improvement; on the contrary, North Housing which has delegated the least power to the residents was the best record in individual influence on housing improvement.

If North Housing had delegated more power to the community level, may the HA then have fulfilled the requirements as well? Hardly; there seems to be indications to show that their traditional style of management is also tied to the size and area covered by the HA; thereby preventing a fulfilment of the requirements. Therefore, only Govan and Lister will be further considered in the Danish context.

16.3. Choice

Preface

Apart from the facts which have been gathered in the context of the two case studies, Lister and Govan may be difficult to compare in the same detail. While there are many community-based HAs like Central Govan, there are only very few - if any - at the scale and with the organisation of Lister. Furthermore, the community-based HAs have been described and analysed by researchers, a number of general results being recognized, while Lister, having recently finished its programme, has not yet been subject to such analysis. However, in the context of this thesis, it is the application of these two models to the Copenhagen urban renewal scene which is essential, and not the relative success or failure in the Scottish context. In the following section, the Lister model, a housing co-operative in a block of flats, and the Govan model, a community-based HA, will be considered in the Copenhagen context.

Involvement and provision for vulnerable groups

According to the original aims in the context of this thesis, the vulnerable groups in urban renewal should be positive discrimination in urban renewal and housing. The aim is

to enable these groups to influence an important aspect of their living conditions, their housing situation, by setting up a model of housing provision which could enhance their quality of life, and create a connection between stronger and weaker groups on a subject which affects them all: housing improvement.

In the Govan case study, it was seen that the HA had provided for vulnerable groups. Furthermore, McLennan et al found that the community-based HAs in Glasgow have been able to involve groups which spend much of their time at home, e.g. the unemployed, the elderly and the house wives, actively in committee work and day-to-day management.²

As opposed to Govan, Lister did not provide for vulnerable groups of residents, or for residents already living in the area, but for people who shared the same ideals of co-operative living. New residents in Lister were required to be 'of interest and value to the co-op', active residents with convenient skills. Through this allocation policy, however, the non-active, specifically vulnerable groups with little surplus of energy or knowledge, would not hold a high priority in allocation of flats.

In principle, responsible co-op like Lister could decide for another allocation policy giving a high priority to vulnerable groups. However, in giving a relatively small number of tenants a right to allocate dwellings, there may be a risk of inbreeding inasmuch as this group may not be interested in providing for 'problem' families, but rather for friends and relatives. The LA may get a right of allocation for a certain proportion of flats; however, if the HA has a right of veto, then LA allocation would not be effective.

In a similar Copenhagen set-up, any allocation policy may further a development whereby either the well-to-do may keep out weaker groups by setting up too rigid or selective allocation policies, or the HA end up as a ghetto for the economically non-active.

A housing co-op like Lister may be able to involve its residents to the same extent as in Govan. In Lister, the life style of the present residents has been taken into consideration, giving residents with time and local knowledge a chance to work and

provide the continuity in the locally-based organisation.

However, in a consideration of the viability of the Lister approach in the Copenhagen context, one may hesitate to recommend the Lister model for a general application, because of a number of special circumstances which have furthered its establishment:

- (i) the initial threat of demolition furthered action by the residents
- (ii) all properties in the block were owned by the same, public landlord
- (iii) there were a number of active, well-informed individuals living in the block
- (iv) the buildings had a special architectural and historical value.

For Danish urban renewal areas, with the same characteristics, a Lister solution may be the optimal organisation. However, ordinary Danish run-of-the-mill rehabilitation and the residents living there may not fulfil these requirements which have by several sources been pointed out as necessary for the Lister success.

Therefore, an organisation which could offer more support to vulnerable groups, and which is not tied up to special circumstances, should be recommended in a general context.

Environmental and area improvement

Both Govan and Lister are concentrated around housing as opposed to environmental and area improvement. This is mainly based on the fact that British legislation contains separate provisions for housing and environmental improvement. However, this is not the case in Denmark, where the Urban Renewal Act is concerned with both housing and area improvement. An agency, which like Lister controlled only one block, would have difficulties in being involved in area improvement over a larger scale, while a Govan model would give an opportunity to take in environmental improvement and improvement of the area's infrastructure.

If there was another resident-controlled organisation in the area, already taking care of these matters, like a politically elected community council, then smaller organisations like Lister could be accepted in the context of this thesis because of an overall community-based coordination. However, as already mentioned these community councils will probably not be established during the next decade or two. As a solution to urban renewal problems of the 80s is asked for, then the organisation in itself should be able to co-ordinate environmental issues as well as housing improvement.

Ownership

In terms of ownership, Lister had houses owned by one large landlord. However, the majority of Danish urban renewal properties in a block would be in mixed ownership. Therefore, a community-based organisation would more likely control properties with the same characteristics, spread over a larger area, rather than all properties in a specific block. A Lister-type co-op may have difficulties in preserving the identity on which the co-op is based, if its properties are spread over several blocks. The Govan model, however, is an organisation which could hold together a number of scattered properties, in identity as well as administration.

Administration

Both Lister and Govan have reasonably flexible structures within their organisation, especially Lister. Interaction between staff/committees and the tenants as such is strong, and changes of structure like new committees, are made relatively easily.

In terms of decanting, Govan holds a number of administrative advantages as compared to Lister. The larger the number of available dwellings for decanting, the greater is the flexibility and choice for tenants. With a relatively large number of dwellings available, like in Govan, the local decanting aimed at in the Urban Renewal Act would be a genuine opportunity. If the HA is to be economically self-supporting a larger size, and greater number of dwellings, would give the chance and opportunity for a rent pooling. A Lister model would give different rents in neighbouring blocks, a problem which may, however, be solved through a flexible

rent and subsidy system.

When it comes to staff, Lister with one part-time officer had problems in responding to all resident needs during building works, while Govan, with its relatively number of staff, had no such limitations. Govan had furthermore its own maintenance team to carry out repairs in HA property, while Lister was too small for such an arrangement.

In the context of this thesis, an indication has been given of the size of the area covered as an important determinant for success.

The overall advantage of CGHA is very much that the HA is large enough to allow for local decanting, a certain choice within the area, large enough for staff with various qualifications to be employed, and large enough to employ a maintenance team to do repairs. However - and this is the key stone of the experiment - the size of the HA area and the local office means that the committee members do not lose sight and contact with the base of the organisation. Furthermore, the relatively informal representative system allows for contact and changes in relationship directly between the tenant and the HA/Management Committee.

Choice

Both the Govan and the Lister model fulfil the basic requirements in the context of this thesis, requiring the residents to utilise their potentials for action.

The possibility of establishing an organisation on Lister principles should not be excluded. As in many other cases involving community issues, a number of various programmes should be introduced, thereby giving a flexibility for several solutions, and solutions which are adapted to local circumstances. However, the community-based HAs are selected for recommendation in a Danish context, because they provide possibilities for control by the LA, at the same time as involving the residents and strengthening the community. The advantage of the community-based HA as opposed to Lister is that it may be set up in many different types of

areas, not presupposing 'close-knit' communities or special talents from the residents, apart from the knowledge and skills that all residents have. It would fulfil demands on flexibility, at the same time as strengthening the local social networks.

The Glasgow case study suggests that Central Govan has a reasonable organisation to match with the size of community chosen. Furthermore, the community-based HAS in Glasgow have reached some remarkable results: in McLennan's words: on the community level, they are not only tackling subtolerable property, but executing a programme of urban renewal, having impact on the surrounding area. They have reduced problems with anti-social tenants, reduced the drift away of desirable peer groups, and reversed the trends towards declining community spirit and efforts.³ An organisational model for housing improvement which would obtain these results in the Copenhagen context, would certainly solve a number of major problems in Danish urban renewal.

A community-based housing association in Copenhagen

A community-based HA in Copenhagen would be established in a fringe area, at the time where the more detailed provisions for this area's inclusion in the programme of urban renewal would be specified at district level, as part of the framework for the District Plan.

Prior to declaration, the sanering staff of the District Council - or a sanering society - would have carried out a survey in the area, operating from a local office, and engaging residents, landlords and shop owners in the area in a debate about the future plans for the area.

Having gathered the local organisations and active residents through meetings, study tours etc., a working group would be established, with both LA urban renewal staff and residents, eventually establishing an official management committee. Once the MC is established, staff will be employed, in the beginning supervised by LA staff experienced in setting up these community-based HAS, but soon working on their own. Aquisitions

would have been considered for some time. The LAs own tenements in the area would have been transferred to the HA, and also properties which the sanering society may have acquired at an earlier stage. Subsequently, private landlords offer their property to the HA, on the special conditions set up in the New Urban Renewal Act for this purpose.

The HA will both take care of improvement of their own stock, but also act as an agency for private co-ownerships and owner-occupied flats, managing allocation of flats and the practical arrangements on resident involvement in planning and implementation. Soon after acquisition starts, a maintenance team is employed to carry out the necessary repairs, also to unimproved property.

16.4. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, the viability of the community-based HAs in Copenhagen has been discussed in the administrative context. However, another important determinant is the economic viability of the programme. How much public subsidy is required, as compared to present arrangements, and how should the subsidy to HAs be given?

These are major questions, which will not, however, be answered in the context of this thesis, being a vast subject for research in itself, and requiring a comprehensive cost-benefit analysis of both present and possible future arrangements. However, some indications may be given, by considering recent research on the community-based HAs in Glasgow, and a Copenhagen average.

65 Cost of acquisition and improvement, and level of state subsidy. Glasgow, Copenhagen.

	Glasgow	Copenhagen	D.Kr.,%
acquisition per flat	65,000 D.Kr.	60,000 D.Kr.	
improvement work	260,000 - -	325,000 - -	
level of state subsidy	50-95%	25-50%	

3,4,5,6

Even though this comparison is relatively superficial, it does, however, demonstrate the basic difference between the Glasgow and Copenhagen situation, namely the level of subsidy to housing improvement.

An introduction of community-based HAs in Copenhagen may need an increased level of subsidy; however, an appraisal of these economic aspects requires a comprehensive economic analysis. Furthermore, other costs and benefits in a community-based programme should be included, in particular benefits which have appeared as a result of the Glasgow programme.

In the Glasgow context, McLennan et al has compared this intensive state subsidy with a number of programme benefits. Apart from a marked overall improvement in dwelling and environmental qualities, and the retainment of existing residents, a number of less obvious but important effects have influenced the economic revival of tenement areas. Capital values for surrounding areas have risen, the average being fifteen per cent, which is more than for similar, but unaffected stock. Furthermore, private sector investment specifically in housing improvement has been stimulated, and the programme has had an important short-time employment effect in the range of 1,500 jobs within the building sector. Furthermore, the drift away of desirable peer groups has been reversed which in the Copenhagen context is a strong economic argument for a community-based programme.

How can a Conservative government support a programme with 95 per cent public subsidy and a substantial reduction of owner-occupation? According to McLennan et al, the answer is that public spending has restored confidence in Glasgow's older neighbourhoods, a confidence which is likely to facilitate in a long-term view.

In a number of aspects, the Copenhagen situation is different from Glasgow's. Inner City decline in Copenhagen is of another nature and scale than in Glasgow. Therefore, a policy of encouragement in housing improvement by re-introducing owner-occupied flats in the older housing stock would probably be successful if a larger profit for the private landlord were secured. However, a policy along these lines would - and this is recognised by nearly all

parties - have an effect on housing provision which would be unfortunate for low-income residents and other vulnerable groups in society.

Therefore, the alternative strategy of involving the HAs in urban renewal should be considered. If the intentions of involving the residents are taken seriously, then the community-based HAs, in some form or another, would be an obvious choice.

Chapter Sixteen + References

1. See 4.2 resident involvement.
2. McLennan, Duncan; Brailey, Mary; Stanley, Jean; Lawrie, Norman. The Activities and Effectiveness of Housing Associations in Scotland 1974-1980. Draft report for the Scottish Development Department. Glasgow, 1981.
3. Ibid.
4. Interview no. 9
5. Interview no.73.

Subsidies to LAs

Central government funding of LA housing programmes is allocated according to the annual Housing Investment Programmes (HIPs) prepared by the LAs. This is a procedure by which local government expenditure on housing is kept under control by central government. The amount each authority may spend in a given year is allocated from the Department of the Environment although the means itself might come from other sources, rates, the private market etc^{1;2}.

The introduction of these programmes originated in the belief that there was 'no longer a single national housing problem, but that the problems varied widely between areas and could be most effectively dealt with by locally determined programmes'³. The Green Paper stated that:

'...the key to the success of national housing policy now lies in the development of local housing strategies, and that the new system would provide local authorities with the opportunity to assess comprehensively the housing requirements of their areas to submit proposals for their investment accordingly, and to improve the efficiency of their capital expenditure on housing.' 4.

The arrangements which were to develop into the HIP system were first introduced for the financial year 1977-78. The full system was introduced by the Labour government in 1978-79⁵.

Each year, the LA submits a Housing Strategy Statement to the DoE containing its plans for housing for the following financial year, on both new built and improvement (in Scotland called the Housing Plan). The programme relates housing need to housing activity, and separate statements for rehabilitation may be drawn up, e.g. Edinburgh's 'Rehabilitation in the 80s'.

Funding is then allocated on a regional basis, according to bids and to central government policy.

The system is a cash limit system, requiring the LA to be able to set the exact amount needed within a year. If a local authority 'underspends' by for example 20%, they will get 20% less the following year⁶. The LA is allowed to bring forward 10% of their allocation from one financial year to another.

The HIP system has had the greatest effect on small local authorities which had not previously carried out comprehensive analysis of housing policies and problems⁷. In a survey of 42 LAs, a number of authorities commented that the system have led them to give more consideration to overall housing policy and its interconnections, as well as a clearer decision-making structure⁸.

It seems as if the HIP system has inherent possibilities of developing into a practical planning tool. A SHELTER report concludes:

'The HIP system should be used as a positive rather than a negative control, and should act as a way of encouraging LAs to meet housing needs rather than as a means of restraint..' 9.

The emphasis on allocation should be removed and put on strategies instead, on 'incentives for LAs to adopt comprehensive, rational approaches to housing policies'¹⁰. If not, the HIPs 'may become nothing more than a discredited system of control over the level of LA expenditure'¹¹. As Jon Morris argues:

'The housing policies pursued by the present government, / among which are the /...blanket cuts in HIP allocations..and increased use of control to refuse to confirm CPOs.... there is little value in attempting to comprehensively assess local housing needs and to identify the most appropriate policies to meet them, if they believe that they will not be allowed to carry out the identified policies.' 12.

The 1980 Housing Act introduced the deficit financing system. The actual subsidies paid up to local authorities make up the difference (in the LA Housing Revenue account) between the income received in rate contributions and rents, and the costs involved in financing, maintaining and managing the housing stock.

In 1978-79, the general subsidies amounted to 1,440 mill, including £245 mill in contribution from the local rates¹³. As an average, this subsidy was about half of the LAs' spending on housing. Two-thirds of the total outgoings of the Housing Revenue Accounts were repayment of loans and one-third was costs of repairs and management.

According to an Environmental Health Officers' Association report, the present government's housing investment allocations were cut by 20% for 1980-81, followed by a further cut by 27% for 1981-82¹⁴. To manage this situation, more than three-fourth of councils involved in area improvement programmes are being forced to restrict work, and nearly 20% will have insufficient funds to approve any improvement grants

Even though the present government relies on an encouragement policy in housing improvement, this is not, however, matched in a sufficient amount of state subsidy to LA in order to give improvement grants.

Council housing was from the beginning based on the principle that central government provided the financial support but left local authorities to run their own housing stock. This relationship between 'master and servant' is about to change profoundly:

ROOF says about this:

'The 1980 Housing Bill is one of the most widespread bills ever introduced into Parliament...the heart of the Bill is the collection of proposals for the council sector: the right to buy, the tenants' charter and the new subsidy system... Coupled with the regulation of new building and improvement under the HIP system, introduced by Labour, there is little doubt that we are witnessing a revolution in the central-local-relationship in the housing field.' 15.

Subsidies to HAs

The 1980 HOUSING Act outlined a process, the Approval Development Programme (ADP) which to some extent can be compared with the HIP programme¹⁶. The ADP is also a cash limit system, an annual programme setting out the financial needs for the coming year.

The system has many similarities with the HIP system, funding is allocated on a regional basis, and the allocation among the LAs decided on the grounds of local variations in housing need and strategies, and housing association capacity.

When the Housing Corporation allocates funds to regional HC offices, they are restricted within certain expenditure headings.

66 Housing association expenditure. 1981-1982. United Kingdom?

Committed expense	49%
Approved projects	29%
New projects-fair rent	13%
- shared ownership etc.	6%
Major repairs	3%
'MiniHAG'	0.2% ¹⁷

The total amount distributed was £491 mill. These expenditure heads enable central government to emphasise certain types of projects by changing the balance between the blocks.

The Housing Association Grant, introduced through the 1974 Housing Act and carried through the 1980 Act almost unchanged, enabled the

Government to make a single capital payment on the completion of each housing project to eliminate the projected deficit¹⁸. The aim is that after HAG is paid rent income will cover fully the management and maintenance costs plus mortgage repayments.

In some cases a surplus has emerged as a result of a higher rent level than expected. The 1980 Bill gave the Government control over these money through the Grant Redemption Fund.

In the Green Paper, there was some suggestion of replacing the HAG system by an annual revenue subsidy related to the whole of an associations activity¹⁹.

Closing note

On the surface, the HIP system and its way of allocating, on basis of need, seems more fair to the LAs than the Approval Development Programme to the HAs. The decisions are taken at a lower level, and the allocations are determined by housing need.

But still no system works if it is not backed up by the necessary funding.

APPENDIX I * References

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2. Bowie, Duncan. Housing policy and capital expenditure in Oxford. Oxford Shelter Group, 1979. p.4.
3. Morris, John. The rise and fall of local housing strategies. Research synopsis, Leeds Polytechnic, School of Town Planning. n.d. n.p.
4. The Green Paper, p?
5. Bowie, op.cit. pp.5-6
6. Norton, p.155.
7. Morris, op.cit. p.5.
8. Ibid. p.6.
9. Bowie, op.cit.p.ii
10. Morris, op.cit. p.8.
11. Ibid. p.8.
12. Ibid. p.8.
13. Cowley, p.95.
14. Carvel, John. 'Many councils to scrap home grants'. The Guardian. March 28, 1981.
15. Schifferes, Steve. 'Housing Bill 1980'. ROOF, vol.3 no.1. Jan 1980, p.10.
16. Nigel Durdooth. The role of housing associations in urban renewal. Birmingham Polytechnic, conference 1981. Notes.
17. Ibid.
18. Holmes, Chris. 'The elusive panacea'. ROOF, July 1978. p.110.
19. Ibid. p.112.

As part of the encouragement approach, grants are given to private landlords, owner-occupiers and - in some cases - to residents, towards meeting costs of housing repair and improvements. These grants may be directed at improving the sanitary standard or repair condition of the dwelling, or given towards preserving or reconstructing original features of the building.

Housing grants

Basically, there are four types of renovation grants:¹

- (i) Improvement grants for major improvements plus the associated repairs and replacements, and for conversions.
- (ii) Intermediate grants for provision of standard amenities plus associated repairs.
- (iii) Repairs grants for substantial rehabilitation (not maintenance)..
- (iv) Special grants for provision of standard amenities and fire escapes plus associated repairs and replacements, in houses in multiple occupation (not available in Scotland).

All four grants can be given both within and outside action areas, grant limits being lower outside.

Intermediate grants are mandatory, i.e. the LA cannot refuse an owner a grant if he qualifies for it. The other grants are normally given at the discretion of the LA.

Landlords and owners of dwellings built before 1961 may get an improvement and intermediate grant, as well as a repairs grant. Also tenants may apply for grants, both private and council tenants. The tenant will have to obtain the consent of the private landlord to the project².

For tenants in the public sector, rent is increased on account of their own improvement, and their expenses can be reimbursed by the LA or HA³. For tenants in the private sector, the fair rent will not 'normally' be raised because of a voluntary improvement⁴. The Association of Metropolitan Authorities says about this:

'The main objection against grants to.../tenants/ is that it effectively shifts the burden of responsibility for improvement from the landlord to the tenant, as improvement works will almost inevitably be accompanied with repairs...

an unscrupulous landlord could easily use the availability to such grant to avoid his responsibilities...it may be that the tenants' interest may better be served by a strengthening and wider use of compulsory powers.' 5.

Grant regulation

Grants are determined by:

(a) ratable value of the dwelling

To qualify for an improvement or repairs grant, the ratable value of the dwelling must not exceed £225 (£400 in the GLC area). However, this does not imply improvement grants in HAAs, or grants for disabled occupants.

The limits are higher for conversions.

These limits are designed to channel money to the dwellings most in need of rehabilitation. However, many dwellings in need of rehabilitation, especially in the London area has had problems in obtaining a grant because the ratable value are over the limit⁶.

This was partially solved by the 1980 Act, which laid down different limits for London and the rest of the country. But the problem still exists. The Association of Metropolitan Authorities suggested in 1978 that 'ratable value limits should be capable of variation to accord with particular local circumstances...'⁷.

(b) eligible expense limits

These are the limits on the cost of the renovation on which a grant can be payed:

67 Eligible expense limits for renovation grants. 1980.

		Gr.London	Elsewhere
Improvement grant	priority cases	11,500	8,500
	other	7,500	5,500
Intermediate grants	standard amenities	2,500	1,900
	repairs element	3,500	2,900
Repairs grants		5,500	4,000
Special grants	standard amenities*		
	fire security works	9,000	6,750
	repairs element	3,500	2,500

* the total number depends on the number and type of amenities.

This should be compared to an average renovation cost. In Glasgow, the cost of various types of renovation was on an average basis set to:

68	Average renovation cost per dwelling. Glasgow, 1981.	cost per dwelling
	Modernisation	£10,000
	Improvement and repairs	£ 4,300
	Rehabilitation etc.	£ 2,000 ^{9.}

In Newcastle, a 'reasonable' price for full improvement of a pair of Tyneside flats was in 1981 £12,000-£15,000.¹⁰ In Edinburgh, the average cost for renovation of a 2-bedroom flat was £6,000 (1981).¹¹

These examples suggests that at the moment, there is a reasonable correspondance between eligible expenses and the actual costs. However, as suggested by the Association of Metropolitan Authorities an automatic index-based regulation should be in operation.

The eligible expense is not the maximum grant. The actual grant payed is a percentage of this:

(c) grant rate

69	Renovation grant rate . 1980.	
	<u>Priority cases</u>	
	<u>dwelling in HAAs</u>	
	dwelling which are unfit lacking standard amenities or in need of substantial rehabilitation	75%
	<u>Dwellings in GIAs</u>	65%
	<u>All other cases</u>	50% ¹²

The actual grant payed is weighed out against these three scales of requirements. In cases of hardship, the LA may give a higher grant of up to 90% in priority cases and 65% in other cases.

Standard and life of dwelling

Concerning the repairs grants, the term 'substantial and structural' repairs has been criticised for being too vague. A list of works is provided by the DoE as a guidance for LAs, but the final choice will be left with the LA.

A house or a flat will reach the improvement grant standard if, after improvement, it will:

- (i) be likely to have a useful life of at least thirty years
- (ii) be in a reasonable repair:
- (iii) have all the standard amenities

- fixed bath or shower
- wash hand basin
- sink
- hot and cold water at bath, wash hand basin and sink
- water closet inside the dwelling¹³

The LA has the discretion to reduce the standard relating to the life of the dwelling from thirty to ten years, if they think it reasonable to do so, and also to relax the other standards.

Grants to short-life property may be given to owner-occupied dwellings, in relation to the needs of individual families, not on an area basis¹⁴.

'The Secretary of State hopes that authorities will use this position to the full to encourage applicants with low incomes to undertake even partial improvements.'¹⁵

This gives the LA the possibility of introducing gradual renewal with full grant aid. On the other hand, giving grants to a private property with an expected life of ten years might encourage speculation.

Conversions

The main intention of the higher expense and ratable value limits for conversions is to encourage owner-occupiers of large, underused houses to convert all or part of them into flats to let. As one of Britain's housing problems is the increasing number of small households, this is meant to remedy the problem.

Housing grants to listed buildings

For both improvement and repairs grants to listed buildings, an additional eligible expense limit is permitted:

Housing grants to listed buildings.

	Grade II	Grade II +	Grade I
improvement grant	£430	£870	£1,450
repairs grant	£220	£440	£ 730

16

Non-listed buildings in conservation areas cannot get extra housing grants.

Conservation grants

Grants from Central Government

'Section 4'-grants are given by the Secretary of State, on the advice of the Historic Buildings Council (HBC), towards the repairs of buildings which either in itself, or as a part of a group, are of outstanding architectural merit or historic interest, but not necessarily Grade I Buildings¹⁸. The HBC makes little distinction between restoration work and maintenance, although most of their funds are given to restoration work and structural repairs.

Following the owner's application, a report is made by the HBC inspector, with the HBC making suggestions to the DoE concerning the actual restoration cost.

The budget for the HBC (England) was in 1980 £4,28 mill, and individual buildings may be awarded grants of up to 50% of grant eligible repairs with no upper limit to the amount. In Chester alone, £80,000 was spend on DoE grants in one year, 1980¹⁹.

Churches in use for public worship has been grant aided since 1977, and the amount available was in 1980 £2,7 mill²⁰.

Historic gardens and other land of outstanding historic interest may obtain section 4-grants, whether or not they are attached to a building of outstanding interest.

The Secretary of State may recover a grant if the grant aided property is sold within a stated period, or if conditions attached to the offer of the grant are not complied with²¹.

Grants from local authorities

County and district councils can make grants and loans available for the repair of buildings of architectural or historic interest, whether or not they are listed. £1 mill are annually given towards this type of grants.

The grants are given at the discretion of the local authority, and several English LAs give grants aid towards structural repairs. In Edinburgh, for example, the maintenance expenditure is normally not grant aided; however, certain repairs are grant eligible, as stone repairs, and replacement of original features, like doors, railings, lamps and chimney stacks.

'Favorable' loans are made on 'very wide and flexible' terms often as an alternative to outright grants.

If a person receives a grant towards restoration, the LA can demand a right of access to the property.

The LA may recover the grant if the property is sold or exchanged within three years. The declared purpose is to deter speculation and to prevent profit-making attributable to the grant from public funds.

Grants for Conservation Areas

The Secretary of State makes grants available for work which will make a significant contribution towards preserving or enhancing the character or appearance of any conservation area.²² Both work done by LAs, groups of private owners, amenity societies and especially local preservation trusts are encouraged. The concept seems to be a fairly flexible one.

Although environmental work, for example landscaping, paving etc. theoretically is eligible for grant work, priority will be given to work to buildings²³.

Grant aid is not available for normal maintenance work or for painting and decorating. Work should be on a group of buildings to be eligible for grants, or a building where the restoration work can be 'catalyst for further action in the locality'²⁴. Grants will usually not be given if the eligible cost is less than £1,000. In 1980, there was £2,4 mill available for Sl0-grants, plus £½ mill which was then administered by the Civic Trust²⁵.

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24. ibid. S10.
25. Payne, op.cit.

The first 'community councils'

The first councils to be established with community participation were established in Liverpool. In 1965, Liverpool's Planning Department decided to set up councils in three Inner Residential Areas, each with a 100,000 to 140,000 inhabitants, and appointed a community warden for each area¹. Their responsibility was to organise community councils in each area 'as the means of educating people in the problems and plans for their areas', and also providing the basis for 'community care'².

A number of sub-groups, neighbourhood associations, acted as lobbyists for their districts'...concerned with improving the provision of services and the level of facilities in the area.'³

For the LA, the purpose was to be able to co-ordinate the LA effort 'in as powerful a way as possible'.⁴ However, the wardens reported difficulties in finding goals around which the community could gather, and achieving them once found.⁵ In his study of urban deprivation in Liverpool (1970), David M. Muchnik poses the following question:

'...what will happen to the programme, if and when the councils slip out from under the tutelage of the ACWs /wardens/ and begin to oppose strongly corporation plans?'⁶

Skeffington and Wheatley Reports

In 1968, a Commission was set up by the Ministry of Housing and local government under the chairmanship of A.M.Skeffington.⁷ The Committee was asked to 'consider and report on the best methods, including publicity, of securing the participation of the public at the formative stage in the making of development plans for their area'.⁸

To obtain these advantages, Skeffington, at the same time as Wheatley in a similar Scottish report, devised the idea of a community forum for 'corporate discussions of local interest: the Neighbourhood Councils in Scotland and the Community Councils in England'⁹. The councils were in both countries set up in areas of 'managable size'¹⁰, from 7,000-10,000-20,000 inhabitants, as 'broadly based organisations of official standing with which local communities as a whole could identify, and through which they could speak and act'¹¹.

The Wheatley Report on reorganisation of local government recommended that:

- '...community councils should have no statutory function./ Its task should be./
- ' - representative role
 - improvement of general amenity
 - agents for LAs in running of local services
 - custodian of traditional ceremonies associated with the locality, and even of local regalia.' 12

In Scotland and Wales, community councils were set up under separate legislation in 1973; in England, a consultation paper was sent out by the DoE in 1974¹³. Here the aims were

- '(a) to organise or stimulate self-help within the local community...
- (b) to help those...in need for special facilities.
- (c) to represent...central and local government, firms etc. the needs and wishes of the local community.
- (d) to foster a sense of community responsibility...' 14

The then Secretary of State for the Environment John Silkin, said:

'From the council's point of view, the Neighbourhood Council should be seen as their watchdog, telling them about local conditions and wishes, problems etc...alerting them to the need for action...and warning them when things start to go wrong.' 15

Community Councils (Scotland)

The Wheatley Report recommended that communities should be able to 'speak and act' through the councils.¹⁶ The community could participate, firstly by 'suggesting' community council areas, and secondly were 'invited' to make comments and representations on the activities.¹⁷

Most councils had partly nominated, partly elected councils, with representatives for local organisations, from seven to twenty members, with each councillor typically representing 400 persons¹⁸.

The community councils covered areas with a population of typically between 5,000 and 15,000 inhabitants¹⁹.

In Glasgow, 96 community councils were established, in Edinburgh 55. The LAs allegedly found few difficulties in geographically defining the communities²⁰.

The LA provided a grant for each community council, a fixed grant a grant per capita or both, £100-£800 a year. The county council could furthermore make grants available for specific projects, for example to provide a local directory²¹.

An official analysis of the approved CC schemes states that the degree of public participation in the set-up '...appears to have been succesful', and that 'the schemes now provide a framework, whereby LAs ...can consult the public'²².

Neighbourhood Councils (England)

Neighbourhood Councils were set up in areas of between 6,000 and 15,000 inhabitants; a strong case was needed for sizes beyond 10,000 to 12,000 inhabitatns. A range from 6,000 to 8,000 inhabitants was preferred, but was admittedly 'an intuitive guess'.²³ As Humble and Talbot states, 'obviously the fewer councils, the cheaper and easier to run'.²⁴

Boundaries were usually 'left vague' and 'not too rigid', and an establishment period was considered necessary^{25,26}.

The Lambeth example is very well documented by Cockburn:²⁷

When a neighbourhood council were to be formed, the LA could call a public meeting, inviting all known community associations and the public 'at large'. If local interest was shown, a second meeting would decide the constitution of the council, and form a committee. The management structure was usually left open, which Cockburn saw as 'a mistake'.

Most neighbourhood councils started with large committees which later developed into a federal system with delegates. In Lambeth, one of the most important measures was the setting-up of a Neighbourhood Council Sub-committee, with community and LA representatives. Nine councillors were members, together with NC representatives. These had a right to speak and vote on agenda items, with separate voting on council and representative sides. If all members of the Neighbourhood Council Sub-committee agreed, the reports would be passed on to the relevat LA committee with a recommendation for action. If not, the main committee would take the decisions.

The meetings were held every six weeks. However, the ten NCs in Lambeth arranged informal get-togethers as well. These joint meetings of the NCs made them seem almost as legitimate as the council itself, which was felt as a threat by some councillors. The Chairman of the Finance Committee remarked at one stage that:

'...the idea of them bonding together, other than to compare notes, is a negation of their role. They are meant to be local.'²⁸

Also the council officers were not happy with the arrangement, and made clear that this was 'the members' thing'.²⁹

The sub-committee and its offices at the town hall was banded after some time. Cockburn says about this:

'The sub-committee was affording militants a direct inlet to the decision-makers, penetrating under the guard of the committee system. That is why it was banded.'³⁰

On their assessment of the English neighbourhood system, Humble and Talbot states that the reasonably successful Neighbourhood Councils 'can be counted in tens rather than in hundreds', and furthermore that they were unrepresentative of ethnic minorities and unskilled manual workers³¹.

APPENDIX III * References

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3. Ibid.
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26. Cockburn, op.cit. p.40.
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29. Ibid. p.134.
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Context

The Community Development Projects (CDPs) were set up in 1969 by a Labour government, the inspiration coming from the American anti-poverty programmes¹. Ian Cole defines them as 'an experiment in social service provision, following the rediscovery of poverty in the 60s'².

The aim of the CDPs was outlined in a publication from the Home Office (1970):

'A modest attempt at action research into the better understanding and more comprehensive tackling of social needs, especially in local communities within the older urban areas, through closer co-ordination of central and local official and unofficial efforts, informed and stimulated by citizen initiative and involvement.'³

The first CDPs which were designated in areas with 10,000-20,000 people began operation in 1970 in Coventry, Glenmorgan, Liverpool and Southwark. They were followed by Batley, Cumbria, Newcastle and Newham, later Birmingham, Oldham, Paisley and Tynemouth. The latter started in 1973, and the projects ran over five years⁴.

Organisation

Each of the CDPs had two types of project teams:

- (i) research teams, academics based at the local university
- (ii) action teams, social workers, youth workers etc., based in a local office and funded with 25% from the LA and the remaining 75% from central government .

The research teams were given an open brief which included research about the local area, and the LA context of the neighbourhood, and research in the efficiency of public service provision.

The action teams were to stand back and watch the community; their operations included:

- (i) assessment of needs
- (ii) stimulation of local residents to take responsibility, thinking up innovations involving the community and the LA, 'to plug immediate gaps in local social provision' and finally feeding back the results, maybe solutions, into the political system .

The Oldham Community Development Project

In the Oldham CDP, the detection of need and provisions for participation was carried out by the establishment of information centres, community groups and area councillors' committees ⁷.

In the neighbourhood advice centres, the aim was to provide service to 'help easing tenants' problems, social, material and physical', and to provide feed-back for the CDP team. The centres were set up by residents, encouraged by community workers. Run by a management committee, the centre would employ neighbourhood information workers and local people as well ⁸.

A residents' group began by organising events and taking up complaints, and was active in setting up their neighbourhood advice centre. An architect was employed - it was a council estate - and employed jointly by the CDP and LA to work on a modernisation scheme with the tenants as his clients ⁹.

The area councillors committees were set up to make it possible for representatives of residents' organisations to put their grievances directly to councillors and officers¹⁰.

There were many lessons in the project, among those a 'detailed knowledge and judgement of the area is needed, rather than the application of universal techniques of community organisations', and furthermore that direct contact from the research team to the individual resident produced 'consultation' rather than 'participation'.

The project was 'budding' neighbourhood leaders who could encourage residents to develop skills in preparing cases, negotiating for change and organising neighbourhood activities.

A longer-term aim was education of residents and local councillors. 'Residents were learning how to present their case to the LA, and local councillors realised that residents were entitled to be consulted' ¹¹.

An interdepartmental working party was set up, bringing together officers from various departments most involved in the problems of deprived areas for informal discussions. This was considered an important step forward.

According to the research team, it was by providing and analysing data which were not readily available to statutory agencies that CDPs has at all been able to influence policies in social administration ¹².

Closing note

The CDP projects did not intend to override the existing channels between residents and the LA;¹³ however, some of the projects, the Cumbria CDP in particular, developed a stand to community work which was a challenge to the original ideas.¹⁴ According to the original concept, the problems of deprivation in the CDPs were seen as individual, family and community failure, and it was also anticipated that problems could be solved at the local level.

The main lesson from the Cumbria CDP was a confirmation of the structural analysis, with poverty being 'interpreted as the inevitable outcome of a repressive and unequal social system'.¹⁵

From the Oldham CDP, it was also confirmed that:

'a considerable part of the area's deprivation was attributable to socio-economic forces and their impact on related social phenomena..but also on /other/ non-structural influences like political and administrative weaknesses, lack of agency co-ordination, imbalance in service provision, and personal inadequacy.' 16

With the change of government in 1972, the Cumbria CDP and one other project was closed before time.

APPENDIX IV * References

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10. Ibid. p.49.
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15. Cockburn?
16. Corina et al, op.cit. p.63.

Background

Within council housing a number of interesting experiments are being implemented, carried forward by the fact that there is a need for better management, for maintenance, and for housing improvement; that the council stock is made up in manageable packages; that the council as a public landlord has a responsibility to fulfil; and that councils often reinforces its social problems of certain estates by allocating to 'problem families', instead of acknowledging that it is problems, not 'problem families', that need to be tackled.

Tenants' management co-operatives are far the most interesting of these. It is not as much concerned with improvement as such, but with maintenance and management on an estate basis.

Organisation

In short, the idea is that co-ops are set up by tenants to take over some of the management functions of their estates. These co-ops can be set up:

- by the LA inviting tenants to bid to take over the running of the estate
- an empty building can be handed over to a tenant co-op for renovation
- families who are willing to participate in a tenants' management co-op can be sought and the dwellings made available for them. 1

The co-op is a voluntary association managing the houses/flats on behalf of the council. The LA pays an allowance to the co-op for carrying out its responsibilities. Part of this can be used for administrative staff if necessary.

The Greater London Council has been keen on setting up management co-ops. In 1982, fourteen of these had been approved of by the Secretary of State in England. In all, forty LAs had established local management projects on 'problem estates'. 2;3

In Scotland, there were in 1981 two (three) tenant management co-ops, all in Glasgow. The Summerston co-op of 247 council houses was set up in 1977, Fairbridge with 63 houses in 1978 and Speirs in

1981. The last co-op was established in a 'hard' area, with 190 run-down dwellings from the 30s. This co-op also takes care of the modernisation, and co-operates with a housing association, Yoker HA.⁴

The then Minister for Housing, John Stanley, said at a conference in 1982:

'...co-operatives not only helped improve the actual management of the estate; they could also help to establish and to foster a sense of community and of common responsibility.'⁵

From statements like this, it is clear that the system has been a success, also seen from a Conservative point of view, and that the LAs have a clear economic advantage in establishing tenants' co-ops.

In Bolton, Brixton and Hackney, a project called the Priority Estates Project (PEP) aims to involve tenants in successfully turning round unpopular estates.⁶ It started in 1979, and will probably run to 1984, experimenting with various management techniques.⁷

An estate office with full-time staff, open daily, is responsible for all basic management, making it very accessible for tenants. A locally-based repair service is considered important.

Taking the costs into consideration, the benefits of the local approach is summarised thus:

'The rent alone from ten empty units would provide the LA with the salary of one worker...We are showing that reduction in empty units and easier letting, curbing crime and improving repairs can more than pay for an estate office.'⁸

The project has organised the election of tenants' representatives to work with the local office and share decisions on spending, management, improvements etc. On one estate, the residents' association sponsors a neighbourhood management committee of tenants' representatives and council workers.⁹

Housing staff and tenants have been trained to conduct interviews. In order to get further contact with single residents, groups of tenants are selected at random, attend discussions on specific subjects - and are payed £3 to attend.¹⁰

Assessment

Some argue that 'tenant control is an attempt by LAs to hive off functions that they ought to be carrying out to tenants just to make life simpler for them.'¹¹

But, on the other hand,

'...co-ops provide tenants with the opportunity to exercise real control over their living conditions.'¹²

Once tenants have the management control, there may be far to full ownership, but the experience in itself helps the individual and the group into managing other parts of their life as well, apart from housing.

APPENDIX V * References

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The first amenity societies

In a letter to Athenaeum in March 1877, William Morris wrote:

'My eye just now caught the word 'restoration' in the morning paper, and...I saw that this time it is nothing less than the Minster of Tewkesbury that is to be destroyed by Sir Gilbert Scott. Is it altogether too late to save it - and whatever else of beautiful of historical is still left us...Would it not be of some use once for all...to set on foot an association for the purposes of watching over and protecting these relics, which, scanty as they are now become, are still wonderful treasures, all the more priceless in this age of the world...' 1.

After having insulted the architects and the clergy in general, he continues:

'Still, there must be many people, whose ignorance is accidental rather than inveterate, whose good sense could surely be touched if it were clearly put to them that they were destroying what they, or more surely still, their sons and son's sons would one day fervently long for, and which no wealth or energy could ever buy for them.' 2.

Here we see, in its purest form, the formation of the special British phenomenon, the amenity society. All the ingredients are there: an action to evoke the counter-action, a well-informed and well-articulated individual to trigger off the action, a public opinion which favours the cause, and a lot of well-meaning people working (voluntarily of course) for the society, or contributing with money.

At that time it was an unusual construction. The extraordinary thing is that Morris with his usual flair had the whole idea worked out in his mind, and that amenity societies in Britain, especially within the conservation field, still have this enormous influence and both state and private support.

This activity resulted in the formation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB).

The first annual meeting of the SPAB was held on the 26th of June, 1878, with a manifesto written by Morris³.

SPAB, which today has 5,000 members seeks to preserve ancient buildings by using methods which are 'informed' and 'practical'. The society advises on the maintenance and repair of old buildings, and 'by all means in its power tries to bring home...the merits of

reconditioning, constant maintenance and careful planning'⁴.

'The Big Five'

The SPAB, is one of the 'Big Five': amenity bodies which are statutorily consulted in conservation issues. The others are:

The Ancient Monuments Society, a learned society with 1,500 members which was founded in 1924 to promote the conservation of places of historic interest, ancient monuments, historic buildings and 'fine old craftsmanship'⁵.

'A selective method towards the retention of historical objects is stressed so that the society claims that it does not seek to preserve things just because they are old but favours the more fitting replacing the less fitting.' 6.

It wants to promote 'sound restoration', but does not like the SPAB urge special methods of restoration.

In 1937, the Georgian Group was set up, breaking away from the SPAB. At that time, Georgian buildings were not regarded as worthy of preservation, and this groups' members found that a new and specialized society was needed for the purpose⁷.

The group is selective and seeks to preserve only the important Georgian buildings, and in particular concerned with individual country houses and inappropriate extensions⁸. Its present membership runs at 1,500 members⁹.

The Council of British Archaeology (CBA), a learned society, was formed in 1944 and promotes the care and study of archaeological sites and the protection of ancient monuments and historic buildings. The CBA has made an impact on the development of conservation legislation in the 60s, issuing a series of memoranda, among those the Buchanan report, suggesting protection of historic town centres¹⁰.

Another influential amenity society, and the last of the Big Five, the Victorian Society, was set up in 1958, to promote the conservation of especially public buildings in large industrial cities. At present, it has 3,300 members¹¹.

It is obvious that these societies do not have an official background, being self-appointed, and furthermore that they cannot claim support from a large number of members. This is partly a question of history and tradition:

'The SPAB was founded in 1877 when the idea of mass membership was unthinkable. The Victorian spirit of a few guardians acting together with shared convictions remains and infuses all four bodies.' 12.

However, these five private organisations hold a position of scholarship and knowledge, and their views on a building's worth does carry weight, to the extent that they are consulted when giving listed building consent for demolition - an enviable position compared to its Danish counterparts.

The Civic Trust

A special amenity society is the Civic Trust, founded in 1957, as an independent charity without members. The Trust wanted to achieve high standards of design in new buildings in inner city areas, and was at the same time interested in historic areas. Among the Trust's honorable objectives, are to 'encourage high quality in architecture and planning', to 'eliminate and prevent ugliness', and to 'inspire generally a sense of civic pride' - the last objective not without certain political overtones¹³.

The Civic Trust administers the Architectural Heritage Fund introduced in 1976 to provide interest-free loans for private trusts¹⁴ - a programme which has encountered some difficulties.

The Fund has a budget of about £1 mill, and work on relatively minor projects¹⁵.

The activity of the Trust contributed to the rise of the conservation movement, and many smaller amenity societies were formed during the late 60s and early 70s; in 1973, there were around a thousand such societies in England and Wales¹⁶.

The National Trust

However, the society which is most influential in Britain today is the National Trust (NT). Even if it is not one of the bodies statutorily consulted under conservation legislation, it has a powerful influence on conservation policies and administration.

The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty was founded in 1895; in the beginning, till the 30s, it was a relatively small group; today, it has more than 1 mill members in England and Wales and a further 100,000 in the National Trust for

Scotland¹⁷. It is a charity and actually the third largest land owner in Britain, owning nearly 200,000 ha. For the benefit of the public the Trust furthermore 'protects from harmful development' a further 28,000 ha, and some 232 historic buildings and large stretches of coastline¹⁸.

The prime concern of the founders was to 'promote the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation, of land, and buildings of beauty or historic interest'¹⁹.

Land

In 1907, an Act of Parliament gave the trust the right to hold land 'inalienably' - or in other words once the land belong to the National Trust, nobody can acquire it without Act of Parliament²⁰.

In 1965, the NT launched a campaign called *Entreprise Neptune* to raise funds to acquire stretches of coastline of 'great natural beauty and recreational value'. The NT now protects 800 km of British coastline²¹.

An alternative way in which property comes into the ownership of the NT, is through the Land Fund, which has acquired sixteen houses since its formation in 1946. The funds derived from the sale of war surplus materials, for the purpose of preserving and enjoying historic buildings and natural landscape as 'a thank-offering for victory'. It enables the Treasury to reimburse the Revenue for property accepted instead of capital transfer tax, formerly estate duty, and to transfer it to non-profit making bodies such as the NT²².

Gardens

The NT owns a vast number of gardens more than 130 of these open to visitors²³. Many of the larger gardens came to the Trust with important houses, and the NT finds it important to keep the unity of country house, interiors, furniture, gardens and landscaped parks as 'supreme examples of the collective works of art.'²⁴.

In general the funding for the upkeep of gardens comes from the endowment for the property, given by the donor at the time of acquirement, together with fees for admittance, profit from trading etc.²⁵.

Country Houses

The preservation of the country house is generally regarded as its most notable achievement. At the formation of the Trust, however, country houses were not especially in need of anyone's help:

'Supported by their estates, tended by many thousands of domestic servants, still the principal source of rural employment and initiative, the country houses of England in 1895 were enjoying the golden afternoon of their heyday.'
26.

By the 1930s, income tax, estate duty, and the effects of the agricultural depression had brought about the sale of many country houses and disposal of their collections. The NT began lobbying on this subject in 1934, and negotiations culminated in a New National Trust Act of Parliament²⁷. This enabled the Trust to hold properties and their contents instead of death duty, provided that the endowment was sufficient to enable the Trust to afford the future upkeep and the public allowed access.

The first country house with its contents and estate was bequeathed in 1940, and bequests continued during and after the Second World War²⁸. In 1978, the Trust owned about 140 country houses.

In 1953, further legislation enabled the Revenue to accept chattels offered in payment of estate duty, provided that they had been or would remain in a house offered to the Trust or already in its ownership²⁹. This must have been one of the main reasons for the exquisitely furnished NT properties.

Principles of acquisition

The NT only accepts properties of 'national importance', and the endowment together with entrance fees, rents, and sales in NT shops, must be able to support the upkeep of the property in itself. The public must benefit from the acquisition, and a unity of house and environment is sought preserved³⁰.

Popular success

The NT's unique combination of supreme masterpieces of art and architecture, of professional presentation and management, and a declared aim of public access accounts for its success in numerical terms. An NT property is usually highly pleasant, educating and in-

viting, which does account for the rapidly rising number of visitors to NT properties. In 1948, for example, Knole was visited by 22,000 people; by 1977, the number was 80,000³¹.

Another reason for the NT's remarkable success lies in its ability to channel a general public interest in conservation into a membership of this organisation, beyond the few who approach preservation as historians or antiquarians. Opposite the five societies statutorily consulted, it has since its formation in 1895 - when mass membership was unthinkable - changed its base in this direction, the sheer size of the organisation being a conservation power in itself.

On the other hand, this vast number of members poses some problems in political terms:

Even though the NT 'is not supposed to get drawn into politics', the difficulties of retaining the 'eternal value' position was brought into perspective in a recent case, by the Guardian called 'The Battle of Bunker Hill'³².

The 99-year lease of land on a NT property to the Ministry of Defence for a strategically important military bunker has been criticised by a considerable number of members. It is defended by the 'vital nature of the project', but questions have been asked of whose interests the NT actually serves.

This single case may be a storm in a tea cup, but is symptomatic for the amenity society idea and for conservation. Of course nobody with 1.1 mill members being Britain's third largest land owner, can be regarded as unpolitical, however eternal the protected values are.

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Trends in administrative developments

The general change of policy in the beginning of the 70s was accompanied by a change within the administrative system itself.

'The approach to planning was typified by three identifiable desiderata...First planning itself should be a continuous process...Second, the execution of planning in local government should form part of a co-ordinated policy-making machinery...in which departmental divisions and professional loyalties are subordinated to the pursuit of corporate objectives by the most effective means...Thus both the planning process and the management structure should be accessible and responsive to the needs and wishes of the community.' 1

In 1975, the Morris Committee reported on a joint approach between housing and social work in council housing, saying:

'The LA and the residents do not perceive problems in the same way. An improvement is required in

- a. expression of needs, attitudes and ideas.
- b. more community influence.

These aims can be reached by the development of widely representative community associations.'

'It is widely accepted that social services will be most vigorous, imaginative and successful when they are supported by the community involved.' 2

The report defines a relatively complicated co-ordinating structure within the LA; on three levels:

- (i) joint committees of county and city councillors, to advise on policy guidelines
- (ii) management teams, of several disciplines, of county and district officers, to prepare assessments of housing needs, briefs, proposals
- (iii) area teams, members drawn from housing and social works, attached to a geographical area, day-to-day problems. 3

Local authority HAA administration

In administrative terms, various structures are adopted by various councils. Most often, a steering group at officer level is established within the LA. They may contain certain chief officers and deputies (housing, public health, planning, valuation and social services). 4

'This has the crucial advantage of securing the clear commitment of each department to the HAA work.' 5

In St. Paul's HAA in Bristol, a joint sub-committee was set up under the council.⁶ The chairman was the chairman of the housing committee, and of the members, five were from the Housing Committee, three from Public Protection, three from Planning and Traffic and three from Land and Administration.

Apart from this joint sub-committee, an assembly of executive officers was established. This assembly suggested the policy areas for committee consideration.

Newcastle took yet another approach in establishing Priority Area Teams (PATs) in areas of social and physical need.⁷ These are locally-based council sub-committees, based on county council wards with around 9,500 inhabitants, and comprises three ward councillors and one county councillor, who acts as a liaison committee on all issues, as a direct link with the council, and its own hinterland staff in the LA.

The council may furthermore establish a housing action team. In Newcastle, these housing action teams were based within the Planning Department, each team being responsible for a specific area of the city, containing both council housing and HAAs.⁸ They are pro-active teams, working within the community, co-operating with HAS in HAAs, persuading landlords to improve and owner-occupiers to take up grants.

The housing action team which took care of Arthur's Hill HAA, was headed by a planner with LA experience, and his assistant had a housing degree. Technical knowledge is considered essential, but 'you pick it up as you go along' as the planner said.

Two other teams are headed by planners, while the fourth has degrees in economics and geography, and all three a lot of LA experience.

In Bristol, they had a HAA working group to 'do the hard work'. All relevant departments attend, including the HAS working within the HAA.

In Newport, the HAA team consisted of a Housing Action Officer, an administrative officer, plus two building surveyors, a social liaison officer and a clerk of works.⁹

Edinburgh has HAA teams of three or four people stationed in the various areas in need of rehabilitation.¹⁰ The staff chosen for one of the offices includes a geologist and town planner, an economist with administrative housing experience, an engineer with a planning and communication degree, and a sociologist.

It is interesting to note that also other LAs in their selection of HAA officers consider applicants of various disciplines. HAA administration requires skills in finance, building, planning and sociology, but also a flexible approach to cooperation and an ability to integrate the various professional disciplines into a coordinated team approach. And, obviously plenty of use for University degrees and planners - architect-planners.

APPENDIX VII * References

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Preface

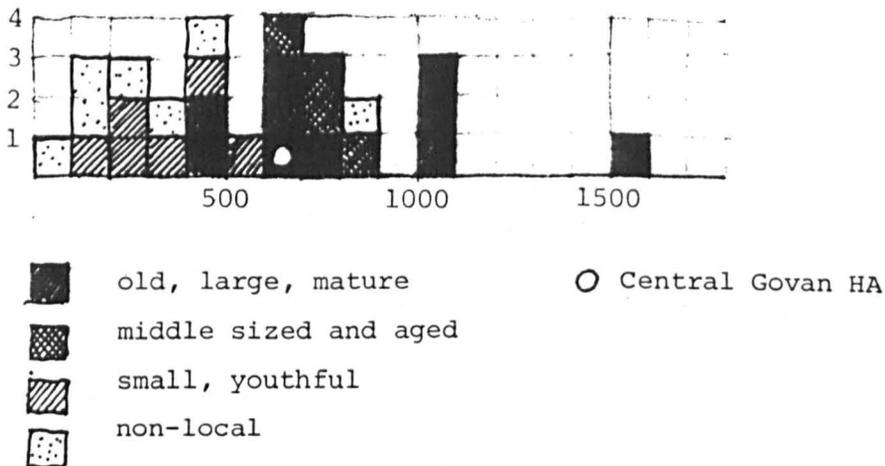
The choice of Central Govan Housing Association (CGHA) for a case study was made on the recommendation of Jim Johnson who had a special link with the HA. However, as this model is chosen for further recommendation in a Danish context, it is necessary to consider its position in the general Glasgow context of community-based HAS, the argument being stronger if CGHA is one of many similar associations.

This appendix is based on a draft report on community-based HAS prepared for the Scottish Development Department (SDD) by the Housing Research Unit at the University of Glasgow, and interviews with two of its authors, Mary Brailey and Duncan McLennan, and furthermore with Ann Rosengard who is active in Rotherglen HA and preparing a Ph.D. thesis on the subject.

Size and age of housing associations

McLennan et al has distributed the investigated HAS thus, according to size and age:

71 HAS in Glasgow - no. of dwellings compared to age



Management committees

The number of members on management committees (MCs) varies from five to sixteen². Prior to 1980, they were supposedly being elected at the Annual General Meeting of the association. An MC may also have an ex-officio appointment of local councillors; all this corresponds with CGHA which in addition to this have a number of co-opted

members on the committee.

The SDD report suggests:

'In two-thirds of the case studies, members were likely to leave following rehabilitation of their own house, and this intention was confirmed by the tenant survey.' 3.

Tenants' reason for departure are time-pressure, and the fact that their houses had been improved. The relative proportion of these two answers are not indicated in the report.

In CGHA, it was the general impression of this author that MC members were mainly living in improved flats, contradicting the trend mentioned in the SDD report - but, of course, this fact raises the question whether they have got a flat because of their MC membership. This is a question which cannot be answered within the frame of this thesis.

Ann Rosengard believes that 'it is due to a mix of historical accident and knowledge by practicability,' that many MC members live in improved property and have some connection with the HA Establishment⁴.

Concerning MC influence on programmes, the SDD report suggests that this mainly lies in rate of programme progress, renovation standard and control, housing management and allocation⁵. Mary Brailey mentions allocation as the most important factor⁶.

In CGHA, the well-defined sub-committee structure made these seem the main policy-makers at this point, while the actual decisions had to be ratified by the MC. Concerning the influence on rate of programme progress, this must be dependant on the inflow of funds, and the CGHA MC did not influence this.

Staff and management

The average number of staff of a Glaswegian HA is eight persons, with a 'flat' staff structure. Nevertheless, CGHA is a 'sectional hierachy'⁷.

Glasgow HA staff	% of all staff	CGHA staff (1981)	nbs.	% of all staff
Director	1.6%	Director	1	6%
Housing Management	14	Housing Manager	2	11
Development	20.8	Development	3	17
Secretary & Admin.	27	General office	2	11
Finance	11.9	Finance	2	11
Technical staff	15.7	Mainten.section	4	22
Other	8.4	Mainten.team	4	22
			8;9	

On this background, the CGHA has a more than adequate number of staff for its size, and a 'normal' distribution of staff on the various activities within the HA.

Decanting

The average length of decant period was in Glasgow 30 weeks, where the CGHA tenants interviewed for 36 and 45 weeks¹⁰.

In average, only half of past-improvement tenants had been temporarily decanted. This corresponds to the CGHA experience, where only four out of ten-eleven tenants usually return to their closes¹¹.

Procedure during improvement

The length of procedure from the feasibility survey to the formal hand-over by the contractor takes between 20 and 49 months. Five of the eight cases in the sample takes 25 to 35 months.

In CGHA, the renovation of 845 & 855 Govan Road took from Nov.1977 to March 1981, 40 months in all¹². The delay was caused by problems with acquisition and cost limits.

Average projects were on site for twelve months, half of those between six and nine months. 845 & 855 Govan Road started on site in July 1980 and ended in March 1981, nine months in all.

Age and household size

For Glasgow as a whole, 50% of the residents after improvement were over 60 years of age, and almost none were middle-aged households. Almost all one-person households were over 60, and two-thirds were one-person households¹³.

This does not in all details correspond with the Govan case study.

In the two closes investigated, seven out of the sixteen tenants were OAPs fair enough, but before nine out of fourteen had been OAPs - concluding that the renovation had not changed the composition of tenants towards more old people, on the contrary.

Of the seven one-person households (out of sixteen), four were OAPs, two between 25 and 64, and one was under 25 years of age.

In terms of age and size, one must conclude that CGHA does have an allocation result which is different from the average, and which furthermore has not changed the distribution of age and size in the community, this change being a topic which is not mentioned in the SDD report.

73 Occupation

	Glasgow %	Govan nb.	%
Professionals	<1%	1	11%
Employers and managers		1	
Other non-manual		3	
Skilled manual		1	
Semi-skilled manual		1	
Non-skilled manual	15%	1	11%
Employed		5	
Unemployed	15%	1 ?	6%
Retired	50%	7	39%
			14

This (small) sample shows a more varied socio-economic pattern in CGHA than in the Glasgow average.

74 Where the tenants came from

	Glasgow	nbs.	%
Same flat	29.4	4	38%
Same close		2	
Other flat in same HA	10.8	9 (10)	62%
the area	46.8	-	-
outside	21.8	-	-

15

This shows an even more 'community-based' approach than the average Glasgow HA, on the point of 'freezing' the population.

In Glasgow, 7% of households had lived in their present flat for more than 30 years, 16% for more than 20. In Glasgow, 3 out of 12 tenants in their close had lived more than 26 years, and 8 out of 12 for more than 10 years (prior to renovation)¹⁶.

Closing note

These figures show Central Govan as a fairly average HA in quantitative terms. However, when it comes to the allocation procedure, the general impression changes, exhibiting CGHA as the community-based HA per se. From this follows that Central Govan cannot be embraced by the generally critical assessment of the community base of community HAs as such, in the SDD report.

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Preface

In order to assess whether the model of community-based HAS is a model applicable to Danish urban renewal, it is necessary to consider the community-based HAS in Glasgow in a wider context, including the relationship and position of Central Govan HA to the other community-based HAS in Glasgow.

Not much has been published on the subject. The following is based on three main sources of information, a draft report on community-based HAAs to be published by the Scottish Development Department (SDD), interviews with Mary Brailey and Duncan McLennan, who were part in preparing the report, and Ann Rosengard doing research on the subject at the University of Strathclyde.

Furthermore, two articles by Jim Johnson, in Architect's Journal, and Duncan McLennan, in Housing Review, have provided information on recent developments within the community-based programme.

The SDD project was set up by the incoming Conservative government 'to take a hard look at HAS and possibly trim them down afterwards'. According to Duncan McLennan, the Director of the Housing Research Unit, the community-based HAS have a very effective output, and the programme of these HAS are in no danger².

The Glasgow experience is especially interesting because of the sheer number of houses improved. Between 1974 and 1980, the number of dwellings improved were in Glasgow 3,490, out of an acquired number of dwellings of 13,175. By 1984, about 10,000 dwellings had been improved, with another 7,000 dwellings in the programme.^{3,15}

Another fact that makes the Glasgow experiments interesting to study is its ten-year trial period. Various strategies and sizes has been tried out, and the approach has developed through experiments, trial and error, and changed the whole fabric of the Inner City.

The size of project areas have become smaller, even though this is not considered to be a deliberate policy. It was rather due to the fact that the Housing Corporation were afraid that HAS could not cope if the task of each HA became too big. Mary Brailey believes that 'territory as a base of establishment is fraud'⁴, which is an approach not quite accepted by this author.

None of the HAs have fixed boundaries. Eight of the twenty-seven HAs investigated in the SDD report were non-local, while the rest of the HAs were community-based, or locally-based, as McLennan et al prefers to name it, calling the real base within the community for the HAs in question⁵.

Some HAs, i.e. Govan Hill, cover two socially distinct communities which compete for power on the management committee⁶.

Formation

When the HAs started they were not required to operate solely within a small local area⁷. There were two waves of community-based HAs. The first wave was big, beginning on the base of already existing HAs in the area. The second wave 'needed more help'⁸. The ad-hoc character of the HAs, which by this author was considered as one of the finest aspects of the community approach, was 'never made explicit'⁹, and it is certainly not mentioned today where some of the HAs apparently struggle to survive through expanding into other areas.

Organisation

There is a great variety in organisation and method of working among the HAs. McLennan notes that 'HAs of some vintage choose different strategies'¹⁰.

Membership is usually restricted to people living in the area, so that all interested can join, whether they are tenants or not.

A survey of management committee (MC) members shows that nearly 60% of these are retired, housewives or unemployed. It must be considered a success that the HAs has been able to attract those residents in the community which spend most of their time in the community and their home.

A relatively high proportion of managers and professionals, 18%, has been attracted to the MCs, or probably encouraged especially because of their abilities and skills..

The question of 'professional' skills within MCs has been investigated by McLennan et al. The survey showed that professionally based and trained committees are no more effective than resident-based

MCs ¹¹.

'Notably, more locally based committees were more successful in reducing delay /during the process/...but the extent of professional experience on the MC /has not/...reduced any lags or delays...' 12.

The shop steward and former MC member in Govan asked for education of MC members, stating that 'a middle-aged housewife cannot manage the finances of an HA without any knowledge'¹³ - which is quite true. The Scottish Federation of HAs has therefore established courses for MC members, concerning finance, HA roles, organisation, one evening a week for five weeks¹⁴. Evidently, the whole participation in HA work is an important learning experience in itself.

The majority of HAs do not have elections to the MC as there is no competition - opposite the CGHA MC¹⁵. It has however changed during the last few years, maybe due to incoming tenants having a different and more active view on community organisation like in Govan.

The time that MC members spend on MC work is in the SDD report assessed to four-five hours per week, and for the chairman fifteen-twenty hours per week¹⁶. This is equivalent to 1½ development worker employed by the HA. The question of the HAs actually doing the work of the LA without payment is often mentioned, and with some justification.

What is the role of the MC? McLennan et al states that MCs

'... generally ensured that staff decisions were consistent with their preferences...achieved by having MCs as 'censors' rather than 'creators' of projects. 17.

According to Mary Brailey only a few MCs see their role relating to the community as a whole: organising projects, petitions, community life¹⁸. If i.e. a site issue came up in their area, it may trigger off some action, however.

While development and finance is 'mystique' to the ordinary tenant, housing management can be done with more confidence by the lay-person. Mary Brailey believes that allocation is the point where HA tenants can really have a community influence, but that very few HAs realise this¹⁹.

Do the residents have any influence on the MC? The SDD report stated that decision-taking powers were confined to voting at MC meetings, and that they generally ensured that staff decisions were consistent with their preferences.²⁰

Another result of the survey was that 'MCs were unanimous in their view that they had little influence over the pattern of development', and that development staff are the major influences in the form and detail of contracts²¹.

Staff

At the start of 1980, the HAs in Glasgow employed 350 persons.²²

'Staff were largely from higher education or relatively junior professional posts...relatively young/compared with LA staff/and well qualified.'²³

Seen from Ann Rosengard's point of view, staff has a remit to encourage committees surveying and giving ideas.

'The HAs grew up with people sticking around and enjoying the results. They never saw themselves as managers...this is not glamorous enough'.²⁴

And, truly, both the director in Central Govan Housing Association and the development officer in Lister left when development were nearly finished.

Programme

The HAs were supposed to acquire the properties, mainly in private renting which the owner could or would not improve. However, a major change of ownership was not anticipated, neither by Central Government nor by the Glasgow City Council.²⁵ A maximum was set at 50% HA ownership, but this limit has been exceeded by most HAs, and the change of ownership has thus happened to a far greater extent than originally anticipated. In a (small) sample, the Scottish Development Department showed the following pattern of ownership before and after renovation:

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Change of ownership during improvement

	Ow-occ	HA	Private renting	percentage of total stock
1976	39	6	48	
1978	25	63	12	

26

Central Govan owns about 75% of the dwellings in its area, and Eldor Park 97%.

The SDD report indicates that relatively few landlords especially in commercial properties, are willing to meet the costs of repair and improvements, even with an improvement grant.²⁷

However, the compulsory purchase process is costly and long. The HA may undertake measures to avoid delays in their programme in several ways: by reducing repairs and environmental improvements to a minimum, select contractual packages which avoid unwilling improvers, accept the delays, or purchase property of unwilling improvers. This last solution is chosen in most HAs.

The report establishes the importance of the selection of 'packages' to the whole progress of programme.

'The non-strategic nature of contract packaging is largely dictated by the desire to have visible development initiated as quickly as possible.' 28

The phase when packages of property is selected for rehab is 'crucial'. One must further bear in mind that the selection of houses for improvement heightens housing disparities within a local area.

'The patchiness of improvement completion within association areas...still create environmental concern.' 29

In Mary Brailey's and Duncan McLennan's point of view, it is the pattern of owner-occupation and with it the packages possible to assemble which determines the programme, and not MC influence.^{30;31}

Variations in rate or costs of improvement is explained in differences in programme, the local staff and the nature of local housing, according to the SDD report.³² Cost evidence and statistics on acquisition delays imply that contracts covering four-six closes are optimal for HAs. Construction is largely undertaken by contractors selected competitively, even though the competitive price effects of additional contractors competing for work is recorded to be 'extremely marginal'.³³

Hunter states that a problem with the application of cost limits is the large variations in unimproved properties. This results in some houses being more able to last a thirty year life than others. Alternatively, he suggests to adopt a system of minimum standard.³⁴

Many HAs have tried to expand or rather continue their activities by starting up new built projects, i.e. Eldor Park and Reidvale.³⁵ HAs are about to be accepted as providers of new housing for rent; few projects have by now been approved.³⁶

Residents

The resident perceiving himself as a consumer of housing improvement is a position encountered in Glasgow as well as in Edinburgh, even though this is not a typical factor of CGHA. Mary Brailey recalls

a (new) management officer declaring: 'The development officer deals with the houses, I with the people', and some time afterwards, disillusioned, 'The HA is treated as a public landlord by the tenants.'³⁷

Mclennan states that tenants do not use their HA, only for complaints - 'most people don't come near'.³⁸

The SDD report conducted a survey on the nature of tenants' contact with the HA.³⁹ The sample included 437 tenants interviewed in their home. 25% of the interviewed were members of the association, and more than 8% had been involved in committee work, 4% still serving.

57.5% of the tenants had visited the HA office for the following reasons:

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Tenants' visit to HA. Glasgow	
<u>Nature of visit</u>	
collect keys	36.3%
complain about repairs	33.5%
ask about transfer	14.1%
ask about rent	10.4%
attending meetings	6.1%

Problems with housing management seems to be the main point, as recorded by Mclennan and Mary Brailey.

Mclennan et al extract some more comprehensive conclusions from this survey:

'The survey of residents...cast some doubt on the notion that associations are 'community-based' and a central part of community life.'⁴⁰

'.....The evidence gathered from MCs regarding the general absence of competitive election and member retirals following their own house improvement in conjunction with the the perceived lack of MC and individual tenant control... over the development...lead us to reject the notion that associations are 'community-based'...'locally orientated' would be a more appropriate label for the existing HAs.'

Obviously, Mclennan et al had anticipated a 'total' community approach whereby the HA would be the focal point of the community. However, the question is whether it is possible or desirable, or whether this would influence the relative succes of the community-based approach.

Another factor criticised is the usual allocation policy of HAS. Decisions are made locally without much external interference.

'It is true that the District Council reserves the right to nominate 50 per cent of tenants but this only applies to houses which are surplus to the requirements of the development programme, and there is obviously scope for a rather limited interpretation of what constitutes a 'surplus'. Moreover, the associations have the right to veto nominees.'⁴⁴

The HAS attaches varying importance to local connections in their allocation policy.

'It appears to be implicit in most schemes that preference for people with local connections of some kind is the best or only strategy for achieving a stable community.'⁴⁵

Even though this type of allocation prevents the displacement of residents which in other areas has occurred through gentrification, the 'freezing' of the population may develop into a problem as the HAS now virtually controls access to living in inner city areas.⁴⁶

Assessment

In an appraisal of the community-based programme, there are certain elements to take into consideration:

- (i) performance, number of houses improved
- (ii) costs of improvement
- (iii) speed of programme
- (iv) tenant satisfaction
- (v) impact on community

The performance is impressive. Half of Glasgow's Inner City re-rehabilitation problems have been solved within less than ten years, and according to McLennan, the programme will be completed by the early 1990s.⁴⁵

Concerning costs of improvement, it is well over Housing Corporation limits, exceeding, according to McLennan, the initial expectations.⁴⁶ The rehab costs for a three-room flat may well exceed £2,000 (1982); with acquisition costs of about £5,000, each dwelling requires an expenditure of £25,000.⁴⁷ The subsidy through HAG is high, and 'seldom fall below 95 per cent of improvement costs', according to McLennan; a lower average of 50 per cent was, however, given by Central Govan Housing Association.⁴⁸

The speed of programme is not reported to be quicker in community-based HAs than in other programmes, but this is due to the fact that delays are mainly due to acquisition delays and administrative problems outside the reach of the HA.

Tenant satisfaction comes closer to a real assessment; important, but complicated to measure.

The SDD report conducted a survey of residents' perceptions, which does not, however, clearly indicate whether it was satisfaction on the community or the individual level. It is an assessment of satisfaction of consumer demands.

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Residents' perception of the rehab process.

Sufficient information provided: 68,5%

	None	Moderate	Extensive	%
influence on interior design	26.3	38.8	31.3	
- - exterior work	36.3	42.3	21.2	
- - overall improvement	30.9	49.3	21.2	49

If some conclusions should be drawn from this, it tells us that the tenants feel they have a little more influence on their own dwelling than on work influencing the whole of the community.

The impact on the community is possibly the most difficult aspect to assess. However, McLennan suggests a number of potential benefits on which the extensive subsidy level should be seen:

- a marked improvement in the quality of housing
- an improvement in the local environment
- retention of a high proportion of residents
- a boost in economic confidence for adjoining areas
- more work for local contractors and architects.

As the main result of the community-based programme, McLennan et al states:

'In a broader context, /the HAs/ have undoubtedly reduced 'problems' with anti-social tenants. It has reduced the drift away of 'desirable' peer groups, and it has reversed the trends towards declining community spirit and effort.'54

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As this thesis has been thoroughly revised for resubmission, there may be a few titles which are not included in this bibliography, but which are adequately referred to as references under each chapter. Please receive my apology for this inconvenience.