

Case Study: South Bank and Grangetown, Redcar and Cleveland

Contents

Introduction	1
The Area	2
Problems in the area	4
Previous Interventions	9
Drivers of Deprivation	10
Demonstration Project overview	13
Detail of Demonstration Project Plans	15
Process Issues	20
Commentary from Evaluation Team:	23

Introduction

This report is part of a wider set of documents that form the baseline for the evaluation of the mixed communities initiative, namely:

- The baseline report of the evaluation
- Annex A to the baseline report , which sets out the evaluation approach
- Reports like this one for each of the case study areas
- A set of data files for each case study area.

The report is intended to provide a descriptive account of the South Bank and Grangetown demonstration project at the start of the mixed communities initiative, and to identify key issues and questions for the evaluation of the mixed communities approach in this area. It does not contain detailed quantitative data. This can be found in the accompanying data files.

The structure of the report is guided by the theory of change approach adopted as the basis for the evaluation of the mixed communities initiative. A theory of change is a linked set of propositions leading from problem to outcome, indicating how, in theory, problems can be remedied by interventions, through what change processes and with what outcomes. The evaluation team has set out a theory of change for the mixed communities initiative (see Baseline report, Annex A), and used this to generate a series of research questions about the problems faced by the areas, the remedies adopted and the changes that occur. Clearly at the baseline stage, we are not in a position to report on change processes and outcomes. The report is organized around a set of research questions on the problems faced in the area and the remedies being adopted.

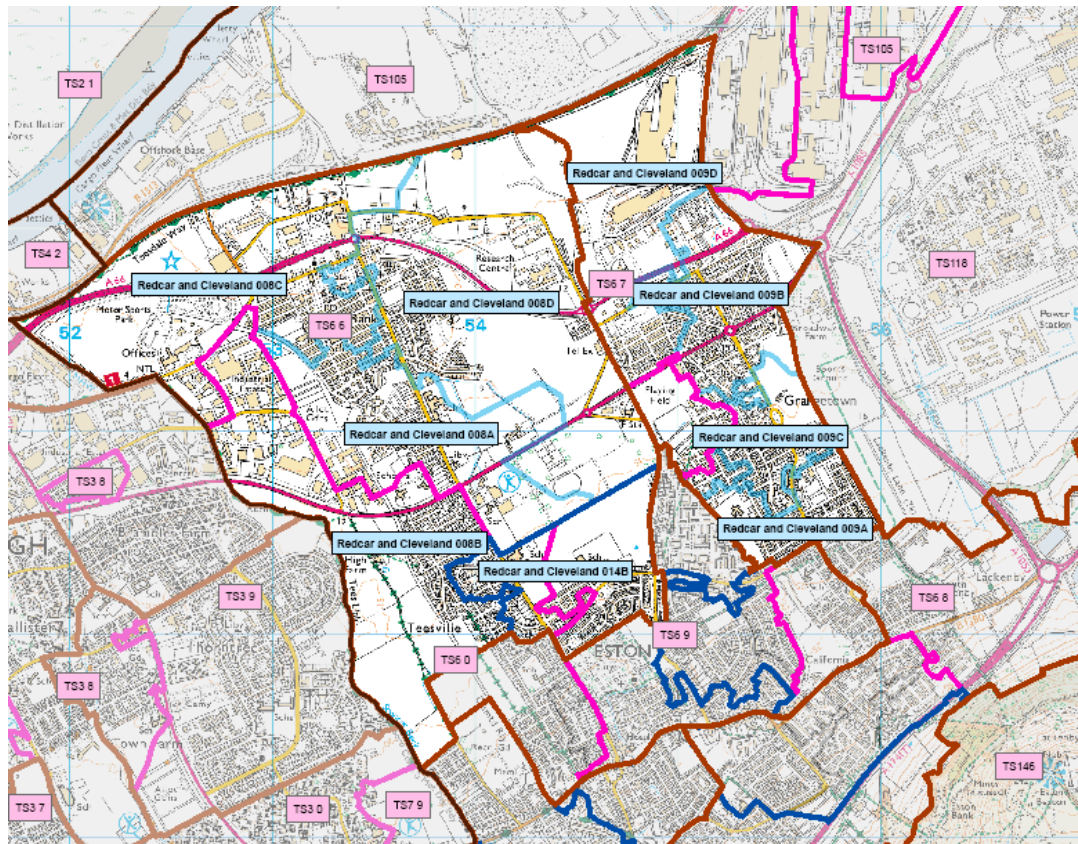
The final section of the report identifies some key questions for the evaluation in this demonstration project area and sets out the bespoke evaluation strategy that will be followed for the remainder of the evaluation, to summer 2009.

The Area

The demonstration project in Redcar and Cleveland focuses on two neighbourhoods, South Bank and Grangetown. These sit within an area known as Greater Eston, (comprising South Bank, Grangetown, Eston, Normanby, Teesville and Ormesby) which is the urban part of the Borough of Redcar and Cleveland, on the south bank of the River Tees, abutting Middlesbrough. The map below shows the area in its wider context. The chestnut lines on the map are the ward boundaries. South Bank is the ward to the west, Grangetown to the east. The Eston area is shown to the south, and part of the city of Middlesbrough adjacent to South Bank in the west.

South Bank and Grangetown were originally built in the late 1800s, and later expanded with new Council housing in the interwar and post war years. The neighbourhoods provided homes for workers in the shipyards, steel and chemicals industries. The massive steel and chemical plants can be seen on the map to the east of Grangetown, and part of the dock area to the north of South Bank. They still dominate the local landscape, although now employing far fewer people.

Map 1: DP area showing ward boundaries



These two wards are among the most disadvantaged in the country. Industrial decline from the early 1980s led to large-scale population loss in the wider area and over supply of housing, particularly in the poorer neighbourhoods which comprise the DP area. Since the early to mid 1990s, these neighbourhoods have been grappling with falling relative house prices, rising private renting and/or purchases by speculative landlords, anti-social behaviour, crime and drug markets, alongside high unemployment and economic inactivity, poor health and low educational attainment. Once-thriving retail facilities have virtually disappeared. Both neighbourhoods received SRB funding through the late 1990s and early 2000s, resulting in substantial housing demolition and improvements, reductions in crime, and improvements in the environment, management and community facilities. These had a holding rather than a transformative effect, and the mixed communities project is part of a wider long term strategy to deliver longer term improvements to the area, bringing housing supply in line with demand, improving and diversifying the housing stock, stabilising population and re-orienting South Bank, Grangetown, and Eston around a central growth pole in the middle of the area, with new investment in housing, retail and community facilities.

At the last Census in 2001, the population of the two wards was 13, 939 in 5,435 households. The majority of residents (95%) were White British, with a small Asian minority mainly in South Bank.

Problems in the area

What problems does the area suffer from, at the baseline stage, relative to other areas?

Housing

Remodelling the housing stock is a critical issue for this demonstration project, in order to bring supply in line with demand overall, and to create a more attractive mix of homes. House prices in this area were substantially the lowest of the DP areas at the baseline point of Q1 2005, with the average home selling for just £36, 617. Prices were also relatively much lower than in other DPs, at 34% of the district mean price.

According to the local authority, the housing market:

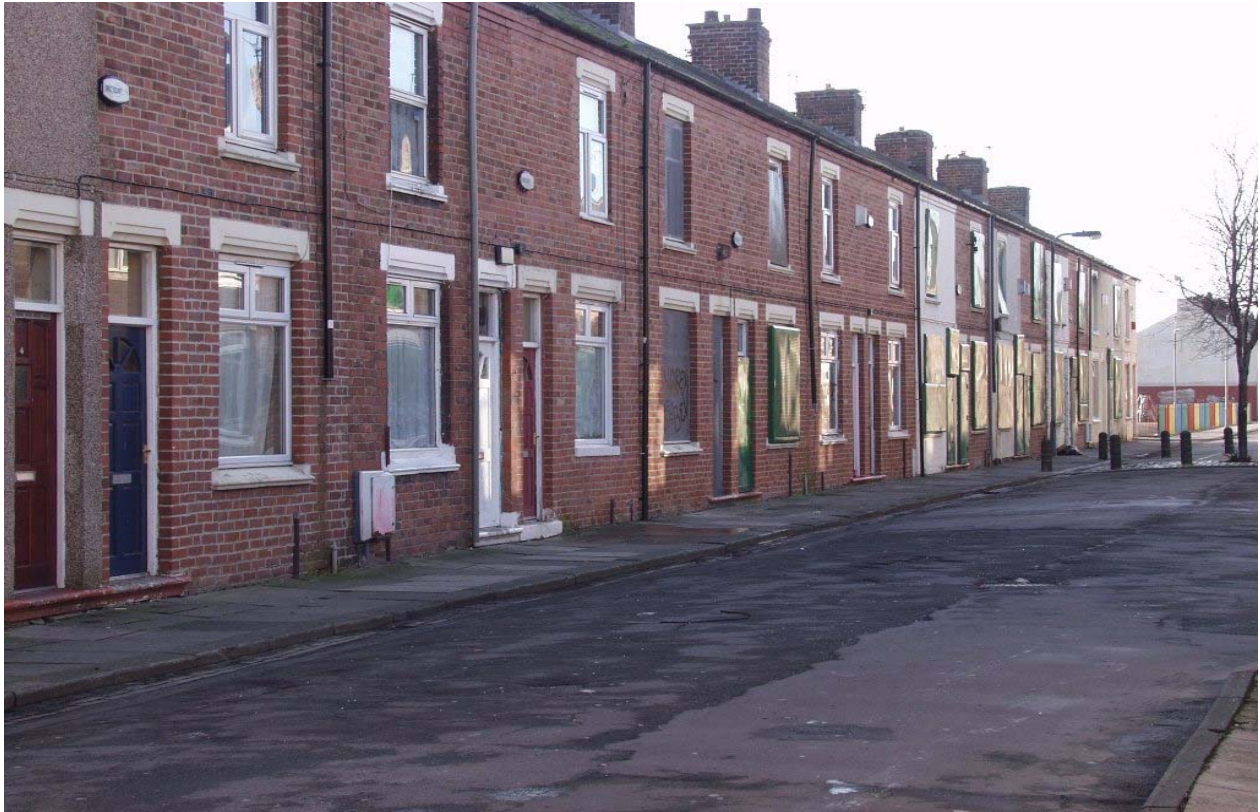
“suffers from a fundamental imbalance between supply and demand for housing of particular types and in particular locations. At one end this is leading to low prices, an increase in empty properties, and overall reduction in owner-occupation and an increase in private renting. There is an erosion of investor confidence... Low demand areas are also characterised by problems of anti-social behaviour, crime, and social and economic disadvantage” RCBC (2005)

Thus low demand has led to neighbourhood problems, which in turn have led to lower demand. In recent years, the problem of low demand for the kinds of homes available in these areas was compounded by an over-supply of housing in the wider area. Depopulation of the Borough and sub-region led to a situation during the mid-late 1990s in which there was virtually no new demand for housing in South Bank and Grangetown. Properties fell empty and were not re-filled. Some owner-occupied properties were abandoned as prices fell to about £5k for some terraced homes – among the lowest in Britain. Others were rented out or bought up at rock bottom prices by absentee landlords. Many tenants, in social and private stock, became transient, using the area as a temporary housing solution. Some contributed to anti-social behaviour, prompting other residents to leave the neighbourhood as quality of life deteriorated. Removing excess stock is thus a key issue for the DP, as is providing, in the longer term, a more attractive range of homes that will be more popular.

Within the area there are a number of distinct sub-neighbourhoods, with a mix of types and tenures. South Bank contains an area of about 1000 small pre-1900 terraced homes (the area to the west of the main road running north to south through the ward) which is mixed in tenure between private renting, owner-occupation and social renting. This area is in very low demand. In recent years problems of empty housing, vandalism, and anti-social behaviour have been concentrated in this part of the neighbourhood. Most respondents whom we consulted suggested that these homes are not now

regarded as a desirable housing type and would be in low demand even if neighbourhood conditions were better.

Older Terraced Stock in South Bank



To the north and south of the older housing area in South Bank are small estates of social housing, built in the 1970s and 1980s. Across the road is a post war estate (Redcar Rd East). Much of this stock is owned by the LSVT RSL, Coast and Country, but there are a number of other RSLs with stock in the area. Overall, social housing makes up about 50% of the stock in South Bank.

The older housing stock in Grangetown has now largely been cleared and the ward has a majority of social housing (66%).

Newer Social Housing in South Bank



Aside from housing, the area has severe social and economic problems:

- The subregional economy underperforms and there is heavy dependence on major employers such as Corus and an under-representation of growth businesses and sectors. Overall Redcar and Cleveland has a lower jobs density than the England average, and well above average numbers of job seeker claimants (6.4% compared with an England average of 2.3%) and high numbers of residents claiming incapacity benefits. (see spreadsheet six). There are low levels of skills and qualifications in the local workforce (Sustainable Communities Plan p4).

- Health is poor. In the 2001 census a greater proportion of residents (14%) identified their poor health in relation to the England average (9%) (see spreadsheet five). There is a need to upgrade primary health care facilities.
- Educational attainment at GCSE is significantly below the England average (239.5, compared with an England average of 349.1 (see spreadsheet four). Most of the schools in the area are rated as good by OFSTED, although one of the secondary schools has had a troubled recent history and only recently come out of special measures in 2007.
- Both neighbourhoods have a very poor reputation locally. Respondents could not recall when a house was last purchased for owner-occupation, and demand for social tenancies is low in most parts of the area. National television documentaries have highlighted their problems as some of the worst in the country.

Do the problems of the area affect the life chances of people in the area? In what ways?

While there is no individual-level survey data comparing outcomes for residents in this area with similar people living in more advantaged neighbourhoods, most respondents shared a view that the neighbourhood exerted a negative effect on residents' life chances. Several mechanisms were described:

- the effect of housing market collapse on assets and choices for owner-occupiers.
- the effect of area decline, the poor physical environment, and the fear of crime and anti-social behaviour, on mental health and on levels of trust, social networks and community cohesion.
- the effect of industrial decline and the restructured labour market on the expectations and aspirations of young people.
- according to some respondents, a peer effect, contributing to expectation of dependence on welfare benefits and enhanced neighbourhood services.

What level of public expenditure is required in this area relative to others on an ongoing basis?

At this stage, we have not collected data on local service expenditure. Given high levels of social and economic problems, it is likely that expenditures on individual-level services (such as social services, education welfare) are disproportionately high. South Bank has additional refuse collections and a locally based neighbourhood management team of four staff, funded from SHIP and Housing Market Renewal which provides its own refuse van, a transit tipper for removal of large items of rubbish, graffiti removal and

boarding up of empty properties and stripping out of valuable items. The services of this team are very well used and highly valued.

Previous Interventions

What additional regeneration programmes has the area had and at what cost?

South Bank and Grangetown have had a succession of regeneration funding programmes including Estate Action and Urban Programme in the 1980s. Both were also covered by SRB programs during the late 1990s/early 2000s. Grangetown was included in SRB Round 1, with £8m government funding supporting a local authority-led programme of investment in housing and continuing an improvement strategy begun under Estates Action. There were also security improvements, including the installation of CCTV systems in residential and commercial areas.

South Bank was included in SRB Round 2. This programme (£17.5m SRB) adopted a more bottom-up approach, based on community consultation. The initial programme proposed an emphasis on social and economic regeneration rather than physical schemes. Interventions included a Job Connect Scheme, an Early Learning Centre Literacy project, additional policing, a victim support officer and CCTV installations, and the development of a new community centre on the site of the town's famous football ground (Golden Boy Green), offering meeting and training space, basketball/ football pitches, a community hall and a skate park. The SRB programme also supported the development of a community forum. However, in the context of falling housing demand and worsening neighbourhood conditions, the limited investment in housing appeared inadequate. £2m was reallocated within the scheme to fund selective demolition and improvements to remaining properties.

Further funding was then obtained in SRB Round 5 for both South Bank and Grangetown. This programme was titled "Communities that work" and based on two themes: economic regeneration on sites between the River Tees and the A66; and building capacity within local communities. The former was to involve £310 million on reclaiming contaminated sites. The latter was to centre on community projects, many of them managed jointly by FROG and the South Bank Community Forum. However, once again a large proportion of the budget had to be reallocated to housing projects and most of this money was diverted from the economic regeneration theme. As a result only a small amount of land reclamation has been possible, along with the continuation of the Job Connect project.' (RCBC webpage Appendix 5.1, p.3)

In 2001/02 the SRB2 and 5 programmes were combined with a single delivery plan. The Community Forum went into voluntary liquidation in 2001.

Drivers of Deprivation

What are the drivers of area deprivation?

The principal driver of area deprivation in this DP is economic. Historically, the economic structure of the area, with mass employment in steel, shipyards and chemicals, required a working class population in manual jobs. For a long time, the area had worse health and educational attainment than middle class areas, a less good housing stock and an environment contaminated by industrial pollution. These conditions turned into 'concentrated area deprivation' because of de-industrialisation and the huge job losses that caused widespread unemployment and its associated problems, including poor physical and mental health, low aspirations and expectations, family stress and break up, teenage pregnancies, and rising crime and anti-social behaviour.

The national economic revival has not addressed the problems caused by de-industrialisation in this area. The Tees Valley economy still underperforms relative to national trends (see Spreadsheet 6). As well as a spatial shift in the jobs, there has also been a re-structuring of the labour market with more part-time jobs and jobs held by women. The Tees Valley city region strategy identifies two key developments that could redress problems in the South Bank area: the development of Teesport and the development of new renewable energy industry. However, at this stage, the area still has a weak economic base, which, it is acknowledged "may potentially constrain the prospects for housing market regeneration". (SCP p4).

Housing is another key driver of deprivation. It was economic collapse, not the quality of housing, that caused 'concentrated area deprivation'. However, in a situation of declining population, the quality and type of housing and environment in South Bank and Grangetown has not been such as to attract new households to replace those leaving, thus setting off a familiar cycle of decline in which empty properties fuelled problems of crime and anti-social behaviour, triggering further community decline and exit, and ensuring in-migration only of those with least choice. Extreme neighbourhood conditions have obviously played a major part, but respondents have also identified the limited range and poor quality of homes as a problem in its own right. Small terraced properties in these neighbourhoods that would once have been considered to be at the bottom of the housing ladder are now being overlooked, in a situation where prices and interest rates are sufficiently low that first time buyers can move into other markets. Local people who are forming new households or who want to improve their housing situation are unlikely to find properties in the neighbourhood that offer 'trade-up' opportunities, even if they want to stay.

Poor public services were not identified by respondents as a driver of deprivation in this area, although there have certainly been times when the provision of services has been insufficient to keep up with the scale of problems. To some extent these issues have been addressed by the provision of additional services through SRB and targeting of

mainstream services. Some respondents also mentioned poor service provision (eg housing management) in the face of uncertainty over the future of the area, and a lack of trust in the Council to make decisions in the interests of area residents. However, these were seen as exacerbating the problems of concentrated area deprivation, not causing them.

What are the drivers of deprivation that the DP is explicitly trying to address?

The strategy adopted by the DP does not attempt to address the weak economic base in the area – measures to address this are in place at the sub-regional and regional level. Nor is it primarily aimed at better service provision. The principal aim of the mixed community project is to address the imbalance in supply and demand in housing which causes concentrates deprivation by pushing out residents who are aspiring and able to choose where they live, and either not replacing them or replacing them with residents of lower choice. It aims to stem decline by diversifying the housing stock and improving the facilities and reputation of the area, thus ensuring that existing and new households choose to live there. It is hoped that this will provide a platform for future growth and mix, in the event of economic growth.

It is clear that traditional urban regeneration approaches of improving life chances for residents by improving services, facilities and the physical environment cannot achieve this re-modelling of supply and demand. Interviews with both professionals and residents suggest that these kinds of approaches had delivered significant and lasting improvements – for example the stabilization and improvement of the Redcar Road East Council estate, and the development of Golden Boy Green – but had not been able to transform the area in the face of declining housing demand and neighbourhood conditions and a stagnant local economy. Moreover, funding for selective demolition and improvements to existing housing had been insufficient to achieve transformation in housing or neighbourhood conditions.

'We still face fundamental problems irrespective of SRB benefits and Estate Action. We haven't cracked the fundamental problems, our thinking has been constrained by funding and spatial dimensions. We need to think outside the box.'
(Local authority official)

It also seems evident that the housing market is not likely to right itself, given the current housing stock and the history of decline. Revised ONS 2004-based subnational population projections (published Sept 2007) show a slight predicted fall in population (500 people) over the period 2006-2016, and also an ageing population, with the proportion of people of working age (20-64) falling from 57.5% to 55.8% over this period, the proportion of children and young people (U19) falling from 24.6% to 22.3%, and the proportion over retirement age rising from 17.8% to 21.8%. However, the rise in the number of single households (including single pensioners) and re-forming families means that household numbers are predicted to continue to rise, by an additional 3,900 between 2006 and 2016, and a further 2,400 over the following five years. These are

significant increases (3900 households represents a 6% increase in 10 years). In a functioning housing market, we might expect these additional households to soak up the supply of empty and low demand properties. However, rises were also predicted for the recent period (an additional 1500 households between 2003 and 2006) and these have not boosted demand for the more unpopular neighbourhoods and home types, although there does appear to be latent demand for modern, moderately priced homes. A recent development of 96 homes in South Bank ward, the first new building in the area for several years, has sold rapidly.

This is a particularly important point in this context, and perhaps also in other DP areas. Here, the mixed community project is not only concerned with tackling drivers of deprivation at the local level. It combines this objective with the need to respond to household growth predictions at the Borough. Given that some of the existing stock seems to be obsolete, accommodating household growth will mean building new and more attractive homes within the Borough, or risking losing new households to other areas, thus accelerating population decline and threatening sustainability. To deliver these new homes, the local authority must bring forward for development sites allocated for housing in the local plan. As it happens a key site is Low Grange, within the Greater Eston area. As we describe later, the availability of this local site and the projected demand for more housing enables plans for the regeneration of the existing neighbourhoods in South Bank and Grangetown to be incorporated within a wider strategy for growth and mix, and without the need to demolish existing neighbourhoods to create land for new housing. This combination of regeneration and growth strategy may generate important lessons for other housing growth areas.

Is a more mixed population needed?

As previous paragraphs suggest, the emphasis of this DP is on correcting a cycle of decline which has led to an extreme concentration of deprivation (non-mix) in the least advantaged neighbourhoods, and which does not seem to be correctable by the housing market alone or by traditional urban regeneration approaches.

Respondents in our initial interviews were concerned with moving towards a better functioning housing market, where some residents would be in the area by choice, and very disadvantaged households would be more evenly distributed across different neighbourhoods. They did not particularly articulate positive benefits of mix, or optimum levels of mix, or ways in which mix or mixing would deliver improved life chances for existing residents.

Demonstration Project overview

The mixed communities approach in this demonstration project thus arises from the need for a more radical and transformative approach to the problems of concentrated area deprivation in South Bank and Grangetown, and the need to build more homes to meet anticipated household growth.

The DP proposals are encompassed within the Greater Eston Strategy, which essentially proposes the re-orienting of the three neighbourhoods of South Bank, Grangetown and Eston around a central 'growth pole' incorporating a new district shopping centre, health village, and new 900 home mixed tenure community on a site known as Low Grange, in the centre of the area, linked to a schools PFI programme that is vastly improving school facilities in the area. The location of these developments is shown on the following map. The Low Grange site is partly owned by a charitable trust (the Lady Hewley Trust), and partly by the local authority. It was identified in the local plan as a possible site for housing development, and the local authority is keen to bring it forward for development, pending other housing sites being identified through the new Local Development Framework process.

In addition to the housing development, the Council continues to address problems of low demand in the older housing area in South Bank, through an ongoing Housing Renewal Strategy. Consultants in 2004 recommended demolition of the entire older housing area and an area of newer social housing to the north (1165 homes in total). However, the Council decided not to pursue this option, and adopted a more modest demolition plan (362 homes, in addition to 137 which had already been identified for demolition), funded by Housing Market Renewal funds and the Single Housing Investment Pot. It is meanwhile monitoring trends in the remaining stock. The map which follows shows the South Bank renewal area, marked for major investment to arrest decline, including clearance.

At the same time, consultants are drawing up masterplans for the constituent neighbourhoods within Greater Eston, including South Bank. These will identify potential development sites, including opportunities on the cleared sites in South Bank, which can then be tested with developers. New private development in South Bank or Grangetown would clearly contribute to more mix within these neighbourhoods, in addition to the new mixed community proposals for Low Grange.

SOUTH BANK RENEWAL PLAN

Legend



South Bank Renewal Area
- major investment to arrest decline
including clearance



Housing Retained



New Housing Development



Retail Centre



Health Village



Education
1. New primary school (PFI)
2. Secondary Schools
-1 new school (PFI)



Open Space/Leisure
1. Park & Leisure uses in restored environment
2. Sports Academy



Community Woodland

May 2005
not to scale
P:FHD57(B)



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Detail of Demonstration Project Plans

Housing and tenure mix

At present, housing plans relate only to South Bank and Low Grange, while a neighbourhood masterplan is being drawn up in Grangetown.

The **South Bank** plans at present are as follows:

- Completion of programme of acquisition and demolition of 138 properties in Costa St/Aire St/Salisbury St areas agreed in 2004
- Acquisition and demolition of 362 properties known as the Priority Area. These were originally designated as two phases: a first phase of 205 homes, and a second phase of 157. In practice, some acquisition in the second phase has been brought forward, and the Priority Area is regarded as a single programme.
- Monitor voids and investment in remaining properties
- Develop a neighbourhood masterplan identifying sites for possible development of different kinds and seek developer interest for building on these sites.

The first phase of demolition affects largely streets which have 75% or more empty properties, and aims to assemble coherent sites that might present redevelopment opportunities. Both phases include both privately owned and RSL properties.

As far as the retained stock is concerned, in both South Bank and Grangetown RSLs have plans to bring homes up to Decent Homes Standard but this is seen as an ongoing programme which is not particularly identified with the DP. There are no current plans for renewal programmes to assist private owners or private landlords to bring retained properties up to the Decent Homes standard.

Respondents acknowledge that the current plans for South Bank fall some way short of dealing with all of the housing problems in the neighbourhood. The future of the neighbourhood is still uncertain. There are no immediate plans, or funding, for more demolition, but nor are there firm plans for rebuilding, and it is not known whether population will stabilise or continue to decline. Making plans for housing investment in these circumstances is clearly problematic.

Progress on the demolition programme to date has been slower than hoped, partly because of the difficulties of finding absentee landlords and partly because of difficulties in finding suitable alternative property. House price rises in the area generally have meant slower turnover and higher demand for social housing, affecting options for relocatees from social housing and older owner-occupiers opting to go into social housing. To date properties have been acquired by agreement. The Council will consider whether Compulsory Purchase will be required in the future.

At Low Grange, the proposal is for new build of 900 homes. It is anticipated that the tenure mix will be a mix of private and affordable that meets local housing need, probably broadly in line with the national average of about 70% owner occupier and 30% affordable. This is, however, subject to negotiation, as is the number of homes in each

tenure built within different phases of the development. The homes are anticipated to be a mix of three, two and four bedroomed houses and some bungalows for elderly residents.

Barratt Homes already has development options on the part of the site owned by Lady Hewley Trust, and the Council will be seeking developers for the remainder of the site

The net effect of these developments over the next ten years will be a net gain of about 400 homes (less than 10% of the current stock), but a likely increase of 700 to 800 households, taking account of the fact that many of the homes being demolished are already empty. Current estimates of the tenure split in the new development and the tenure breakdown of the demolished homes suggest that the number of 'affordable' homes in the new development will roughly replace the number lost in social housing in the South Bank area. Thus there will not be a dramatic change in the tenure mix of the stock in the area, but it is anticipated that there more of the private sector stock will be occupied by owners (rather than being empty or rented) and there will be a greater range of private sector homes.

Other developments may also come forward over the period of the project if developer confidence can be built up and subject to planning decisions. These could include developments on the cleared sites at South Bank or on small sites within Grangetown where unpopular RSL stock could be replaced with mixed private and affordable developments.

Local authority and RSL respondents indicated that main aim is not to produce a mixed community per se, but to achieve a sustainable balance of housing supply and demand responding to housing need and aspirations. They emphasised housing mix (which would include greater diversity of tenure and prices) rather than specifying particular ingredients of household type mix, income mix or ethnic mix.

Are there any specific mechanisms other than house price and design, designed to control mix in the short of long term e.g. lettings policies, price caps, retention of equity by public sector?

Not at this stage.

Does mix require any displacement of existing residents? Who? By what mechanisms are their interests safeguarded (eg relocation packages, choice of alternative home)

Some residents have been, and are being, relocated from South Bank in order to enable demolition of the least popular terraces. This is not, however, 'displacement' in the sense that residents are being moved to make way for a mixed community : these homes are being demolished as part of a housing stock rationalisation to bring supply in line with demand and to improve neighbourhood conditions and reputation by removing

empty and vandalised properties. There are currently no other plans for relocations or displacement.

What effect is population change in the DP area expected to have on population mix in adjacent areas?

Respondents in our initial interviews are unsure of the effect of the Low Grange development on the existing neighbourhoods of South Bank and Grangetown or on other areas. Respondents tended to think that new private housing was likely to have little effect on the social housing sector, because house prices are likely to be out of range of social housing tenants. Some RSLs were concerned about new affordable housing supply, and emphasised the importance of close integration between new provision at Low Grange and stock reductions elsewhere.

The impact on the private housing markets in South Bank and Grangetown is not known: one possibility is that people will move from these neighbourhoods into Low Grange, or that the new supply at Low Grange will further undermine demand in South Bank in particular. Another is the markets will effectively be separate, with the new, more expensive housing at Low Grange appealing to a different constituency than the cheaper, older housing at South Bank. Respondents emphasised the need to monitor the impact of the new development.

In the light of the extensive housing market renewal taking place elsewhere in the Tees Valley, the need for better information about flows into and out of new developments, and the extent of movement between Boroughs, was also emphasised.

How is it intended that the design of new developments will contribute to mixed community objectives for example, social networks between owners and renters?

The project is not yet at this stage.

Service improvements

The DP plans include a range of improvements to public and private sector services and facilities. These include:

- a Health Village for the Greater Eston Area at the Low Grange site
- a new district shopping centre and community facilities next to the health village
- better public transport links to serve the new development, and a pedestrian and cycle network

In addition, there have been other recent improvements to facilities, perhaps most particularly a programme of improvements to school buildings. Beech Grove and Cromwell Rd primaries in South Bank have already been amalgamated (2006) into the new South Bank primary school in a new PFI building, and the buildings of Gillbrook technology college have been replaced under another PFI deal. There are plans for a new 14-19 centre revolving around Eston Park, Gillbrook and Nunthorpe secondary school.

At this stage, DP plans for service delivery in the new community are less clear. These could be expected to take shape once masterplans are in place and it becomes clearer what kind of households are likely to be living where, with what impact on service needs (including youth and community services, family support and other long term preventive services) and who will be responsible for housing and area management. It is not yet clear whether the mixed community will generate greater needs for some services (some respondents particularly highlighted the need for strong neighbourhood management), or less need for others (for example family support or policing of anti-social behaviour). It is also not clear at this stage how service improvements might be tailored to support mechanisms of social mix, for example what kinds of community development activities or practices in schools and youth organisations will be needed to facilitate mix of different social groups or maximize use of local facilities by higher income groups.

Measures to attract jobs into the area or connect residents to job opportunities in the wider labour market

As mentioned earlier, the DP itself does not have plans for economic development on a large scale, although it does hope to benefit from anticipated developments at Teesport and in the renewables sector. Current schemes already in operation (Job Connect and Routes 2 Employment) are planned to continue along with the creation of the South Tees Vocational Skills Centre. The DP is investigating the establishment of a new social enterprise.

Time line

The table below summarises the key stages in relation to South Bank and to the development at Low Grange Farm and the Greater Eston Strategy as a whole. Key points to note are:

- The lengthy ongoing demolition programme at South Bank. Demolition has been continuing since the 1990s. Each phase of between one and two hundred homes takes between two and four years to acquire and demolish, with an ongoing trickle of people into other properties in South Bank and elsewhere.
- The lengthy consultation and planning processes.

- The overall length of the development programme (probably about nine years of building at a rate of about 100 homes per year). Only the first phase of development (perhaps 100 homes) is likely to be completed in the period covered by this evaluation.

	South Bank	Low Grange Farm
2001	Ongoing demolition work as part of SRB programme, and consultation (2003/4) on South Bank Housing Renewal Strategy.	Initiation of Greater Eston Strategy
2002		Appointment of Project Director
2003		Consultation on Greater Eston Strategy
2004	November?: Consultants report on South Bank Housing Renewal	Publication of Greater Eston Sustainable Communities Plan
2005	Continuing consultation on renewal strategy. Meanwhile, Council acquires properties for demolition in worst streets (Costa/Salisbury).	
2006	April: Council decides on limited further demolition plan (362 homes, in two phases). Continued acquisition in Costa/Salisbury	
2007	Demolition of Costa/Salisbury.	Submission of LDF core strategy for approval. Work begins on masterplan. Expected first planning applications for building at Low Grange
2008	Acquisition demolition in Priority Area. Potential planning applications/ building on cleared sites?	Building at Low Grange (probably at rate of about 100 homes per year, through to about 2016)
2009	Acquisition and demolition in Priority Area. Potential building on cleared sites?	
2010	Potential building on cleared sites.	
Beyond 2010	Potential building on cleared sites.	

Process Issues

Governance Structure

The mixed communities demonstration project is the responsibility of the RCBC Chief Executive's Department under the **leadership** of the Greater Eston Project Director. There is a coordinating group known as the Greater Eston Management Board which involves representation from Cabinet and local elected members, the community and other stakeholders. The principal decision-making body is the local authority (Cabinet). The Greater Eston Project Director also reports to the Housing Partnership of the LSP.

Masterplan

Planning Framework

At this stage, a masterplan as such is not in place. Work is proceeding within the overall framework of the Greater Eston Sustainable Communities Plan, and the Council's renewal plan for South Bank. The approval of the LDF Core Strategy in July 2007 provides the overall planning framework for the Low Grange development. A draft Supplementary Planning Guidance which sets out the development and design guidelines was published for consultation in July 2007 and the consultation period finished in September. Meanwhile, consultants are currently working on a strategic masterplan for neighbourhoods in Greater Eston.

The future approach is not yet decided. One option would be for these masterplans to continue to exist as planning documents and not to take on the status of 'masterplans' which commit partners to delivery of an agreed approach. In this model, the Council would respond to planning applications (in line with the SPG) and negotiate S106 agreements to secure investment in affordable housing and infrastructure. Another option would be to secure the commitment of the landowners, selected developers and key agencies to a joint venture agreement, adopting an integrated approach in line with the SPG, with agreement on the overall development value and outputs, and detailed agreements on the housing and retail elements, incorporating defined outputs on affordable housing provision, energy efficiency, employment creation and so on. Such an approach could be adopted in relation only to Low Grange, or separately to each of the neighbourhoods, or for the area as a whole. One key factor would be the attractiveness to developers of combining or separating the different elements.

Funding

The stage of the development and the stage of the planning process means that there is not at this stage a formally adopted overall funding plan, with committed contributions from different partners. Issues for the later stages for the development, such as the

extent to which asset or equity stakes will be retained in the public sector or how subsequent incomes from land value uplift or rental incomes will be divided between partners are obviously all still to be decided.

The overall cost of the project is estimated at over £200 m. By far the largest proportion of this will be met by private sector investment. However, there will be a continuing need for public sector funding for housing renewal and to pump-prime private investment.

Resident involvement and Consultations

Residents in South Bank have been extensively consulted on the housing renewal strategy, through a variety of mechanisms including a door-to-door survey. Currently, ongoing consultation takes place through regular meetings of a South Bank Housing Strategy Steering Group, comprising representatives of the different resident groups, and social landlords, other public agencies and elected members. There are two community representatives on the Greater Eston Management Board. These are currently drawn from the borough-wide community network. Further consideration is being given to ways of ensuring a more local representative structure.

Consultation is not easy in this area. The area has a highly disadvantaged population and high levels of transience, alongside a long history of 'regeneration', plans and consultation. There are a number of small residents groups, represented by well-known individual activists, mainly from the older generation, but these groups have not been able to develop a common voice or mobilise widespread involvement. There tends to be low participation in consultation events. Resident representatives whom we interviewed reported a certain amount of 'consultation fatigue', mainly arising not from too much consultation, but from a desire to see action taken more quickly. Long term uncertainty over plans has led to a degree of cynicism and mistrust about the Council's intentions for the neighbourhood. The creation of South Bank Tomorrow, a successor to the SRB Community Forum, may potentially help to engage more people and develop a more cohesive and influential voice for residents.

Residents in South Bank to whom we spoke were not aware of their area's involvement in the mixed communities initiative as a demonstration project. They tended to think that a mixed community approach in South Bank itself would be a good idea in principle, and that it might work, since South Bank was already a town which had enjoyed a mix of households, land uses, and to a certain extent, incomes. There were cleared sites in which more expensive homes could be built. Residents, and some professionals, were less confident of the success of a mixed community approach in a new development at Low Grange, because they thought that people buying relatively expensive homes in a new development would want exclusivity, and would not expect to live next door to social housing tenants. In both cases, respondents suggested that strong neighbourhood management would be an important success factor for mixed communities.

Monitoring

A formal monitoring strategy has not yet been adopted in relation to the scheme as a whole, either in relation to the collection of outcome data or regular monitoring of outputs.

The Housing Renewal Strategy at South Bank is closely monitored, with regular reporting of progress on acquisitions for demolition, checking of voids levels in the retained streets, and monitoring of house sales and prices (since summer 06). A general schedule of who owns properties in the area is kept by the renewal team.¹ Periodic surveys of homes outside the clearance area are being undertaken to ascertain stock condition and attitudes towards investment in property. Street committees have also been established by the Renewal Team and South Bank Tomorrow, to ensure regular feedback from residents about the renewal process.

Some data is collected on people who are relocated from the clearance areas – namely their length of residence, household composition, employment, benefit and savings position, and any medical conditions affecting housing or extra care or support needs. The address of first relocation is also known, as well as the price paid by the Council to acquire the home and the value of any relocation assistance.

¹ This is not necessarily complete, since properties may change hands without the renewal team knowing, but will be essentially accurate given the current levels of housing market activity. The schedule is continually updated, so it cannot be accessed retrospectively.

Commentary from Evaluation Team:

Theory of Change

The various developments at Greater Eston are related in complex ways and appear to incorporate a number of different theories of change. The Greater Eston strategy as a whole reflects an original commitment to the idea that the individual neighbourhoods have experienced such significant decline that not only is conventional urban regeneration not a viable strategy, but transforming the neighbourhoods individually is no longer possible. Re-orienting the whole area around a new growth pole represents a transformative strategy of a new order – the creation of a brand new mixed community with improved facilities and services, mixed housing and mixed use, and better connectivity to new economic developments in the area. A ‘retail magnet’ in the form of the new district centre, is an element of these plans. A new theory may also be emerging among some resident stakeholders that South Bank could be regenerated by an injection of new private housing, changing the reputation of the area and creating beneficial mix effects as well as cross subsidy for area improvements, at the same time as re-orientation of the neighbourhood around the Low Grange growth pole.

Underpinning these plans, it does appear that a neighbourhood effects theory seems to be in place, at least among some stakeholders who expressed views that the long term concentrated poverty and poor reputation of the area inhibited individuals life chances and the chances of area recovery. However, the emphasis is on reversing a cycle of decline that has created extreme non-mix and associated problems, rather than on delivering an optimum mix because of its purported positive benefits. Demand for the new community is reported to be likely to come from latent housing demand within the area or neighbouring areas, for modern but modestly priced homes, rather than from newcomers wanting expensive housing. Specific goals for optimum tenure mix are not set out in their own right – the aim is to meet local housing need and demand. Ideal forms of income mix, household type mix or ethnic mix were not mentioned to us by any respondents in initial interviews. Specific mechanisms by which positive area effects will arise from mix (e.g role model effects, reduced demand for services) are not set out. Given the early stages of the development, the service delivery implications of the programme are not yet clearly articulated.

A complicating factor in understanding the drivers of change in this DP is that the Low Grange site has long been earmarked for housing development to meet household projections. Improving and diversifying the housing stock in Greater Eston through this development is a means towards the ends of meeting housing need and preventing population loss in the Borough as a whole, not simply a regeneration strategy for the disadvantaged neighbourhoods of South Bank and Grangetown.

Key Research Questions

Remedies:

- Can a level of developer confidence be created to enable the regeneration of the South Bank older housing area as a mixed community with new private building on the cleared sites? If so, what level of additional public sector funding would be necessary, and can be secured, for demolition and site assembly and to sustain service delivery in the area?

Change Processes:

- Whether the housing market is sufficiently strong over a sustained period to maintain developer interest, generate sufficient receipts to enable the delivery of the entire programme, and provide sustainable owner-occupation with a mixed population in the longer term.
- Whether social housing allocations can be managed order to ensure that the social housing in the new area does not become residualised, and whether, in the event of large scale displacement of residents from South Bank to Low Grange, whether neighbourhood management arrangements and service improvements can be put in place to prevent the repetition of current problems.
- The effect of modern, affordable housing at Low Grange on housing demand in the retained stock in South Bank.
- The effect of new private housing, and modern affordable housing at Low Grange on social housing demand in the wider area.
- The effect on demand for new housing in this area of other developments and demolitions in the Tees Valley.

Outcomes:

- Whether low income residents benefit from direct measures to connect them to wider labour markets, or ultimately from 'mix' effects

Proposed Evaluation Strategy

The evaluation strategy for this DP needs to recognise three key issues:

- The project is in its early stages. The first phase of the evaluation to summer 2009 is likely to incorporate the completion only of the first phase of demolition at South Bank and the building of about 100 new homes at Low Grange.
- The whole development is likely to take place at a rate of about 100 homes per year, meaning that effects on outcomes are likely to be gradual and difficult to attribute entirely to the actions of the DP.
- The importance of inter-relationships between developments within the DP area, and between the DP area and the wider borough and sub-region. It will not be

helpful to assess outcomes of the Low Grange development without observing its impact on South Bank, Grangetown and other areas, or the impacts of developments in other areas on this development.

The table below shows the proposed evaluation strategy, in relation to the key questions posed

Question	Approach
Developer confidence in South Bank and funding implications	<p>Interviews:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DP project director + any other Borough staff involved in direct negotiations with developers • South Bank Renewal Team Manager • Any developers who have been involved in negotiations • Chair, South Bank Tomorrow • Chair of Housing Strategy Steering Group • RCBC Head of Housing <p>Documentary evidence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighbourhood masterplans • Planning applications and building control records
Management of social housing allocations in new social housing	<p>Depending on progress of development, this may not be relevant until 2008/9 or beyond.</p> <p>Interviews:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RSLs with new properties at Low Grange Farm • New residents and front line workers at Low Grange Farm re service provision neighbourhood problems <p>Data:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic and household characteristics of arriving households (CORE data if possible at LSOA level, also RSLs) • HMR dataset re neighbourhood conditions (see note)
Effect of new build on housing demand in retained stock in South Bank	<p>Depending on progress of development, this may not be relevant until 2008/9 or beyond.</p> <p>Interviews:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Renewal Team Manager • RSLs <p>Data:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • House sales (land registry + local monitoring) • Numbers of bids for choice-based lettings (RSL) • RSL voids data and numbers of new lets • Renewal Team register of voids
Effect of new homes on social housing demand in	<p>Depending on progress of development, this may not be relevant until 2008/9 or beyond.</p>

wider area	Interviews: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • RSLs Data (for smaller neighbourhoods within wider area) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mean void period (CORE) • Number of times offered since last let (CORE) • RSL lettings and voids data as above
Effect of other developments and demolitions in Tees Valley on demand for new housing in area	Interviews: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • HMR Director • Developers in DP area • RSLs • Senior Planning Officer Data: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning and building control records for Tees Valley authorities • Housing market indicators across Tees Valley (incl HMR database)

Note:

The Tees Valley Living HMR dataset has been developed to monitor housing market and neighbourhood conditions across the Tees Valley and is compiled by the Tees Valley Joint Strategy Unit for Tees Valley Living. Sub-ward neighbourhoods have been created, and a range of indicators is being compiled including demographics, benefit data, education, health and employment data, crime data, vacancies and stock condition. At present (July 2007), much of the data has not yet been prepared. For very local monitoring the data will be less useful because the retained stock in South Bank, the Redcar Rd East estate and the Low Grange site are all included in the same sub-neighbourhood.

However, the dataset clearly offers the potential for cross-Tees Valley monitoring (where the evaluation team could possibly complement JSU's work) and for avoiding duplication of effort, especially in data collection. We intend to make maximum use of this data as it develops.

References

Greater Eston – Sustainable Communities Plan (2005) DTZ Peida Consulting

Redcar and Cleveland Borough Council (RCBC) (July 2005) Low Grange Masterplan: submission for housing market renewal funds.

South Bank Housing Renewal Plan (2004) Nathaniel Lichfield and Partners

Tees Valley City Region Development Programme, May 2005