



Challenges, Interventions and Change:

An overview of Neighbourhood Renewal in Six New Deal for Communities areas



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABI	Area Based Initiative
ALMO	Arms-Length Management Organisations
ASB	Anti-Social Behaviour
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CE/CEO	Chief Executive/Chief Executive Officer
DAAT	Drug and Alcohol Action Teams
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
EU	European Union
FE	Further Education
FTE	Full time equivalent
GOWM	Government Office for the West Midlands
GOYH	Government Office for Yorkshire and the Humber
HMRP	Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder
HPE	Housing and physical environment
LA	Local Authority
LAA	Local Area Agreement
LEA	Local Education Authority
LEGI	Local Enterprise Growth Initiative
LNP	Local Neighbourhood Partnership
LSC	Learning and Skills Council
LSP	Local Strategic Partnership
MBC	Metropolitan Borough Council
NRF	Neighbourhood Renewal Fund
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
PCT	Primary Care Trust
PMF	Performance Management Framework
RDA	Regional Development Agency
RSL	Registered Social Landlord
SDRC	Social Disadvantage Research Centre
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
VCS	Voluntary Community Sector
YIP	Youth Inclusion Programme

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Introduction

The New Deal for Communities (NDC) Programme was launched in 1998 and is a flagship component to the government's National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (NSNR).

In 2005 the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, later Communities and Local Government, commissioned CRESR and its partners to carry out the second phase of a national evaluation of the Programme. During Phase 2 a greater emphasis is to be placed on work in six case study NDC areas in order to:

- understand better why and how change is occurring in these areas
- explore relationships between interventions and outcomes at the local level
- identify why and how successful neighbourhood renewal occurs in these six areas
- disseminate key lessons arising from case study evidence.

Case study work raises a number of well-known **methodological issues**. In particular there can be problems in generalising from a relatively small number of case studies. However, case study work is a useful vehicle for understanding **why and how** changes are occurring at the local level and to **highlight their relevance to the wider neighbourhood renewal community**.

The six case study NDC areas are Bradford, Knowsley, Lambeth, Newcastle, Newham and Walsall. These were **selected** for a number of reasons including ensuring an appropriate regional distribution and the importance of having a sensible spread in relation to key socio-demographic variables such as ethnicity and tenure.

This is the first output from the case study strand of work to the national evaluation. It is intended to:

- provide a **largely factual overview** of these six areas and their Partnerships
- identify **change in these neighbourhoods**
- explore **debates impacting on delivery**.

As such it should be seen as a source document providing a key building block to inform more detailed work in these six neighbourhoods. It sits alongside the first in the thematic case study reports; 'Delivering Safer Neighbourhoods: Experiences from the NDC programme' and 'Exploring displacement of crime or diffusion of benefit: evidence from the NDC programme'.

2. The Six Case Study Areas: Defining Deprivation

There is considerable **variation across these six areas**, and they are **changing** in different ways. For example between 1999 and 2005 three lost and three gained population, and whereas owner occupation rose eight percentage points in Knowsley between 2002 and 2006, it fell two points in Lambeth.

In diagnosing the **causes of deprivation** in their locality, NDCs and their partner agencies point to the impact of three **inter-related** factors

- (i) *economic rationalisation and decline***: probably represents the single most significant force in defining deprivation in these areas; most of these areas have a traditional **dependence on manufacturing** and they tend not to **benefit from new economic opportunities** as much as other parts of city regions.
- (ii) *deprivation and socio-demographic change***: these are **relatively deprived neighbourhoods**, although especially in London they are not necessarily the most disadvantaged neighbourhood **within their local authority district**.
- (iii) *governance and institutional factors***: these areas have been subject to a range of previous government interventions; there can be little doubt that there is a widespread **perception** that such initiatives have generally proved of limited value; whether justified or not, there is a strong sense of resentment towards the 'council' based on its apparent failure to deliver services or to reverse the engines of decline; local problems have also been exacerbated by housing management and allocation policies which have led some areas to see a continuing decline in the quality of the physical stock, creating an over-preponderance of tenants with social, health and economic problems; and there is an almost universal view that most previous regeneration initiatives within NDC areas have failed: *'the more experience we had of an old programme the worse we were at dealing with a new one..'*;

3. Strategies and Interventions

WHAT DRIVES STRATEGIC CHANGE?

In some instances the driving mechanism revolves around aspects of **human or social capital** such as a perceived need to address issues of education and perhaps particularly jobs and skills, which are generally seen as underpinning other dimensions to deprivation. In other cases the primary driving focus has been placed on improving the physical environment, particularly through major **housing refurbishment proposals**.

HOW, AND WHY, DO STRATEGIES EVOLVE?

Strategies evolve for a number of **pragmatic reasons** such as deficiencies in original Delivery Plans, and more recently an increasing focus on sustainability. But there is evidence too of more **visionary thinking**. In Newcastle the intention was that the early emphasis on stressing positive social change, in relation to issues such as attacking local criminality, would be followed up by investment in capital projects and physical improvements in order to improve the housing offer, stabilise population churn and *'help lock in the transformation of the area to date'*. In Bradford the long term strategy has been based on the assumption that as NDC overall spend declined through time, this would be balanced out by increases in neighbourhood management expenditure and resources arising from partnership working pursued by the NDC.

INTERVENTIONS AND OUTCOMES AREAS

Total spend (NDC and matched funding) to 2005-06 varies from over £50m in Newcastle to £28m in Lambeth, the latter figure reflecting the likely end loading of spend arising from major redevelopment proposals. In relation to outcome areas, most has been spent on housing and the environment, least on health and crime. These case studies have each supported between about 110 and 170 projects. Levels of match funding from other agencies vary considerably.

CROSS THEME LINKAGES

A number of factors have tended to inhibit **cross theme** working:

- pressures to deliver and spend can mean an emphasis is placed on the implementation of 'orthodox', but perhaps somewhat unimaginative, interventions rather than a more measured consideration of how to maximise cross theme benefits
- many projects are carried out in conjunction with agencies which tend themselves to have specific rather than cross theme remits
- NDCs have tended to employ theme specialists driving change through outcome specific 'sub-committees'.

More thinking is now occurring in relation to cross theme benefits because of:

- the **implementation of specific interventions:** in Knowsley external improvements to owner-occupied properties has helped the appearance of the area, and also impacted on crime and community safety through creating defensible space and getting vehicles off the road
- **neighbourhood management:** is seen as inherently likely to enhance cross theme working in that such schemes are intentionally set up in order to address a range of issues impacting on the local communities

- **capital investment:** in Newham, the NDC has achieved cross theme linkages by helping to create resource centres designed to provide high quality community facilities; accommodate a range of service providers; promote cross theme working through bringing together different health, training and other service providers within the same complex; and generate rental streams to sustain renewal through time
- **internal processes:** such as the employment of generic programme managers more likely to see linkages across themes and interventions.

SEQUENCING OF INTERVENTIONS

There is varied experience in relation to the sequencing of interventions. Key lessons include:

- quick wins especially in crime and liveability are worthwhile, providing they are rapidly followed up by more substantive schemes
- it is easy to underestimate the time and costs involved in building up community capacity
- there needs to be simultaneous driving forward of policies to improve the area, with initiatives designed to address person-based outcomes in areas such as education, jobs and health
- unless changes to the area and its environment are made, improving the lot of individuals is likely to accentuate the out-flow of relatively less disadvantaged individuals and households.

4. Delivering Neighbourhood Renewal

STAFFING AND MANAGEMENT

The day to day operation and activities of the NDCs are undertaken through teams of staff including senior managers and those with thematic expertise, backed up by appropriate administrative support. Typically most staff are technically employed by the Accountable Body, the local authority, but work for the Partnership.

In relation to staffing:

- staff employed through Management and Admin budgets varies from 19 to six
- the proportion of female staff varies from over three-quarters to a third
- BME employees range from less than 10 per cent to nearly 60 per cent.

Most maintain a full staffing complement and do not have problems with either turnover or recruitment. Those that are contemplating staffing changes foresee a reduction in their overall complement. In four there has been a pattern of **employment stability**, notably in relation to the post of Chief Executive.

Most of these six NDCs are engaged in most local evaluation activities.

GOVERNANCE

All six are companies limited by guarantee and two are also charities. Two more plan to register as charities in the next three years.

Ultimate authority for the implementation of the Delivery Plans lies with **Partnership Boards**, which vary in membership from 16 to 38.

All six have used **elections** for residents Board representative, although there is a mixed picture in relation to their frequency; turnout rates have varied considerably.

Partnerships have put in place various **‘thematic’ governance arrangements** in order to support the strategic functions of Boards.

These Partnerships have implemented a range of **equality and diversity policies**, some across all functions.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE ACCOUNTABLE BODY

The local authority is the Accountable Body in all six case studies, a relationship usually governed by some form of signed agreement. The Accountable Body is the legal entity nominated by Partnerships to take responsibility for the receipt and use of NDC Grant and the realisation of the Delivery Plan.

5. NDC Level Change: 2001-02 to 2005-06

Change does not necessarily reflect the ‘performance’ of individual Partnerships. It may occur for a range of reasons including developments in the wider context, the role of other delivery agencies, and the impact of other ABIs.

Relationships between interventions and spend, on the one hand, and any associated outcomes, on the other, are not always clear. There does appear to be some relationship between investment in worklessness interventions and associated outcomes. This seems plausible: investing in training, job mentoring, and other labour supply initiatives may well impact on employment and worklessness rates. But in other themes such as health and education there does not **at this stage** appear to be any direct read off from spend to change.

In relation to change data **key headlines** include:

- all six outperformed **national trends** in at least half of the 15 instances where it is possible to assess NDC area level change against national benchmarks; Bradford and Newcastle exceeded national equivalents in 13 of these 15
- Bradford, Walsall and Knowsley outperformed **NDC Programme wide averages** in at least 10 of 18 indicators; the two London case study areas have not performed especially well against Programme wide averages, but it may well be that further work carried out in 2007 points to there being a 'London effect': the most appropriate benchmarks against which to assess change in Lambeth and Newham may be those based on the 10 London NDCs as a whole
- all six areas have **closed the gaps with their parent local authorities** in at least two of five key indicators: Newcastle has closed the gaps in all five instances
- for three of six key indicators, at least four case study NDC areas showed more positive change than that occurring in their **comparator areas**: crime rates; house prices; and Key Stage 4 results: Newham saw more positive change than did its comparator for five of these six indicators, Bradford and Lambeth, four.

Detailed case study work can help '**contextualise**' **change data**. For instance:

- there is widespread sentiment that improving local environmental standards, and introducing crime reduction initiatives and neighbourhood management schemes have helped improve 'place based outcomes' such as fear and incidence of crime and attitudes towards the area
- local knowledge can be vital in understanding change data: a small number of offenders released into communities can for instance have marked impacts on local crime rates
- relationships between 'people based interventions' in areas such as worklessness, health and education and any associated outcomes remain cloudy: these relationships are being explored by looking at what happened to those who stayed in NDC areas between 2002 and 2006 ('the NDC panel') compared with those who stayed in the comparator areas during this period (this analysis will be available later in 2008)
- to varying degrees, all six areas will benefit from housing refurbishment proposals; such schemes will in turn impact on the size and composition of local populations and, in all probability, on the nature and trajectory of change: it is quite possible that the rate of change in these areas will increase substantially as housing refurbishment schemes come on stream many of which will increase the proportion of owner-occupiers in these six neighbourhoods.

6. Issues and Dilemmas in Neighbourhood Renewal

MARKET AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS

There is a general agreement that renewing these areas will require interventions to be pursued over, at least, the Programme's 10 year horizon. Market trends and institutional structures change over such a time period. Some of this may well turn out to be beneficial. But some forces have tended to inhibit or delay progress including changes in public sector budgets, new or evolving institutional processes, local political change, new governing structures, and the creation of entirely new organisations and funding streams.

Probably the most pressing of 'contextual issues' is that nexus of questions surrounding **population churn, immigration and housing**. This complex arena is driven by a range of considerations including:

- a substantial proportion of the existing population wants to move out or intends to leave
- 'new populations' are also moving into these areas: in four instances more than a quarter of residents have lived in the area for less than three years; this scale of churn may make it harder for NDCs to achieve some outcomes
- at the same time house prices are rising sharply in most of these areas; if this in turn leads to more stable, 'better off' populations, this could alternatively help achieve outcomes
- but if tenure patterns and house prices continue to change, the traditional role played by at least some of these areas of providing cheaper, and/or more accessible, housing may be weakened.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH AGENCIES

NDCs engage with other agencies in an **intensive and continuing** manner:

- all six engage 'significantly' with at least seven agencies
- all six engage significantly with the police, the local PCT and the LEA
- engagement with some agencies notably the LSC, but also with Connexions and the RDA is more limited
- relationships are best with agencies with which NDCs engage the most.

But relationships between partner agencies and NDCs do not always run smoothly:

- partnership working involves substantial and continuing transaction costs
- there can be a rapid turnover of senior partner agency staff
- not all NDCs are convinced that agencies fully appreciate or are entirely at ease with the 'NDC model'.

Relationships with local authorities remain central to what NDCs are trying to do. There have been tensions at times but in general relationships have undoubtedly improved:

- as Accountable Bodies, authorities have tended increasingly towards a *'letting us get on with it'* approach
- authorities are tending to work more collaboratively with NDCs
- changes in local authority personnel can be vital
- local authority officers, working within NDC theme groups or sub-committees can be absolutely fundamental in driving forward delivery and change.

As a group these NDCs **overlap with at least 14 other ABIs**. Newcastle and Newham have overlapping boundaries with nine other ABIs. These case study NDCs are most positive about engagement with Neighbourhood Wardens schemes, Sure Start and YIPs.

ENGAGING COMMUNITIES

Evidence from these case studies points to complexities surrounding the 'community dimension' including:

- maintaining the interests of different constituencies
- conflict between residents and both agencies and local authorities, and also amongst different communities or constituencies
- territorial conflict and abrasiveness can be driven in part by racial tensions
- community engagement is an uncertain process
- these are deprived areas often previously bereft of community infrastructure and resources.

However, there remains a strong and persistent belief that community engagement is what neighbourhood renewal is about:

- key players in NDCs have spent many years in regeneration: they tend strongly to the view that whatever the drawbacks with ‘the community being at the heart of the Programme’, the alternative is worse
- community conflict can be rewarding in helping to identify choices, revealing who the real losers are, and reinforcing the importance of bringing benefits to all residents
- the community has huge resources
- residents know their area.

DELIVERING SERVICES

(i) Education: a number of considerations can inhibit delivery:

- post 11 pupils in NDC areas attend a wide range of schools
- education reorganisation can lead NDC pupils to be further distanced from new, often larger, secondary schools or ‘academies’
- head teachers are powerful players whose driving focus tends to be on achieving national targets rather than on any explicit neighbourhood renewal objectives
- a cultural antipathy towards learning on the part of some parents.

Key lessons include:

- it is easier to work with primary schools which are more embedded in the local neighbourhood than organise effective interventions for post 11 pupils
- small scale projects are often well received: modest capital grants, funds for assistants, initiatives to retain staff in areas of high turnover, and so on
- it is easier to work with the grain of national policy, elements of which have clear and positive neighbourhood level implications, including the extended hours initiative and the potential role of schools as community hubs
- the planned roll out of 2,500 Children’s Centres by 2008 will in any event transform the interface between neighbourhood renewal and educational facilities and attainment levels.

(ii) Health projects can be inhibited by:

- relationships with local health agencies are not always easy; PCTs continue to be affected by financial and institutional flux

- health has attracted least community interest
- projects may last for relatively short periods

Key lessons include:

- the central importance of engaging with the local PCT which will inevitably play a key role in helping to design, fund and conceivably mainstream activities
- the need to ensure all partners are aware of both the scale of health problems but also the time horizons which will be needed to shift ultimate outcomes such as mortality and morbidity
- the acceptance that whilst ‘health centres’ may not have any immediate impact on health outcomes, they are widely seen by local residents as improving the volume and quality of local services.

(iii) Delivering crime initiatives can be inhibited by:

- tensions between national police priorities (say to reduce burglary) and what tend to be local priorities: anti-social behaviour and drug-related crime
- improving crime rates in NDCs may conceivably displace criminal activity to surrounding areas
- the continuing and very localised impact of ‘criminal families’ living in NDC areas
- unresolved issues arising from drug use, dealing and related crime.

Key lessons include:

- the value of early wins
- ensuring an appropriate balance between initiatives designed to reduce fear of crime (such as PCSOs) and those designed to reduce actual crime including targeting hot spots
- employing any additional policing resources in a flexible manner
- looking to other ‘models’ for reducing crime: educating and employing ex-offenders, building resilience in the community, youth diversion initiatives, and schemes to ‘design-out’ crime.

(iv) Worklessness schemes can be inhibited by:

- too little scope to implement sizeable demand side interventions at the neighbourhood level
- difficulty in accessing LSC funds and initiatives

- most economic development agencies work to sub-regional or regional targets
- negative attitudes on the part of some residents towards training and employment: ‘cultural’ barriers tend to cement patterns of worklessness
- residents face *‘diverse multiple barriers when seeking employment’*
- reorganisations of Jobcentre Plus can lead to a physical distancing between NDC residents and appropriate services
- mental health issues can have a major role in affecting levels of worklessness; but joint work with local PCTs is not always possible because of budget constraints and organisational changes in the health sector
- doubts as to whether neighbourhood based-interventions such as NDCs can realistically hope to tackle worklessness, given lack of influence over the local labour market.

Key lessons include:

- the critical importance of linking into existing supply and demand side agencies and expertise
- a probable focus on locally delivered supply side initiatives providing intensive, dedicated, continuing support to individuals and households in order to help them overcome a myriad of problems constraining engagement within the wider job market
- ensuring practical barriers are addressed notably the provision of child minding facilities
- if demand side initiatives are to be considered, the most appropriate approaches are likely to focus on small scale changes to the physical environment and local infrastructure.

(v) Housing and the physical environment programmes can be inhibited by:

- once stock transfers votes are won and refurbishment ‘companies’ established, there can be teething problems between what the existing NDCs does and the ‘housing plus’ activities undertaken by the new refurbishment agency
- NDCs are largely reliant on other organisations such as local authorities and ALMOs to achieve Decent Homes standards
- NDCs are likely to have relatively marginal impacts on standards in the owner-occupied or private rented sectors, although they can help through for example working with other agencies to carry out demolition and rebuild programmes, facelifts, and so on.

Key lessons include:

- neighbourhood warden and/or neighbourhood management schemes are widely seen as cost-effective vehicles through which to address a range of local issues, engage communities, improve service responsiveness, and sustain a neighbourhood level tier of support once NDC funding ceases
- NDCs are not in a position to undertake major physical redevelopment schemes: but they can act as facilitators helping to co-ordinate other organisations; organise masterplanning exercises; lobby for stock transfer votes; inform the detailed planning of major schemes; and help establish 'housing refurbishment companies' through which to sustain improvements in neighbourhood level services once NDC funding ceases.

INTERNAL PROCESSES

NDCs and partner agencies consider improved processes can drive forward change. In relation to **staffing**:

- employing 'good people' leading to effective and capable staff and senior management teams
- maintaining a robust and consistent staffing base
- basing staffing structures on a mix of senior expertise: a more 'visionary CE' together with an effective programme manager.

Systems can improve delivery:

- robust project monitoring and evaluation systems can help NDCs to inform, reflect and review
- evaluation strategies can inform strategic decision making
- PMF may assist delivery because it makes key players focus on spend, outcomes and interventions.

SUSTAINING CHANGE

Three of the six case studies have an exit strategy in place and all will have one within a year. Strategies tend to encompass:

- new modes of governance
- the building up of community assets to provide longer term funding streams

- working with other mainstream agencies in order to sustain activity in the longer run
- NDCs embedding themselves within, and in turn benefiting from, new institutional arrangements including LSPs and LAAs.

7. The Six NDC Case Studies: Concluding Observations

THE 'LOCAL' MATTERS

These six areas vary considerably with respect to a wide range of 'framing parameters' including:

- the intensity, mix and evolution of problems impacting on these neighbourhoods and their residents
- the scale of recent economic and demographic change which can either enhance opportunities or alternatively impose further 'costs' on local Partnerships
- the institutional and governance landscapes within which NDCs operate.

Initial case study work confirms the view that effective regeneration and renewal policies have to be firmly embedded in the 'local context'. The exact role which national, or indeed regional, government should play in defining neighbourhood level strategies remains unclear. But it seems most appropriate to assume it should be 'light touch'.

RENEWAL IS INTENSIVE, DEMANDING AND TIME CONSUMING

This is perhaps the most ambitious ABI ever launched anywhere. But the Programme highlights the complexities inherent to intensive neighbourhood level renewal:

- Partnerships can take many years to work out optimal, in some instances workable, relationships with all relevant agencies and the Accountable Body
- because Partnerships are engaged in change across so many outcomes, this of necessity will involve them in creating and sustaining positive relationships across, what can be a formidable, array of delivery agencies
- processes inherent to setting up and sustaining renewal delivery agencies are in one sense never fully 'signed-off' with the Partnership then moving onto more critical issues of delivery; agencies change, new funding mechanisms emerge, key agency contacts move on, community representatives leave: it is a treadmill

- engaging with communities is widely seen as essential; but it **may** be associated with real and continuing ‘costs’.

The more ambitious the renewal programme the more complex will be the ‘processes’ involved in establishing, maintaining and nurturing effective renewal delivery agencies.

SUCCESSFUL RENEWAL TAKES TIME, BUT THE WORLD MOVES ON

Interventions are easier to implement, and probably culminate in more obvious outcomes, in periods of **relative** ‘market and institutional stability’. However, this Programme has been implemented in a period of perhaps unprecedented change. In this context how:

- if at all, should NDCs respond to new agencies, funding mechanisms or emerging policy issues?
- can they always conceivably respond to the needs of what may be dramatically changing local populations?
- can they assist local residents in maximising new economic benefits which may be occurring in the wider city-region?

LIMITS ON NEIGHBOURHOOD RENEWAL

NDCs should be assessed by **what they can plausibly achieve**. They are relatively well funded compared with previous ABIs. However:

- overall NDC resources amount to about £100 per person, per theme, per year
- other agencies, processes and funding mechanisms may well be more important in defining change than will NDCs
- there is no comprehensive evidence base which NDCs, or indeed any other renewal agency, can employ which will inevitably move Partnerships from known baseline problems to realistic ten year outcome targets through the implementation of a specific suite of interventions
- demographic trends are creating a situation whereby those who are more likely to help achieve person based outcomes are leaving NDC areas to be replaced by those imposing more demands on NDCs and other agencies.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL EVALUATION

There will probably never be a better opportunity through which to address what has been seen as a key gap in the evidence base: tracing relationships through time between interventions and outcomes. However:

- relationships between NDC, and indeed overall, spend and any associated outcomes will rarely be immediate, obvious and 'linear'
- changes may well be occurring in case study areas for a wider range of contextual factors: market forces, new agency services, other previous or extant ABIs, new demographics.

Nevertheless it needs to be stressed that case study evidence is of particular value in helping **to inform the three themes which underpin the national evaluation as a whole:**

- change data across all 39 NDC areas can identify the **degree to which the Programme is succeeding:** but local case study evidence is invaluable in helping to contextualise this 'top-down' data by exploring the degree to which, and how, local issues and interventions either have impacted on, or are likely to affect the rate of, change
- case study work can provide valuable insights into the **added value of the Programme** by, for instance, identifying those locally articulated benefits which arise from an ABI wedded to community engagement, longer term planning, partnership working with other agencies, and sustainability
- locality work can also assist in teasing out the **most effective way through which to plan renewal over ten years:** undertaking longitudinal work in a small number of case study areas will allow the evaluation team, and in turn others, better to comprehend the processes inherent to, and the lessons emerging from, the planning, implementation and impact of an intensive, multi-outcome ABI in a small number of deprived localities.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

- 1.1. The New Deal for Communities (NDC) Programme was launched in 1998 and is a flagship component to the government's National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (NSNR). NDC is an especially significant Area Based Initiative (ABI) in that the Programme is:
 - implemented by dedicated NDC Partnerships charged with transforming 39 deprived English localities over ten years
 - designed to achieve change in five key outcome areas: education, health, crime, worklessness and housing and the physical environment
 - driven through strategic plans drawn up by NDC Partnerships in cooperation with existing delivery agencies
 - premised on the assumption that the 'community is at the heart' of neighbourhood renewal.
- 1.2. The first phase of a national evaluation of the NDC Programme was commissioned in 2001 in order to:
 - undertake an assessment of the impact and cost-effectiveness of the Programme
 - support the 39 Partnerships in delivering their 10 year strategies
 - use the Programme to enhance the evidence base in relation to neighbourhood renewal.
- 1.3. The 2001-2005 phase of the evaluation, co-ordinated by the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research (CRESR) at Sheffield Hallam University, culminated in 'An Interim Evaluation of the Programme'¹, together with numerous other outputs².
- 1.4. In 2005 the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, later Communities and Local Government, commissioned CRESR and its partners³ to carry out the second phase of the national evaluation. There are **marked continuities** between the first and the second phase of the evaluation. In particular the national evaluation team (NET) is to continue to assess change across all 39 Partnerships

1 ODPM/NRU 2005 New Deal for Communities 2001-2005: An Interim Evaluation; NRU Research Report 17 <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/publications.asp?did=1625>

2 <http://extra.shu.ac.uk/ndc/>

3 CEA, EIUA, GFA, LGC, SchARR, SDRC, Shared Intelligence, SQW, CRESR, Ipsos MORI

mainly through the collation and analysis of the 2006, and the planned 2008, household surveys carried out by Ipsos Mori and also of NDC area specific administrative data by the Social Disadvantage Research Centre (SDRC).

- 1.5. But there are also **differences between Phase 1 and Phase 2** of the national evaluation. In particular, the NET will not be producing 39 annual Partnership level reports. And, of especial relevance to this report, during Phase 2 a greater emphasis is to be placed on work in six case study NDC areas in order to:
 - understand better why and how change is occurring in these areas
 - explore relationships between interventions and outcomes at the local level
 - identify why and how successful neighbourhood renewal occurs in these six areas
 - disseminate key lessons arising from case study evidence.
- 1.6. Case study work raises a number of well-known **methodological issues**. In particular there can be problems in generalising from a relatively small number of case studies. But in this instance there is a strong argument for undertaking detailed forensic work in a small number of Partnerships. The national evaluation is in an especially good position to establish what changes are happening at the **Programme wide level**. However, case study work is a better vehicle for understanding **why and how** such changes are occurring and to **highlight their relevance to the wider neighbourhood renewal community**.
- 1.7. The six case study NDC areas are Bradford, Knowsley, Lambeth, Newcastle, Newham and Walsall. These were **selected** for a number of reasons including:
 - ensuring an appropriate regional distribution: the decision to select two from London reflects both the location (ten of the 39 NDC Partnerships are in London) and also the importance of picking up issues surrounding neighbourhood renewal and regeneration in an ‘international’ city
 - the importance of having a sensible spread in relation to key socio-demographic variables such as ethnicity and tenure.
- 1.8. The decision was also taken that on balance it made sense to select NDCs which **on the evidence available to the NET in early 2006** appeared to be amongst better performing Partnerships. It should be stressed that these are not necessarily the ‘best’ performing NDCs and in any event relationships between NDC ‘performance’ and associated outcome changes are not always clear cut. Nevertheless, the assumption was made that more would be learnt by focussing on apparently better performing NDCs. The rationale behind the selection of these six NDCs is developed in more detail in Appendix One.
- 1.9. It ought to be emphasised too that these case studies should not be seen as in any sense being representative of typologies or classifications of NDCs. The NET is undertaking further work on defining typologies of NDCs which will inform

Programme wide analyses of change. The selection of these six case studies reflects other considerations.

- 1.10. The main **source of evidence** for this report is in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Typically between six and eight interviews were undertaken in each of the case study areas in autumn 2006. These were held with key NDC employees, Partnership Board Chairs, agency representatives, and other local actors. A number of themes were explored in these interviews including:
 - causes of deprivation in the neighbourhood
 - drivers of change in the area
 - rationale for interventions supported by the local NDC
 - lessons around cross-theme linkages
 - the sequencing of interventions.
- 1.11. Information gleaned from these stakeholder interviews was supplemented, and where possible validated, by evidence from a **range of other sources** including:
 - change data drawn from both the 2002, 2004 and 2006 household surveys carried out by Ipsos MORI and also from administrative data sources collated and analysed by the SDRC including data on educational attainment and recorded crime: the main headlines arising from this change data are developed in Chapter Five of this report
 - a 2006 survey across all 39 Partnerships designed to obtain NDC level data in relation to issues such as staffing and systems: results from this survey are outlined in Chapter Four
 - 1991-2001 Census data for these six areas is laid out in Chapter Two
 - the use of financial and output data drawn from the Programme wide System K: this is explored in Chapter Three.
- 1.12. In order to help identify the 'NDC effect', the NET is assessing change in all 39 areas against what is happening in 39 **comparator areas**. The latter are of similar size and level of deprivation to NDCs, but are not adjacent to them in order to avoid any 'spillover' of NDC benefits into immediately surrounding areas. The six comparator areas for these six NDC areas will play a role in the case study stream of work. In particular they can help to identify the 'added value' of the NDC approach: what is happening in and to NDC areas compared with other deprived localities in the same local authority? The six comparator areas are introduced in Chapter Two and in Chapter Five there is a brief assessment of relative rates of change in NDCs, and in their comparator areas.
- 1.13. This is the first output from the case study strand of work to the national evaluation. It is intended to:

- provide a **largely factual overview** of these six areas, their Partnerships, and their comparator areas
- identify **change in these neighbourhoods**
- explore **debates impacting on delivery**.

1.14. This report should be seen as a source document providing a key building block to inform more detailed work in these six neighbourhoods over the next two to three years.

1.15. The report is structured as follows:

- Chapter 2 introduces the six areas
- Chapter 3 explores strategies and interventions
- Chapter 4 describes how Partnerships operate
- Chapter 5 looks briefly at change within these areas
- Chapter 6 considers key issues impacting on renewal
- Chapter 7 provides some concluding observations.

CHAPTER 2

The Six Case Study Areas: Defining Deprivation

Introducing the six areas

2.1. In common with other NDCs, and as is developed in more detail below from 2.12 onwards, these are deprived neighbourhoods. But one important issue to emphasise from the outset is the **scale of variation** across them (Table 2.1). For example:

- the proportion of those aged 60 or more in Walsall is twice that for Newham and over twice that for Lambeth
- two NDCs, Knowsley and Walsall, have very low BME populations; in the other four BME residents amount to at least 40 per cent of the population, and in Bradford 69 per cent
- owner-occupation varies from 16 per cent in Newcastle to almost 50 per cent in Walsall.

Table 2.1 Key Socio Demographic Variables: 2006

	Population estimate: all ³	% Population aged 0 to 15 ³	% Population aged 16 to 59 ³	% Population aged 60 and over ³	% BME	% Owner Occupiers	% Economically in-active	% Working age adults with no quals
Bradford	11,610	27	61	12	69	44	53	38
Knowsley	9,020	28	55	17	0	33	53	45
Lambeth	7,335	23	67	10	44	28	41	21
Newcastle	9,890	21	67	13	40	16	55	28
Newham	9,955	26	64	11	50	33	44	26
Walsall	11,715	24	54	22	2	47	51	34
NDC ave					28	34	47	31
National ave					9 ¹	70 ²	36 ⁵	14 ⁵

Source: Ipsos MORI 2006 Household Survey, ¹2001 Census data for England/ONS Mid-2005 Population estimates for England, ²Survey of English Housing 2005/6, ³SDRC 2005 mid year total population estimate, ⁵Labour force Survey Quarter 2 (April-June) 2006

2.2. Similarly these areas are **changing** in different ways (Table 2.2). For instance:

- between 1999 and 2005 three lost and three gained population
- owner occupation rose eight percentage points in Knowsley between 2002 and 2006, but fell two points in Lambeth

- BME populations rose 13 percentage points in Newcastle, eight in Bradford and five in Lambeth.

2.3. Although many changes to individual indicators are relatively marginal, when taken in the round they point to considerable change at the local level. To give two contrasting examples of change in the 1999 to 2006 period:

- Bradford gained population, saw the proportion of its BME population increase, but witnessed a reduction in both owner-occupation and economic inactivity
- whereas Knowsley witnessed a fall in its overall populations, stability in relation to BME populations, and an eight percentage points increase in owner-occupation.

Table 2.2 Key Socio Demographic Variables: Change 1999-2005

	1999-2005 Population estimate: all ¹	1999-2005 % Population aged 0 to 15 ²	1999-2005 % Population aged 16 to 59 ²	1999-2005 % Population aged 60 and over ²	2002- 2006 % BME	2002-2006 % Owner Occupiers	2002-2006 % Economically in-active	2002-2006 % Adults with no quals
Bradford	225	-1	3	-2	8	-1	-3	-3
Knowsley	-795	-3	2	0	0	8	-1	0
Lambeth	245	-2	3	-2	5	-2	7	0
Newcastle	-155	-2	3	-1	13	4	-1	-5
Newham	345	-4	5	-1	3	2	5	-2
Walsall	-365	-1	1	0	0	1	-1	-11
NDC ave					3	2	0	-2
National ave						0 ²	-1 ⁵	-2 ⁵

Source: Ipsos MORI 2006 Household Survey, ²Survey of English Housing 2000/01 & 2005/6, ³SDRC 1999 & 2005 mid year total population estimate, ⁴Labour force Survey Spring 2002 & Quarter 2 (April-June) 2006

2.4. It is also possible to assess change in these areas **prior to NDC designation** by using the 1991 and the 2001 censuses (Table 2.3). All six had been established by about 1999 so there may have been some change between that year and 2001 which might plausibly be ascribed to NDC activity. But that is unlikely: on the broad canvas that ten year period 1991 to 2001 provides a good indication of change in these areas prior to NDC activity. It is interesting to note just how rapid some changes proved to be, and the degree of variation across the six. For example:

- Knowsley's population fell 17 percentage points, at a time when Newham's rose ten points
- economic activity fell almost ten percentage points in Bradford but more or less held steady in the two London NDCs
- whereas owner-occupation increased in four NDC areas, this was not the case for Newham and Lambeth
- some trends were common across most or all of these areas: there was for instance a tendency for lone parent households and sickness/disability to increase across all six neighbourhoods.

Table 2.3 Key Census indicators: 1991 to 2001							
		Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
Population	1991	11,025	11,461	6,657	9,106	8,691	13,421
	2001	11,196	9,535	7,066	9,499	9,573	11,896
	% change	2	-17	6	4	10	-11
Economically active (16–74 year olds)	1991	55	50	69	54	62	59
	2001	46	44	69	46	60	59
	% point change	-9	-7	0	-8	-2	0
Owner occupation	1991	40	17	31	13	34	39
	2001	42	28	31	18	30	46
	% point change	2	11	0	4	-3	7
Lone parents with dependent children	1991	9	19	11	8	10	5
	2001	9	22	15	10	15	11
	% point change	0	3	4	2	5	5
Permanently sick or disabled	1991	6	12	3	9	5	7
	2001	10	17	4	12	7	10
	% point change	4	5	1	3	2	3

Source: 1991 and 2001 census

- 2.5. Quantitative data provides an important context within which to explore change in these six areas. But it is important to stress here too that there is different local **'feel'** to each of these neighbourhoods.
- 2.6. **Bradford** NDC covers about 195 hectares, roughly 1 square mile, on the south western side of the city. It is bisected by a major road, the A641, Manchester Road, running north to south. The area is largely based on the Little Horton ward of the City, identified in the DETR Index of Deprivation 2000 as the most deprived ward in Bradford and the 42nd most deprived in England. There are several distinct residential communities within the area and a substantial area of commercial activity. On the west side of the main road lie the residential communities of Marshfield and Little Horton, on the east, West Bowling and the commercial area. The residential areas are densely populated with few open spaces or recreational facilities. About 60 per cent of the 4,200 or so (after recent demolition) homes are privately owned or rented with the remaining 1,600 split 40/60 between Housing Association and former Council, now Bradford Community Housing Trust, ownership. Almost half of the population in the Bradford Trident area are of South Asian heritage, with high levels of worklessness experienced by this group. The Non-White proportion of the local population increased nearly 11 per cent from 1991 to 2001, from 47 per cent to 58 per cent.
- 2.7. **Knowsley** NDC area is predominantly residential bounded to the north and east by the M57 motorway and to the south by the A57, a main arterial route into Liverpool. Its western edge adjoins the Dovecot suburb of the City of Liverpool. The area is made up of a collection of inter-war municipal housing estates that were developed as 'overspill' from the City of Liverpool and is characterised by two storey semi-detached and terraced houses. Four fifths of the housing stock is social rented and when the NDC was set up over 400 of the approximately 4,000 properties were derelict and burnt out. The area also had few public buildings and most of these were condemned as unfit. The area has

six residential communities: Finch House, Fincham, Woolfall North, Woolfall South, Hillside and Primalt. The area's population of around 9,500 is predominately White with just 1 per cent being from a BME background.

- 2.8. Lying between Brixton, Streatham, Balham and Clapham, the **Lambeth** NDC area is primarily residential in nature with a wide mix of housing densities. Housing dates back to the 1920/30s with further phases being completed between the 1950s and 1970s. Over half of these houses are socially rented and a large proportion is in poor condition. Whilst close to the prosperity of central London, the area is comparatively isolated as a result of relatively poor public transport links and a reliance on buses to access public services. The area's population is comparatively young and ethnically diverse. Whilst there are relatively high levels of economic activity, the area faces a number of deprivation issues many of which relate to the quality and level of housing, public services and the living environment. Crime is also a serious issue in the area with drug dealing and use being of particular concern.
- 2.9. The **Newcastle** NDC area is located to the west of the city centre in an area originally developed as dense terraces sloping down to the armaments factories and ship yards on the banks of the Tyne. In the north of the NDC area lies the community of Arthur's Hill, an area of dense 1900s terraced housing, accommodating an increasing array of BME communities. Across a major radial artery, the West Road, lies another area of Victorian housing: The Triangle. Much of the southern half of the area down to a second radial route, the Scotswood Road, including Elswick and Rye Hill, is occupied by public sector housing estates, many dating from the 1960s and 1970s, and including eleven high rise blocks at Cruddas Park. The area also includes part of the south western commercial margins of the city centre and also, fringing the Tyne, the Newcastle Business Park.
- 2.10. Newham** NDC is located within East London along the western boundary of the London Borough of Newham. It is bordered by Stratford to the north, Canning Town and the Royal Docks to the south and an industrial area and the river Lea to the west. It is essentially a residential area with few shops or businesses, and was originally developed to serve the docks and related industries. It consists of three distinct neighbourhoods: Brooks/North Plaistow, largely comprising local authority housing estates; Woodlands, a mixed tenure neighbourhood; and North Canning Town, a mix of inter-war houses, Victorian terraces and 1960s maisonettes.
- 2.11. Walsall** NDC comprises the areas of Blakenall, Bloxwich East and Leamore. This is an area of relatively stable and longstanding communities with low levels of in and out migration. The area is characterised by low-density, former local authority housing stock in varying states of disrepair. This is generally inter-war housing, although there are pockets of more recent accommodation. A significant number of 1960s and 1970s flats were demolished at the start of the NDC programme and there has been further significant clearance of unsustainable stock by Walsall Housing Group within the NDC and in immediately adjacent areas. A significant development of new housing for sale (235 homes) is replacing the cleared homes and is scheduled to be completed by early 2008 in a joint project with Walsall Housing Group. To the southwest of the area beyond the NDC boundaries there are various industrial premises providing employment opportunities for this area of the city.

Diagnosing Deprivation

2.12. In diagnosing the **causes of deprivation** in their locality, NDCs and their partner agencies, point to the impact of a number of **inter-related** factors. On the broad canvas these can best be seen as falling within three broad categories:

- economic rationalisation and decline
- deprivation and socio-demographic change
- governance and institutional factors.

(i) ECONOMIC RATIONALISATION AND DECLINE

2.13. Economic rationalisation and decline probably represent the single most significant force in defining deprivation in these areas. However, the exact configuration of factors causing or contributing to economic decline vary across the six. For instance in:

- Newcastle economic decline is rooted in the contraction and eventual collapse in armaments and ship building, a trend apparent for at least 50 years
- Newham the main cause of economic decline and rising unemployment can be traced back over three decades to the contraction or closure of the docks and dock related activity
- Knowsley, Bradford and Walsall decline was largely triggered by processes of economic rationalisation and contraction occurring in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

2.14. Although the specific manifestations of economic contraction vary across the six, some factors tend consistently to underpin change in all, or most, of these areas. For example, on the broad canvas many of these areas were traditionally largely **dependent on manufacturing**. Historically, some such as Bradford and Newcastle were developed in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth centuries to provide housing for those employed in traditional manufacturing sectors such as textiles, engineering or shipbuilding. Economic change and employment decline in an 'overspill' estate such as Knowsley, on the other hand, reflects the contraction of large scale manufacturing plants relocated to Merseyside as part of regional policy implemented in the 1960s and 1970s. But however change has played out in each of these local contexts, the reality is that a traditional reliance on manufacturing has tended to undermine economic opportunities for local residents.

2.15. But it is not simply that those living in NDCs have suffered from the decline in manufacturing, they have also tended **not to benefit from new economic opportunities** as much as other parts of city regions. There are a number of reasons for this:

- growth in new service sector jobs such as in retail, leisure industries, call centres, light manufacturing and financial and higher tech sectors tend increasingly to be located on edge of city business parks, which are often seen as inaccessible by NDC residents; in Bradford for instance jobs are being generated beyond the city in Leeds and along the M62 motorway
- most NDC areas themselves are unlikely to attract a great deal of new investment; firms tend not to relocate to, or existing firms expand within, NDC areas; these neighbourhoods are often not especially accessible by vehicular transport, may have little 'free' space for new commercial development, and often suffer from a poor image
- technical and interpersonal skills amongst those made redundant from traditional industries are often inappropriate for sectors enjoying expansion; this is perhaps most obviously apparent in London NDCs such as Lambeth and Newham where those traditionally involved in manufacturing or more routine service sector employment are unlikely to access jobs in growth sectors such as financial services or cultural industries
- there is the view too, especially in some more traditional working class communities such as Newcastle or Walsall, that a 'culture of worklessness' has arisen: after two or three generations of unemployment, individuals and indeed entire households, have become dislocated from what opportunities may be available in the local economy; these neighbourhoods tend often to be characterised by inward looking cultures.

2.16. It is important to point out that there is, however, **a dynamism to economic change**. Economic fortunes rise and fall. Few could have anticipated the sheer scale of contraction in manufacturing which occurred in the 1980s for instance. On the other hand, there has been an unprecedented period of economic growth in the last decade. Observers in several NDCs suggest that this has helped boost the economic fortunes of these neighbourhoods and the employment prospects of their residents. And of course major opportunities can occur in unexpected ways: the 2012 London Olympics, for instance, may conceivably provide a once in a generation opportunity for those living in, say, Newham.

(ii) DEPRIVATION AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

2.17. In the light of the scale of economic contraction outlined above, it is not surprising to find that these areas are **relatively deprived neighbourhoods**. The 2004 Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) provides an indication of the scale of disadvantage in relation to the seven separate domains which make up the overall IMD composite score (Table 2.4.)⁴. Some key features to emerge include:

4 For more detail see ODPM 2004 The English Indices of Deprivation 2004: Summary (revised) http://www.communities.gov.uk/pub/443/Indicesofdeprivation2004summaryrevisedPDF154Kb_id1128443.pdf

- Bradford, Newcastle and especially Knowsley are relatively more deprived than are the three other areas
- the two London NDCs often appear as ‘outliers’: in general they are less deprived in relation to education, health, jobs and income, but are more deprived in relation to barriers
- Knowsley, Bradford and Newcastle are more deprived than an ‘NDC average’ IMD score.

Table 2.4 IMD 2004 domain scores							
	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall	NDC Av
IMD	61.06	75.68	38.67	63.14	43.13	43.22	51.65
Income	0.41	0.58	0.27	0.49	0.33	0.30	0.36
Employment	0.27	0.40	0.13	0.32	0.17	0.19	0.23
Education	56.77	77.34	19.89	54.96	21.73	67.58	49.11
Health	1.61	2.26	0.47	2.14	1.02	0.93	1.23
Crime	1.41	0.71	0.98	1.14	1.00	0.45	1.02
Barriers to services	14.78	16.57	36.79	19.93	39.59	7.21	25.97
Living Environment	63.34	62.22	60.22	27.94	32.75	37.15	42.13

Source: Indices of Multiple Deprivation 2004

- 2.18. In some cases this scale of relative deprivation has long standing historical roots. These areas have not necessarily drifted into decline in the last couple of decades. In Newham for instance the area was already highly deprived in the late Nineteenth Century, with poor standards of housing, health, education and crime. The local consensus is that although some things have got worse, in many respects it's the **nature** of poverty and deprivation that have changed: *'the East End's always been like that'*. Perhaps the real issue in this case, is that the NDC area has struggled to establish a **function** after its role of providing dormitory accommodation for the docks disappeared. A similar argument could be made for say Knowsley following the decline in employment in larger scale manufacturing on Merseyside.
- 2.19. It is also worth pointing out that these six areas are not necessarily the most disadvantaged neighbourhood **within their local authority district**. In Bradford, Knowsley and Newcastle the relevant NDC area is indeed much more deprived than the district as a whole. This is not, however, the case for the two London case studies, and to a lesser degree, Walsall (Table 2.5). This statistical evidence is supported by local observers. One interviewee argued that *'...there's nothing unusual about the area', its selection reflected 'buggins turn'*.

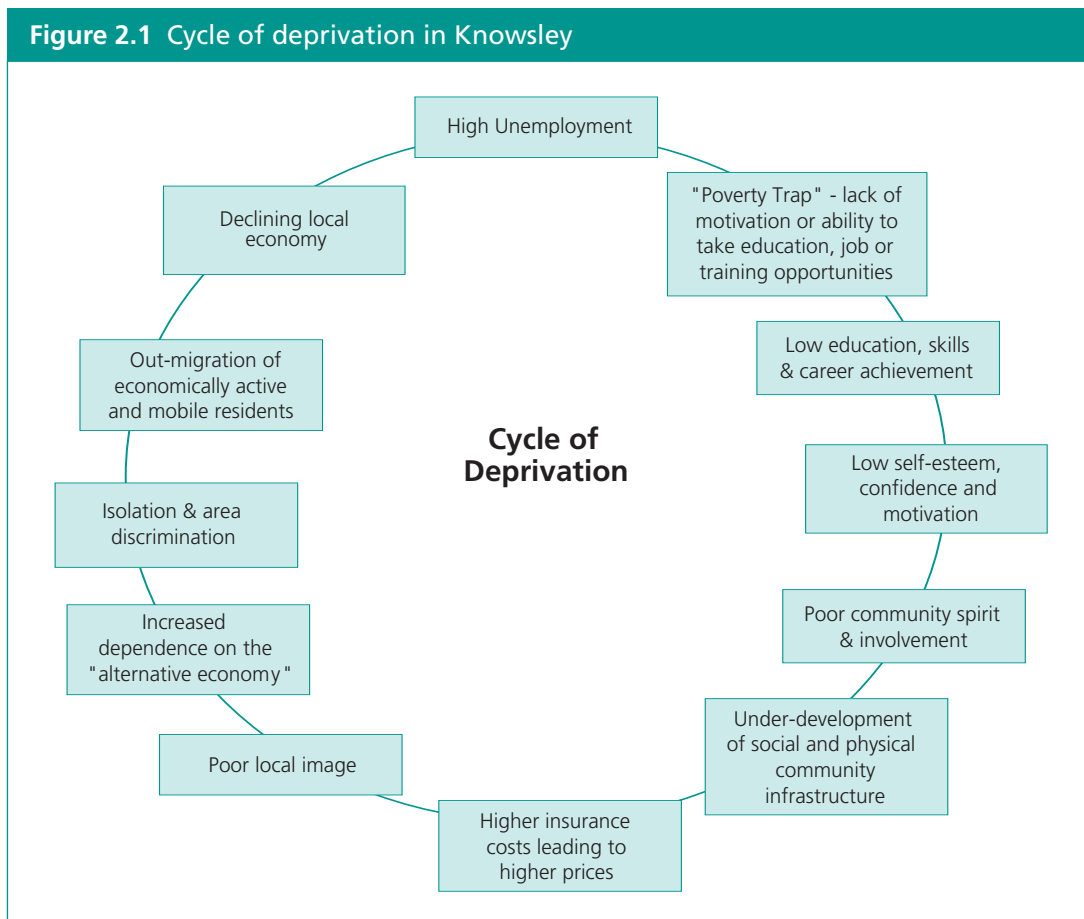
Table 2.5 NDC and LA: 2004 IMD scores		
	NDC IMD score	LA IMD score
Bradford	61.06	32.93
Knowsley	75.68	46.57
Lambeth	38.67	34.18
Newcastle	63.14	34.53
Newham	43.13	40.41
Walsall	43.22	29.38
NDC ave	51.65	

SDRC 2004 IMD scores

2.20. Nevertheless, on the broad canvas these are relatively deprived neighbourhoods. The concentration of disadvantaged households within the kind of unfavourable economic context alluded to previously has been accentuated by, and in turn contributed to, a range of **inter-related social and economic problems:**

- low educational attainment and negative attitudes towards education and training
- stress-related illnesses exacerbated by poor access to health and leisure facilities, high levels of drug and alcohol misuse and high rates of teenage pregnancy
- abandoned properties and a downgraded physical environment, combined with significant housing demand pressures from certain sectors of the community
- lowered community spirit and an under-developed community infrastructure accentuating adult and youth disaffection
- increased criminal activity and anti-social behaviour (ASB), often driven by drug-related activities: *'there were enormous amounts of criminality, intense levels of fear and insecurity for the people that lived here. People wanted to escape the place'*
- low aspirations and skill levels, allied to high levels of economic inactivity and worklessness, often combined with a large informal economy
- and because at least some of these areas have traditionally provided relatively cheaper accommodation within wide city regions, the possibility of substantial and unplanned in-migration from outside the UK with obvious potential implications for community cohesion.

2.21. In looking at the inter-relationship across different dimensions to poverty, Knowsley has identified a cycle of deprivation impacting on its locality (Figure 2.1). The details will vary across these six areas but in many respects the key underpinning principle remains constant: these neighbourhoods and their residents **suffer from the complex interplay of different dimensions to deprivation**.



Source: Knowsley NDC

(iii) GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

2.22. A third set of factors impacting on deprivation falls within the broad label of governance and institutional change. These six areas have been subject to a range of previous Government interventions. There can be little doubt that there is a widespread **perception** that such initiatives have generally proved of limited value. Indeed in some instances local observers consider that such interventions have actually caused or aggravated processes of decline. These considerations can be explored at three spatial scales: the city-region; the local district; and the neighbourhood.

2.23. Local observers point to the longer term impact of major **city-regional** initiatives. Knowsley for instance was largely created as part of a post war ‘urban settlement’ based on the planned decentralisation of population from inner Liverpool to surrounding New Towns and other peripheral locations. The NDC neighbourhood was never a ‘mixed community’ in terms of either tenure or

income. Housing met the approved standards of the time, although the now demolished tower blocks proved particularly unpopular. The neighbourhood nevertheless experienced a degree of stability in the 1960s and early 1970s. This was progressively undermined by the escalating scale of job losses created by the economic restructuring of the late 1970s and early 1980s which saw manufacturing jobs disappear on Merseyside as companies closed or introduced labour-saving technologies. As a 'new' and 'mono-cultural' community the NDC area was to suffer especially sharply from economic contraction occurring within the wider region.

- 2.24. In addition the long term fortunes of many NDCs and their residents are likely to be influenced by regional economic performance and leadership. It is intriguing for instance to consider what the longer term effects on Newcastle NDC might be in the light of a recent OECD report suggesting that the wider region has a weak economy by EU standards, especially in relation to private sector investment and regional leadership⁵
- 2.25. Commentators also identify apparent failures in **local government** as helping to frame deprivation in NDC areas including:
- whether justified or not, a strong sense of resentment with the 'council' based on its apparent failure to deliver services or to reverse the engines of decline
 - a parallel sense of dissatisfaction with other agencies; traditionally for instance the police have not been seen as providing an appropriate local service for residents in NDC areas, although this sentiment has changed in recent years as the impact of neighbourhood level policing has fed through
 - a sentiment that some authorities and agencies have traditionally neglected the NDC area compared with other neighbourhoods: there is a view in Lambeth for instance that agency delivery strategies have focused on the district's five town centres resulting in a lack of service centres in Clapham Park; similarly in Walsall, a council which has been under special measures in the past, there is a perception that the authority has struggled to address challenges presented by the NDC area.
- 2.26. Observers also identify a range of factors which, although often ultimately rooted in local authority, or even national, policy initiatives, are most obviously manifest at the level of the **neighbourhood**. These include:
- housing management and allocation policies which, some suggest, have led areas such as Walsall, to see a continuing decline in the quality of the physical stock, creating an over-preponderance of tenants with social, health and economic problems
 - an almost universal view that most previous regeneration initiatives within NDC areas have failed: *'the more experience we had of an old programme the worse we were at dealing with a new one...'*

⁵ OECD 2006 OECD working party on territorial policy on urban areas: assessment and recommendation of the case of Newcastle

- at the same time there can also be a degree of resentment when NDC areas apparently miss out on potential regeneration funding: in Newham for instance because the NDC area fell to the north of the London Docklands Development Corporation boundary, it missed out on what might have proved a considerable tranche of infrastructural investment.

Introducing the comparator areas

- 2.27. As is outlined in 1.12, a comparator area has been designated for each of the six case study NDCs. A brief pen portrait of each is outlined below.
- 2.28. **Bradford's** comparator area comprises parts Manningham and Girdlington, located just to the north west of the city centre. The comparator area is dominated by large nineteenth century stone houses built to house workers and at Manningham Mills. Some 72 per cent of housing is currently either owner occupied or private rented. In the 1950s and 1960s, the area has housed migrants coming to work in the mills, mainly from Pakistan. With the decline of the mills, the area went into a steep economic decline through the late 1970s and 1990s. The local authority and RSLs have traditionally played a small role in the area, although this has grown, with RSLs developing new smaller, more modern, and more suitable accommodation. Most recently, Urban Splash has acquired the Manningham Mills for development into mixed tenure accommodation. However, further redevelopment of the housing stock is required to bring it up Decent Homes standards. The Bradford disturbances of 1995 and 2001 focused on Manningham and have given the area a national profile. There have been continuing efforts to address issues of community cohesion, the role of public agencies and poverty. Consequently, the area has received considerable regeneration funding, through an SRB programme, EU funding, as well as other initiatives funded by local and regional agencies and funders such as the Lottery (Heritage Fund).
- 2.29. **Knowlsey's** comparator area comprises two housing estates, Northwood and Tower Hill, located in Kirkby in the northernmost part of Knowlsey Borough adjacent to the boundaries of Sefton and West Lancashire. The Northwood estate was largely constructed in the early 1950s (alongside Westvale and Southdene) to cater for 'population overspill' from Liverpool and is located between Knowlsey Industrial Park to the east and Kirkby Town Centre to the south. It is a mix of traditional brick semi-detached housing with some tower blocks and a large number of 'No Fines' properties (constructed using No Fines aggregate in the walls). Further housing pressure resulted in the building of Kirkby's fourth estate, Tower Hill (and the partner to Northwood in the comparator area) in the late 1960s and early 1970s, almost as 'overspill for the overspill'. Its housing stock comprised terraced housing, maisonettes and tower blocks (some housing shops on the ground floors). Its initial incarnation was not to last long, however, and social and economic problems on the estates led to the demolition of the medium and high rise developments in the core of the estate and a major re-modelling of the low-rise housing that remained. New shops were constructed to replace the ones lost through demolition and the demolished sites were grassed over to increase green, open space in the estate's core. The area has had considerable regeneration funding especially from SRB and EU programmes.

- 2.30. **Lambeth's** comparator area is in Tulse Hill. It has a slightly larger number of households than the NDC (3,363 to 3,050), located in two housing estates: St Martins and Tulse Hill. There is a high proportion of overcrowded council and registered social landlord rented properties but overall there has been a decrease in council renting since 1991. Tulse Hill Ward saw a decrease in purpose built flats between 1991 and 2001, and a commensurate increase in converted flats. The comparator has similar age, ethnic breakdowns and household compositions as has the NDC area. Its percentage of owner occupiers is slightly higher than Clapham Park (34 per cent to 31 per cent), but fewer rent from the local authority (34 per cent relative to 48 per cent). There is a view that house prices have not risen as much as in the NDC area. In terms of employment issues the comparator area has seen a 3 per cent fall in unemployment to 6 per cent, relative to the 2 percentage point fall to 5 per cent in the NDC. In terms of crime, the NDC and the comparator area have seen falls with the overall crime rate falling slightly more in the NDC area.
- 2.31. **Newcastle's** comparator area, Walker Riverside, comprises seven neighbourhoods in the East End of Newcastle, running down to the banks of the river Tyne. The area is characterised by a high proportion of social rented housing (about 73 per cent), poor facilities and inadequate transport links. The housing is predominantly smaller units and flats and there is a lack of larger family homes. The area has plenty of open and green space but it is of poor quality. Retail premises are few, and provide limited choice. The area has been in decline for decades: its population decreased by over 40% between 1971 and 2001. There has been piecemeal and reactive demolition in response to low demand. This has included the partial demolition of the shopping centre in the centre of the comparator area and a reduction in the number of retail units. The area has scored consistently highly on deprivation indices and on the 2004 IMD the Walker ward was the most deprived in the city. The area has had significant investment, particularly through SRB5, NRF, Decent Homes, Housing Market Renewal and interventions to improve the quality of educational provision. It is currently undergoing a programme of regeneration which will include the building of 1600 new and replacement homes and the provision of new retail, leisure and education facilities in the period to 2021.
- 2.32. **Newham's** comparator area is Forest Gate which sits to the north of the NDC area and about a mile to the east of Stratford, where the Olympic City will be located for the 2012 London Olympics. Forest Gate is characterised by a rich mix of uses and built forms, including conservation areas incorporating high quality Victorian villas, traditional Victorian terraces, shops, post war housing and modern high rise development. The Unitary Development Plan summarises the key issues in Forest Gate as traffic congestion, poor quality built environment, lack of public off-street parking and the limited range and quality of shops and services. The area has seen SRB funding amounting to over £20m which has apparently levered in about another £100m of regeneration from other public and private sector resources. Those aware of renewal in both the NDC and the comparator area suggest that on the broad canvas the Programme in the latter has been characterised by a more informal and loose partnership, less resident engagement, and less intense agency involvement.
- 2.33. **Walsall's** comparator area, Caldmore and the northern part of Pleck, is located in the centre of Walsall, just to the south of the city centre. The area contains a

diverse community, evenly split between white and Asian populations. Levels of Asian habitation on the area are higher than the borough average and far in excess of the NDC area. The area contains semi-detached housing, with owner occupation accounting for 44 per cent of accommodation, and private renting 18 per cent, double that for the NDC area. Correspondingly, levels of local authority renting at 23 per cent are not much more than half the NDC's total of 42 per cent. While tenure is mixed, housing has generally lacked investment, as has the environment. The area displays many characteristics of inner city areas, with higher levels of unemployment than the Walsall average. There are poor training opportunities in the area which hinders movement into the labour market. This is compounded by a lack of youth facilities in the area. Educational attainment is also low. This may be due to a number of factors including poor parent education, English not being the first language of parents, and low expectations amongst teachers. The area is also characterised by high levels of anti-social behaviour, drug abuse and fear of crime, along with a lack of faith in the Police. There have been only limited changes to the area over the last 20 years, although in the past the area has received City Challenge and SRB 5 funding.

2.34. Reflecting on experience across these six comparator areas:

- They have themselves often been in receipt of various previous regeneration funding initiatives: these are not pure 'regeneration free control areas' against which to assess change in the six NDC areas
- Many of the comparator areas also benefit from some form of 'regeneration partnership', although arrangements are not generally as formal as are those governing NDC areas
- Comparator areas, in line with what has happened in NDC areas, are also benefiting from a range of other policy initiatives: neighbourhood policing, Housing Market Renewal investment, decentralised health services, and so on; these are 'busy' localities.

Defining deprivation in six NDC areas: a Concluding comment

2.35. These are generally disadvantaged areas, although the causes, patterns and rhythms of change vary across the six. But all have suffered from acute economic decline and rationalisation and are not especially well placed to benefit from new economic opportunities. Economic contraction goes hand in hand with a wide range of other social and demographic problems including drug related crime, educational impoverishment, and lowered aspirations. There is a widespread sentiment too that local authorities and other agencies have generally neglected these areas and that where previous regeneration initiatives have been put in place these have had minimal, even negative, consequences.

2.36. This chapter has explored some of the key factors which underpin disadvantage in these six neighbourhoods. The next section examines strategies and interventions adopted by the six NDCs to address these manifestations of disadvantage.

CHAPTER 3

Strategies and Interventions

Introduction

3.1. NDCs were charged with transforming the fortunes of their areas over fully ten years. However, as the 2005 Interim Evaluation⁶ makes clear this was always going to be an ambitious objective. A number of **strategic** difficulties emerged:

- in the early years of the Programme, many NDCs did not have a truly accurate and robust baseline against which to define plausible outcomes over fully 10 years
- even if they had been so armed, it is not clear that an evidence base existed which would point Partnerships towards a particular suite of interventions which would move NDC areas from baseline problems to 10 year outcomes.

3.2. In addition a number of **operational** constraints tended further to dampen down the strategic dimension to the Programme:

- there is a widespread view that NDCs were asked too rapidly to produce initial Delivery Plans; this limited timescale made it difficult for Partnerships to reflect on where they wanted to be in 10 years time
- throughout the Programme there has been an emphasis on project level spend: this has made reflection and longer term planning more difficult and it has tended to reinforce the view that strategy is ultimately about expenditure
- because the PMF process involves an examination of progress (and spend) against the defined outcome areas, there has inevitably been a tendency for Partnerships to spread spend across these themes: whether this is the best way to achieve the transformation of these areas is debatable.

3.3. Because of these kinds of problems there is a debate as to whether all NDCs actually produce what can genuinely be regarded as ‘ten year strategies’. Like many previous ABIs, the NDC Programme has, perhaps inevitably, tended to be dominated by devising and implementing projects. Nevertheless evidence from these six informs the ‘strategic’ debate in five ways:

- What drives change?
- How, and why, have strategies evolved?

⁵ ODPM/NRU 2005 New Deal for Communities 2001-2005: An Interim Evaluation; NRU Research Report 17 <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/publications.asp?did=1625>

- Interventions and outcomes
- Cross theme linkages
- Sequencing of interventions.

What drives strategic change?

- 3.4. The six case study Partnerships identify a range of mechanisms through which change has been driven. In some instances these emerged as a result of, say, community consultation, the views of key agencies, or perspectives arising from NDC staff. But there is also evidence to suggest Partnerships have identified an overarching logic chain through which to focus change.
- 3.5. In some instances the driving mechanism has been seen as mainly revolving around aspects of **human or social capital**. For instance in:
- Newcastle an early focus was placed on revenue spend to tackle social issues, particularly in relation to crime, anti-social behaviour and liveability
 - Newham the consensus among interviewees is that the key policy areas to tackle are education, otherwise the place will never change, and also jobs and skills, which are generally seen as underpinning other dimensions to deprivation; the NDC's close relationships with employers in Canary Wharf and in other employment centres is seen as important in helping to ease the transition into work on the part of groups facing significant barriers to employment.
- 3.6. In other case studies the primary driving focus has been placed on improving the physical environment, particularly through **major housing refurbishment proposals**. For instance in:
- Knowsley a key element in the Partnership's strategy has been a Masterplanning process bringing together proposals for the physical re-development of the area including large-scale demolition of abandoned properties, the introduction of new housing, and the construction of new schools, employment centres and health, leisure and community facilities including a Primary Care Centre and Youth Facility
 - Lambeth the underlying belief has been that by improving the quality of housing and the associated physical environment, this will in turn impact on other dimensions of deprivation such as health and the propensity to engage in criminal activity.

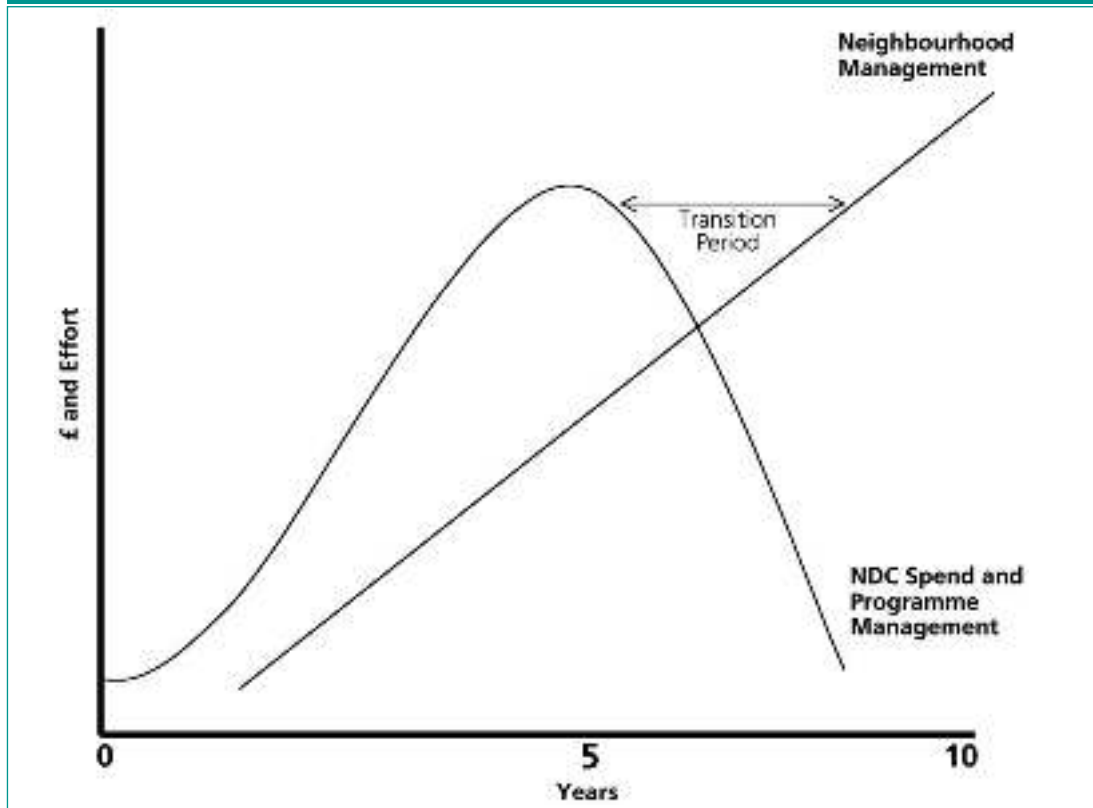
How, and why, do strategies evolve?

- 3.7. One issue to arise from these Partnerships is the degree to which strategies evolve through time. This can occur for a number of reasons. One factor which has emerged across most case studies is that rethinking had to occur because of

deficiencies in original Delivery Plans. These usually had to be produced relatively rapidly, by now long departed consultants. Few first round Plans provided a coherent, plausible and strategic overview of where the Partnership wanted to be in ten years time. Through time strategy can also evolve as a result of changes in senior personnel. One case study suggests that the departure of an ‘entrepreneurial process-less’ Chief Executive subsequently allowed space in which to instil a more focused approach towards systems and processes, leading to a far more robust approach to delivery. In addition now perhaps the most obvious way in which NDC strategies are changing is because of a more direct concern with issues of sustainability, as discussed in 6.46 onwards.

3.8. But there is evidence too of more **visionary thinking**. Some NDCs argue that their strategies were always designed to evolve through time. A couple of examples are of interest here. In the case of Newcastle the intention was that the early emphasis on stressing positive social change, in relation to issues such as attacking local criminality, would be followed up by investment in capital projects and physical improvements in order to improve the housing offer, stabilise population churn and ‘help lock in the transformation of the area to date’⁷. This transformation was carried forward as part of planning the Year 7 Action Plan. In that exercise, activities were assessed against strategic objectives including the degree to which proposals would:

- narrow the gap between the NDC area and the city average
- extend and strengthen projects supporting community governance of the programme
- contribute towards the physical improvement of the area in order to stabilise and then grow the population; this objective will involve moving the capital: revenue ratio from 35:65, towards, in the remaining four years of the programme, a 50:50 balance.

Figure 3.1 Evolution of Bradford Trident Activities (2000-2010)

- 3.9. Similarly in Bradford a long term strategy was identified at an early stage: as NDC spend declined through time, improvements that the Partnerships had made working with other delivery agencies, would eventually lead to increases in neighbourhood management expenditure and resources (Figure 3.1).
- 3.10. In Walsall the emphasis on community development has been further driven by the responsive activity of the Community Involvement Team. Strategy development has occurred through engaging and empowering local people, as in the case of the Young People's Information Centre, a peer led centre specifically designed to be run by young people, which provides a focal point for a series of interventions for young people (counselling, advice on sexual health, jobs advice, homework clubs and social activities). The Centre will be the first dedicated youth facility in Walsall addressing issues such as teenage pregnancy and sexual health.

Interventions and outcomes areas

- 3.11. As is alluded to above (3.2) there has been a tendency for the Programme to be driven forward by project development and implementation. This is not surprising bearing in mind the emphasis on spend, the need to 'be doing something', and the stress which other delivery agencies can place on seeing change as essentially based on project delivery. Nevertheless, there are many examples of more imaginative interventions being implemented by NDCs. These are explored below within five key outcome areas, and also the community dimension. Issues which have **impacted on delivery** are addressed in Chapter Six.

3.12. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 provide an overview of NDC and match spend within each of the six case study areas. It should be stressed at the outset that there is **no evidence to date to suggest that any particular pattern of spend or project development is any way more appropriate than another**: Partnership level variations will often reflect local circumstances. In relation to **spend** up to 2005-06 (NDC and agency match) issues to emerge include:

- total spend varies from over £50m in Newcastle to £28m in Lambeth, the latter figure reflecting the likely end loading of spend arising from major redevelopment proposals
- across the six more has been spent on housing and the environment, least on health and crime: this bias may not of course reflect local priorities: it is often the case the housing projects are intrinsically more expensive than those in other theme areas
- there are marked variations across the six in relation to spending priorities: Bradford has spent 60 per cent of its allocation on community and housing; Newcastle has spent almost four times as much on worklessness as have Newham and Walsall
- there are very marked variations in relation to spend on the community dimension; this may well reflect coding issues, it can be difficult definitively to allocate projects, almost all of which will have a community dimension, between themes, on the one hand, or a dedicated community dimension, on the other
- the degree to which NDCs attract match funding from other agencies varies considerably, being dependent on factors such as agency involvement, nature of renewal programmes, and time: some match funding profiles will change considerably as major projects requiring inputs from a range of agencies come on stream.

3.13. And in relation to **projects** (Table 3.3):

- in terms of the total number of projects NDCs have helped fund between about 110 and 170 schemes
- more projects tend to be implemented in community, education and in housing and the environment: least in crime and health
- there are considerable variations across the six in relation to supporting projects: Newcastle has supported more than three times the proportion of worklessness projects than has Newham; Newham more than double the education projects of Newcastle.

Table 3.1 NDC Spend (NDC and Matched) 1999-2000 to 2005-2006 (spend in thousands)

	Total	Crime		Education		Housing		Worklessness		Health		Community		M'ment & Admin	
		Spend	%	Spend	%	Spend	%	Spend	%	Spend	%	Spend	%	Spend	%
Bradford	36,989	3,197	9	4,002	11	10,686	29	5,018	14	2,103	6	11,353	31	629	2
Knowsley	38,810	1,774	5	2,968	8	23,883	62	3,425	9	1,131	3	3,126	8	2,504	6
Lambeth	28,229	1,794	6	2,504	9	12,312	44	3,811	14	2,598	9	2,046	7	3,164	11
Newcastle	50,169	5,906	12	7,682	15	7,755	15	10,853	22	5,599	11	12,374	25	—	0
Newham	48,501	5,256	11	10,043	21	20,053	41	3,913	8	4,774	10	482	1	3,980	8
Walsall	34,234	6,387	19	5,025	15	3,809	11	2,016	6	2,390	7	13,432	39	1,176	3
NDC	1,534,015	141,178	9	241,703	16	456,366	30	218,821	14	151,940	10	219,928	14	104,079	7

Source: CEA (validated by NDCs)

Table 3.2 NDC and match funding 1999-2000 to 2005-2006 (£ thousands)

	NDC funding	Matched funding	Total Spend
Bradford	37,797	n/a	36,989
Knowsley	21,285	17,525	38,810
Lambeth	23,323	4,906	28,229
Newcastle	33,683	16,486	50,169
Newham	42,423	4,540	46,963
Walsall	23,790	10,444	34,234
NDC	1,040,133	493,883	1,534,015

Source: CEA (validated by NDCs)

Bradford match funding not available through System K as of March 2007.

Table 3.3 NDC Projects 1999-2000 to 2005-2006

	Total Projects	Crime Projects (Percentage)	Education Projects (Percentage)	Housing Projects (Percentage)	Workless Projects (Percentage)	Health Projects (Percentage)	Community Projects (Percentage)	Management & admin Projects (Percentage)
Bradford	171	11	11	29	15	9	26	1
Knowsley	112	13	23	21	18	16	9	1
Lambeth	98	14	18	23	14	11	20	0
Newcastle	172	9	12	16	25	17	22	0
Newham	155	14	25	34	8	14	3	2
Walsall	169	9	12	19	9	14	29	7
NDC	6798	12	20	19	15	13	20	1

Source: CEA (validated by NDCs)

3.14. It is also possible to make some assessments of patterns of spend in the six case study areas, and in particular the balance between capital and revenue in broadly the first half of the ten year Programme as opposed to later years (Table 3.4.). These figures should be treated as broad approximations since inevitably future spending patterns will change. But they are interesting in that it might have been expected that capital spend would rise in time as new development

projects came on tap. This is true for four of the six. In the case of Newcastle and Lambeth where considerable redevelopment is to occur the proportion of capital spend doubles or virtually so in later years of the Programme. But in other instances there is not the same large swing. This may reflect at least two processes: some NDCs saw capital investment as important from an early stage; and although the proportion of NDC capital spend may not apparently be set to increase in future years, capital investment by partner agencies may well do so of course.

Table 3.4 NDC Spend: Capital/Revenue split: Years 1-5 and 6-10				
	Year 1 to Year 5		Year 6 to Year 10	
	Capital (%)	Revenue (%)	Capital (%)	Revenue (%)
Bradford	44	56	51	49
Lambeth	37	63	66	34
Knowsley	42	58	48	52
Newcastle	23	77	47	53
Newham	51	49	46	54
Walsall	52	48	30	70

Source: Case Study NDCs

Note: Data for Knowsley, Newcastle and Newham is for years 1-6 and 7-10.

- 3.15. NDCs have adopted different approaches towards implementing programmes in each of the main service ‘blocks’: education, health, crime, worklessness and economic development, housing and physical environment, community dimension. A flavour of this diversity is presented immediately below. Issues impacting on delivery within each of these areas are explored in Chapter Six.

(i) EDUCATION, LIFE-LONG LEARNING AND YOUNG PEOPLE

- 3.16. Partnerships identify a range of problems which in turn have informed overall **objectives**. In Knowsley, for instance, the long-term objective is to develop North Huyton’s “learning environment”, building on mainstream educational provision, and making links with health and family services, in order to:
- help local people access learning opportunities throughout their lives
 - improve educational attainment rates for both children and adults
 - make local schools more attractive to parents and children to ensure more children go to them
 - improve the standards of schools premises and resources
 - improve access to pre-school education
 - improve attitudes to education.

- 3.17. In order to achieve these higher order objectives, the Partnership has supported:
- a small-scale programme of capital investment in local schools in the form of environmental improvements, ICT and other capital equipment, thus providing a degree of stability against the backcloth of uncertainties created by ongoing talks over school reorganisation
 - two Community Learning Champions to work across schools to introduce family and adult learning and extended schools activity and to help promote inter-agency service delivery and the integration of education, health and family services
 - the North Huyton Learning Collaborative bringing together the work of the NDC and Education Action Zone (which ended in the spring of 2005) to provide a framework for targeted investment in twelve local schools serving the NDC area
 - a new joint faith secondary Learning Centre and a new co-located joint faith primary school under School Reorganisation and the Building Schools for the Future Programme.
- 3.18. Bradford has a high level of unqualified, non-employed young people in the area. A quarter of all 16-34 year olds have no qualifications and are either economically inactive or unemployed. The overarching rationale for this theme is to improve educational outcomes by reducing the gap in Key Stage scores with the district and on progression rates into post 16 education. The NDC has therefore helped implement a wide range of initiatives including:
- the Youth Forum project, with one of the Youth Ambassadors being commended for her outstanding work with local young people
 - Youth Ambassadors attending Working Groups and Board meetings
 - the Youth Incentives project engaging with local young people and local elderly residents in order to help break down barriers and contribute towards creating community cohesion
 - research into the needs and gaps in provision for Asylum Seekers and Refugees living in the area and a diversities and equalities plan both of which include provision for young people
 - the Higher Education Bursary Extension project which has now taken its last group of new students, who will be supported through to graduation.
- 3.19. Lifelong learning has not been neglected. In Walsall, initiatives specifically targeted towards the over 50's, carers and those with a need for support in basic skills have exceeded their targets for getting people onto courses. The funding for this initiative has been matched with European funds to extend the activity.
- 3.20. Walsall has made enterprising use of new technology, by providing IT equipment for all primary schools within the NDC area, and individual laptops

for New Deal pupils attending secondary schools, as well as a specific scheme for fairground children in the community who frequently travel around the country and suffer interrupted schooling.

- 3.21. There is also evidence of genuinely innovative thinking within education. Newham is interesting here. A major issue apparently explaining poor performance was staff recruitment and retention because of factors such as inadequate working conditions and lack of support. The original NDC education programme proposed a variety of revenue-funded interventions. Local heads, many of whom had experience of previous regeneration funding, argued against this on grounds of sustainability. Instead the bulk of the education programme has been used for a series of capital investments, with the underlying aim of helping recruitment and retention through better working conditions. Classroom assistants have also been funded. A local evaluation indicates that staff turnover has reduced, in some cases significantly, and in general attainment indicators have improved. Local heads told evaluators that the NDC interventions were playing a significant role in the improvement of standards. The teacher retention programme has now been mainstreamed within Newham Education and schools are developing charitable arms as part of their ongoing sustainability strategy in conjunction with the NDC.

(ii) HEALTH

- 3.22. Of all outcome areas, health is the one where NDCs have struggled most to identify a coherent chain of activity from baseline problems, through interventions to plausible ten year outcomes. In part this reflects the widely held view that any changes to ‘ultimate outcomes’, such as mortality and morbidity, will take many years to feed through. It also reflects the view of some NDCs, such as say Lambeth, that health standards will improve as a result of other initiatives, in this case the major refurbishment of the area. There is however a widespread recognition across the six that health standards are often significantly below national, and even local authority, benchmarks. In Bradford for instance:
- 22 per cent of the population suffer from a limiting long-term illness
 - 12 per cent of children born between 1999 and 2003 had low birth weights; although this may reflect the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood
 - the IMD 2004 score on health and disability is 1.61 which places the NDC among the 10 per cent of most deprived areas in England.
- 3.23. Walsall provides an interesting example of planning health interventions. It has defined a broader **vision**: ‘to improve the overall health status of people living within the NDC area by establishing a locally based health service that is understandable, accessible, addresses the needs of a transient population, and makes no moral judgements about how people live’. This vision in turn feeds into **strategic objectives**:
- improving access to health services

- delivering appropriate services that meet the health needs of the local community
- changing the way in which health services are delivered and commissioned by involving the community in the design, development and delivery of health services ensuring that those services are delivered in the right place at the right time in the right way
- raising aspirations through a focus on health and lifestyle, including attacking patterns of chronic disease (heart, cancer, alcohol-related), along with smoking and alcohol.

3.24. And hence to **specific projects** including:

- the Blakenall Village Centre accommodating doctors and dental surgeries, a complementary medicine facility and a pharmacy, together with the local Housing Trust, Social Services, and a library
- the Horizons Restaurant providing healthy options and ‘cook and eat’ sessions aimed at specific target groups
- a drugs aftercare service
- complementary therapy, bereavement support and cancer services
- a range of sports and physical activities including a Young Persons Gym
- a Young Person’s Sexual Health Project.

(iii) CRIME

3.25. In general NDCs are probably more at ease addressing the crime agenda than other outcome areas. There are a number of reasons for this. Reducing actual, and fear of, crime is often seen as a priority by local residents. The police have been the most supportive of organisations for many NDCs, partly because of an increasing convergence between neighbourhood policing and neighbourhood renewal. There tends also to be a general assumption, whether justified or not, that reducing crime can be tackled more easily than can many other local problems, in this instance through the implementation of highly visible projects notably ‘having more police on the street’.

3.26. Local crime **problems** identified by Newham would echo across other case studies:

- high concentrations of reported crimes, especially vehicular related, criminal damage, burglary, assault and racial incidents
- high level of fear of crime and intimidation
- drug related ASB and crime

- poor urban design resulting in the creation of vulnerable areas, a finding in line with evidence from other case studies such as Newcastle and Knowsley where observers point to crime hot spots, often caused by localised concentrations of families with strong criminal traits
- lack of facilities to help diversify young people away from crime and ASB.

3.27. In order to address these kinds of issues Bradford has supported a range of **projects** including:

- Secure by Design
- Community Police
- Community Watch
- Crimestoppers
- Vehicle Crime Reduction
- Arrest Referral Scheme
- Personal Safety Training
- Home-School Mediation
- Youth Inclusion Programme
- CCTV
- Street Lighting
- Trident Intensive Supervision Surveillance Programme.

3.28. In Walsall the importance of partnership working with the police has been emphasised by the secondment of Police Inspectors to act as Crime Theme Leaders. The establishment of a neighbourhood police team, coupled with a more effective and co-ordinated involvement of wardens, has been highlighted as a key achievement by residents involved in community safety work within the area. Basing the Neighbourhood Police Team in NDC buildings has also led to increased community confidence about reporting crime safely.

(iv) WORKLESSNESS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

3.29. In line with experience across all case studies, Knowsley sees reducing unemployment as key to the Partnership's overall success. Hence a multi-faceted strategy for addressing worklessness has been developed amongst other **objectives** to:

- support residents in overcoming barriers to employment through training, personal support, and the provision of childcare facilities
- tackle negative local perceptions of job availability
- address low job aspirations and expectations
- encourage local business development
- help people out of debt through monetary advice and support for credit union development.

3.30. These case study NDCs have typically supported a range of **projects**. Newcastle for instance has helped implement almost 40 interventions including time exchange schemes, local business support initiatives, workfinder projects, and a Construction Training Project. Newham has majored on a job brokerage project, ELITE, which works both with hard-to-employ residents and employers. It originally operated solely within the NDC area, where its target outcome was 75 jobs a year. As part of its exit strategy, ELITE has also won a number of external contracts and is now operating across a wider geographical area within Newham. Walsall has helped fund a number of initiatives including a ‘one stop shop’, offering devolved services from Jobcentre Plus, Connexions and local colleges, a local transport initiative designed to improve access to work, and a financial counselling scheme. The development of the Construction Training Programme for 20 local school leavers who were at risk of becoming NEET (not in employment, education or training) has attracted regional attention with five of the first intake employed 8 months ahead of schedule on full apprenticeships with construction companies impressed with their progress.

3.31. Bradford has undertaken an important strand of activity around worklessness. In part this is because the area contains about 350 businesses employing around 5,000 people. This represents a more obvious ‘local economic base’ upon which to build a worklessness strategy than is the case for many other NDC’s. One comment made by a number of observers in the area is that the Partnership may have delivered more quickly than some other NDCs in relation to worklessness because of support from, and partnership with, key agencies including Jobcentre Plus, the LSC, and the Small Business Service concession. This NDC’s jobs and business theme has four strategic strands:

- Support to Business
- Support to Residents
- Skills Development
- Intermediate Labour Markets.

3.32. In turn a number of projects have been developed to help promote these strategic priorities:

- New Deal for Business

- Chamber Fees
- Development Loan Fund
- New Enterprise Development
- Trident E Business
- job brokerage activities first developed in the NDC area have now been mainstreamed across regeneration activities throughout the city
- Information, Advice and Guidance Project
- Job Start Bursaries
- Impact
- Community Build
- Youthbuild
- Training Awards
- Vocational and Customised Training.

(v) HOUSING AND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT (HPE)

3.33. There is probably greater variety in approach across these six NDCs in relation to HPE than for any other outcome. A key defining characteristic here is the degree to which NDCs are seeking radically to alter the nature and tenure of local housing stock. Major refurbishment is especially apparent in two neighbourhoods Lambeth and Knowsley. Lambeth argues that social and economic exclusion experienced by residents in Clapham Park over the last 20 years has been compounded by:

- poor quality housing having adverse effects on health
- a poor built environment leading to unsafe, unhealthy and unattractive public and recreational spaces
- poor local community facilities resulting in a lack of youth provision and diversionary activities, thus contributing to high levels of youth crime
- service providers focussing on other parts of the authority resulting in inadequate health and education services in the area
- a dearth of business premises and poor transport infrastructure constraining enterprise and inward investment.

- 3.34. Hence extensive refurbishment is seen as the key driving force in encouraging positive change across all key outcome areas. In particular refurbishment will help create:
- an area that is welcoming, where people want to live
 - a flourishing and inclusive community life
 - high quality housing and environmental services
 - an increase in the percentage of homes achieving Decent Homes standard
 - a rise in the satisfaction rating of residents within the area
 - two new community facilities.
- 3.35. Similarly in Knowsley housing clearance, modernisation of stock and environmental improvements featured prominently in the first ‘stabilisation’ phase of the programme. The provision of new housing is central to housing market renewal and to the development of a ‘mixed community’. In order to achieve these ends the NDC has assisted in a multi-agency Masterplanning process involving demolitions, owner-occupier acquisitions, and a modernisation programme.
- 3.36. A degree of refurbishment/redevelopment is also planned in the four other case studies. In Newcastle for instance major investment will occur mainly as a result of the activities of the local HMRP: Bridging Newcastle-Gateshead Partnership. The NDC is not here a significant financial investor but local observers suggest it has punched above its weight in helping to design and research the overall project. The NDC resisted early pressures from partners to invest its original £3m NDC housing budget in relatively marginal improvements. The NDC’s determination to seek out a more strategic scheme was ultimately to bear fruit with the arrival of the HMRP and the ‘Decent Homes’ initiative. These allowed local partners to agree a £120m scheme for the mixed tenure development of a major housing scheme in the area: Cruddas Park. Similarly in Walsall the NDC is engaged in a redevelopment programme designed to enhance the provision of new housing for owner-occupation. This approach is intended to provide more affordable housing for existing residents as well as encouraging the in-migration of people with higher incomes, a trend which it is anticipated will help raise aspirations amongst existing residents, thereby impacting on other features of deprivation, including worklessness and health. In order to provide local private sector housing opportunity for NDC residents, and to prevent them moving out of the area and thereby causing housing ‘churn’, Walsall has launched an Enhanced Homebuy scheme, with a 40 per cent New Deal:New Horizons equity stake for qualifying applicants, which allows local people to enter into low cost home ownership which would otherwise have been too expensive. A total of £1million has been provided from the surplus gained from the transfer of the land to the developer and this will, in effect, be in the ownership of New Deal:New Horizons in perpetuity.

- 3.37. NDC supported interventions in the broad HPE remit extend beyond major redevelopment schemes. For instance, although there has tended to be an emphasis on intervention within the social rented sector, other tenures have not been neglected. Some NDCs of which Newcastle is an example have worked with private landlords in order to reduce voids through model tenants agreements and other initiatives. Bradford has a considerable proportion of privately owned housing some of which was in poor condition. To address this the NDC Partnership funded projects to improve both the external quality of the housing (Facelift) and to refurbish and improve internal conditions (Matched Incentives). These projects have been targeted at areas with high concentrations of owner occupied accommodation such as Marshfields.
- 3.38. Virtually all NDCs have also instigated programmes designed to improve, what can often be drab, local landscapes. This may involve supporting specific 'environmental improvement' initiatives. But more generally there has been a tendency for NDCs to 'wrap up' local environmental improvements within neighbourhood management schemes. In the case of Newham for example the original Delivery Plan identified key environmental issues as including:
- housing in some parts of the neighbourhood being in a poor state of repair
 - fragmentation of service delivery and no involvement of local people in service delivery
 - lack of local facilities and community buildings and activities in the area
 - poorly maintained and underused park and green spaces.
- 3.39. Neighbourhood management was identified as a mechanism through which to improve the local environment, whilst at the same time making services more attractive for, and responsive to, local residents. Operating in conjunction with Service User Groups, the NDC staff member responsible for neighbourhood management has acted as a broker, alerting service providers to specific neighbourhood management issues, particularly those falling within the remit of the council's Public Realm Department. The NDC has also worked closely with the local authority in dealing with the worst housing in the area. The NDC's approach has been to ensure that proper tenant consultation takes place over the refurbishment proposals and that improvement works are followed up by robust neighbourhood management. This is particularly important as in some parts of the NDC area there will be several landlords (the Council and two Housing Associations) once the renewal programme is complete. The initial strategy on neighbourhood management was designed to bring services back into the area. That having largely been achieved, the focus is now on building capacity among local residents to provide feedback in order to influence provision in the future.

(vi) THE COMMUNITY DIMENSION

- 3.40. In practice many NDCs have in effect adopted a sixth outcome area: the 'community dimension'. It is not always easy to identify what this constitutes. It can include informing local communities, consulting with local residents, building community level resources and leaders, enhancing the scale and scope of community or social enterprises, using NDC Boards with a majority of local residents to make strategic decisions, and so on. The potentially wide ranging nature of the community dimension is reflected in objectives assumed by these case studies. For instance Newcastle has identified a number including:
- building the capacity of all sections of the community to ensure appropriate mechanisms are in place to enable more residents to take the lead in developing and improving the community
 - securing the active involvement and participation of young people
 - improving the image of the area amongst local residents and others
 - ensuring positive achievements are highlighted both within the area and throughout Newcastle.
- 3.41. Similarly Walsall has adopted the following aims in relation to the 'community':
- increasing the confidence and capacity of residents and groups to participate actively in their community
 - building the capacity of community led service providers to plan and deliver activities and programmes to meet local needs
 - engaging with voluntary and community sector organisations based outside the area in order that they invest their expertise and resources to provide a more diverse range of support services for the community
 - raising awareness of NDC in order to enable a greater number of residents to become involved in the regeneration of the area
 - enabling young people to have a greater say in decisions that affect their community.
- 3.42. In order to achieve these kinds of objectives case studies have instigated a range of initiatives which tend to fall within a number of broad areas:
- **community consultation:** Lambeth undertook an extensive programme of community consultation with regard to a planned, and ultimately successful, stock transfer vote including the creation of 'resident block representatives', residents' meetings and walkabouts, a six month consultation strategy around the Masterplan, door to door consultations, workshops, etc
 - **enhancing community involvement:** Newham has established a Community Involvement Team (CIT), working with residents, staff and

Board members to develop ways of involving new people in the NDC; the Partnership developed five Service User Groups as a basis for neighbourhood management, so local people can get together with service providers to talk about local issues and how they might be tackled; in Knowsley a community participation strategy has been designed to encourage involvement through a Neighbourhood Network, training support, a community sector grant support scheme ('Small Change, Big Difference'), and a Diversity and Inclusion project for mapping and developing community engagement'; Bradford seeks the input of local people in many ways including 'issue based' meetings for local residents either around projects such as the Park Lane Masterplanning exercise, 'hot issues', or with particular interest groups including Asian women

- **using community knowledge:** residents in Lambeth are strongly encouraged to report incidents of crime to Neighbourhood Wardens, an approach which has apparently helped reduce crime in the area
- **enhancing the involvement of young people:** young people are seen as an important focus for community development activity in Knowsley, an objective which has been pursued through a youth work support programme (notably the development of a youth forum), the introduction of a small grants scheme for groups of young people (a 'young people' equivalent of the 'Small Change, Big Difference' scheme) and the building of a dedicated youth facility
- **building longer term capacity:** Bradford sees that the future for community centred activities is in part through enshrining community involvement in the delivery of services in the area; the NDC has developed an approach to Neighbourhood Management which should shift the emphasis from a programme funded by regeneration monies towards one based on improving mainstream services
- **using NDC structures to enhance engagement and decision making:** in Knowsley residents are involved in the NDC's decision-making structures from Task Groups through the Approvals Committee (where project proposers are questioned about their bids) to the Board where Resident Directors form a majority
- **communicating with the local community:** Newham has created an award winning web site and local radio station, the latter run by young people hence helping the Partnership to access this traditionally neglected group; Bradford has instilled communications throughout its activities; Knowsley has used Newsletters, monthly updates, Task Groups, and a Neighbourhood Action Team to disseminate information; Newcastle sees an effective communications strategy as central to all of its activities.

Cross theme Linkages

- 3.43. One of the assumptions underpinning the Programme is that being an intensive cross theme ABI, NDCs would encourage, and in turn benefit from cross theme linkages. Investing in education might well, for instance, create additional

benefits with regard to crime reduction, improved health, and lower worklessness rates. Certainly analysis of household survey data during Phase 1 of the national evaluation pointed to close statistical relationships across different dimensions to deprivation⁸. There is hence a rationale for seeking to maximise cross theme linkages: if residents encounter a series of inter-related problems, then there is a logic in attempting to address these issues in the round.

- 3.44. In practice, however, most NDCs point to a number of factors which have tended to **limit cross theme benefits**:
- pressures to deliver and spend can mean an emphasis is placed on the implementation of ‘orthodox’, but perhaps somewhat unimaginative, interventions rather than a more measured consideration of how to maximise cross theme benefits
 - many projects are carried out in conjunction with agencies which tend themselves to have service specific rather than cross theme remits
 - NDCs have tended to employ theme specialists driving change through outcome specific ‘sub-committees’.
- 3.45. Having said that one of the emerging features from what is now a maturing Programme is the degree to which these six NDCs are seeking to maximise cross theme benefits. This is happening in three ways. First, the **implementation of specific interventions** should have cross-cutting impacts. In Knowsley external improvements to owner-occupied properties has not only helped the appearance of the area, but has also impacted on crime and community safety through creating defensible space and getting vehicles off the road. In Newcastle the Wise Group has helped deliver an Intermediate Labour Market for class room assistants drawn largely from the local area thus addressing both education and worklessness through the same intervention.
- 3.46. One intervention, neighbourhood management, is seen as intrinsically capable of enhancing cross theme working. Such schemes are intentionally set up in order to address a range of issues impacting on the local communities. In Knowsley for instance, the Neighbourhood Action Team operates as a ‘one-stop’ for residents’ concerns regarding the proposed masterplanning of the area, and any other issues regarding housing, the environment, local crime and so on. In order to address these concerns the Team includes a police officer and a Domestic Violence Officer funded by the NDC. It also provides support for a Knowsley Housing Trust Tenancy Enforcement Officer directly funded by the NDC to work on issues of anti-social behaviour in the area.
- 3.47. Second, cross theme benefits are being secured through **capital investment**. In Newham for instance the NDC has achieved cross theme linkages by helping to create resource centres designed to:
- provide high quality community facilities

⁷ See for example: CRESR 2005 C Beatty et al: Health of NDC residents: who has the most to gain? http://extra.shu.ac.uk/ndc/downloads/reports/Health_who%20has%20the%20most%20to%20gain.pdf

- house service providers
 - promote cross theme working through bringing together different health, training and other service providers in the same complex
 - generate rental streams to support other activities in the longer run, thus helping to sustain renewal through time.
- 3.48. Third, although most cross theme linkages are likely to occur as a result of interventions, it is interesting to see that the degree to which key players in these six perceive cross theme benefits as likely also to arise from **internal processes**:
- in Lambeth the establishment of a central monitoring and evaluation team has promoted more concerted cross theme working as data and information are pooled in one place
 - in Lambeth, Newcastle and Bradford staff re-structuring programmes have seen, or are likely to involve, a reduction in theme specialists and a relative increase in the employment of generic programme managers more likely to see linkages across themes and interventions
 - in Walsall the NDC is placing an increasing emphasis on identifying and addressing the problems of the most excluded in the neighbourhood rather than working within specific themes, a trend which should encourage cross theme working.

Sequencing of Interventions

- 3.49. There is a continuing debate about the degree to which effective renewal depends upon a particular sequencing of activities. These six NDCs are now in an ideal position to reflect on how they have evolved and to identify lessons to be drawn from this journey. There are subtle variations across the six, aspects of which are presented below.
- 3.50. **Bradford** saw a need to consider all five delivery areas, but with housing and the physical environment together with community safety seen as major priorities because of their ability to address poverty and to provide vehicles for engaging local residents. These were also identified as priorities in a 1999 residents' survey. These priorities also complemented the view across the Partnership that there should be early evidence of physical change in the area including the provision of play areas and pocket parks. At the outset there was an attempt to achieve quick wins in projects such as the community police project. These initiatives helped gain community support for the NDC. Reflecting now on its experience over a number of years the Partnership points to what in effect has been a 'lifecycle'. Year one was for planning and research; year two progressed to major project development; and year three was the first of the five years dedicated to implementation. Major visible physical schemes began in year 4 with the start of two Neighbourhood Centres, completion of the first phase of Facelift Plus and major park renewals. Year 5 saw a major expansion of the Facelift Plus scheme and the completion of major community

facilities. And in year 6 work on community safety and education began to show results. This kind of evolution shows only too clearly the importance of seeing renewal as a longer term process requiring effective interventions in relation to both harder edged, but also 'person focussed', arenas.

3.51. **Lambeth** reflecting on its own evolution suggests that:

- the NDC was launched without sufficient preparation; issues such as legal status, governance arrangements and monitoring and performance management were not worked out before pressures to spend became apparent
- insufficient time and effort were invested in community development at the start of the programme
- work to reduce fear of crime should have been started earlier as crime reduction has not translated into an equivalent reduction in the fear of crime
- the focus on the housing stock transfer has perhaps tended to overshadow other developments within the NDC
- but the Programme is now well embedded and will ultimately lead to a dramatic improvement in the overall neighbourhood.

3.52. Observers in **Knowsley** reflect on both the importance of addressing issues in the round, but also the potential virtue of 'quick wins'. However quick wins require careful thought. For instance early interventions in relation to vehicle crime and additional policing led to a fall, but then a subsequent rise in crime levels. A later evaluation identified a number of problems:

- the perceived lack of control over the deployment of additional police resources
- the failure to make full use of community intelligence
- the continuing reluctance on the part of many residents to provide evidence on crime and anti-social behaviour
- a largely re-active rather than pro-active approach to crime and community safety
- perceptions, on the part of some residents (including some Resident Board Directors) of unnecessarily 'hard' and insensitive policing tactics
- difficulties with the monitoring and evaluation of some initiatives particularly 'quick-win' extra policing
- limited partner engagement beyond the police
- the need to align the NDC's strategy with those of the Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnership and the Drugs and Alcohol Team.

3.53. Knowsley has learnt lessons from other initiatives too:

- it would have been better to have introduced at an earlier stage the small grants scheme for young people, and the Diversity and Inclusion Project with its detailed mapping of community participation
- small capital grants programmes for individual schools worked well as ‘quick win’ projects
- more efforts should have been made to prioritise groups most distanced from the labour market including disaffected youth: *“if the approach works for that group then it will work for anyone”*
- the importance of the Neighbourhood Action Team moving location to keep up with phasing of demolition/housing renewal programmes.

3.54. However the Partnership was also aware at an early stage of the need to look at renewal over a longer time period. The initial consultation process suggested a two pronged approach: improvements to the place itself and also improvements to the life chances of local residents, particularly young people. From the outset, therefore, the NDC adopted a strategy based on:

- stabilising the area: actions focused on the ‘first-order needs’ of residents in order to provide support and to help engage them in the processes of renewal
- introducing ‘early/quick win’ interventions to underline the potential for real change
- addressing economic decline as the basis for longer-term impact on health, education and crime
- instilling neighbourhood management and improvements to mainstream service delivery.

3.55. **Newcastle** elected to tackle liveability and crime as early priorities:

– ‘if you don’t have security if you don’t feel secure then the rest is just detail you’re not going to get anywhere; one thing that everybody has in common....it’s actually their environment and how secure, how safe, and how appealing their environment the physical environment is around them; that goes from the kids to old age pensioners; so the environment and security are probably the two key issues that everybody literally everybody is interested in...’

3.56. Reflecting on previous experience, the Partnership would now also favour a community capacity building phase arguing that there is a case for *‘a heavy investment not just of community development skills but in people with facilitation skills, mentoring skills, mediation skills, all those kind of skills, people with people skills who will knock heads together’*.

- 3.57. In the early days **Newham** adopted a two fold approach. It placed an emphasis on trying to work more closely with service providers, as a precursor to influencing service design. But the Partnership also looked to achieve quick wins, largely by encouraging other agencies to undertake relatively small scale physical improvements such as tree pruning, graffiti removal, and environmental repairs. But underlying this approach were other wider goals:
- engaging the community through initiatives which demonstrated that the NDC listened, and that it could do things
 - restoring the local community's confidence in the council: the NDC thought that the continuing hostility between the community and council would undermine regeneration in the long run.
- 3.58. And finally in **Walsall**, the NDC makes the point that community expectations were extremely high at the beginning of the programme, not least because of the emphasis then placed on the freedom which residents would have to spend the NDC budget as they wished. The gradual recognition of limitations on 'resident control' led to some disillusionment and it has taken time to 'row back' from this.
- 3.59. The initial focus was placed on improving the area's image among local residents as part of a 'raising aspirations' strategy, together with a focus on the physical transformation of the area through both the removal of some older flats and new build. At the same time successful alliances were secured with other agencies such as the police and the PCT to drive forward policies to improve outcomes in crime and health. The use of seconded education consultants helped too in enhancing the scale and quality of educational initiatives in the early days of the Programme. There is now a recognition that more attention might have been given at an early stage to external image, especially amongst businesses and stakeholders. While this is now being remedied, there is relatively little time to reap benefits from any wider recognition of gains flowing from the NDC's activities. However, the existence of the Blakenall Village Centre housing some 200 professionals from key statutory agencies and a well used conference facility, has been a practical expression of how "perceptions" of an area can alter.
- 3.60. Evidence from these six case studies does not definitively point to effective neighbourhood renewal being dependent upon a particular sequencing of activities. But there are **key lessons**:
- there is a strong sense across these six NDCs that the Programme should have contained at least one 'Year Zero' to provide what were then 'interim' Partnerships an opportunity to establish working procedures, engage with agencies and communities, and devise plausible 10 year programmes
 - most local observers suggest that some quick wins especially in the areas of crime and liveability are worthwhile, providing they are rapidly followed up by more substantive change
 - it is easy to underestimate the time and costs involved in building up robust community capacity resources

- there needs to be a simultaneous driving forward of policies both to improve the area together with initiatives designed to address person based outcomes
- unless changes to the area and its environment are made, improving the lot of individuals is likely to accentuate the out-flow of relatively less disadvantaged individuals and households.

Planning neighbourhood level strategic change: a Concluding Comment

3.61. This section provides an overview of some of the determinants which have driven strategic change. Reflecting on that experience across all six case study NDCs:

- there have been different approaches towards strategic change: in their early days some sought primarily to drive forward people based interventions especially in education and jobs, others saw the need for extensive physical improvements
- but overarching strategies have evolved, frequently driven by that tension between helping individuals, on the one hand, whilst at the same time improving the area as whole in order to help 'lock in' improvements, on the other
- there has been relatively little emphasis on securing cross theme linkages, partly because partner agencies tend often to operate within relatively narrow confines; but this is changing as a result of new capital developments bringing together different services and agencies, and also because new NDC staffing structures tend increasingly to stress generic rather than theme based skills
- there are no consistent messages in relation to any exact and preferred sequencing of renewal activities; but most observers point to the value of quick wins, followed up by more substantive improvements; ultimately improving the lot of individuals needs to be balanced out by area based change.

CHAPTER 4

Delivering Neighbourhood Renewal

- 4.1. Evidence from these six NDCs illuminates issues and dilemmas involved in managing the delivery of neighbourhood renewal. These are explored below within a threefold classification:
- staffing and management
 - governance
 - relationships with the Accountable Body.

Staffing and Management

- 4.2. The day to day operation and activities of the NDCs are undertaken through teams of staff typically including senior managers and those with thematic expertise, backed up by appropriate administrative support. Theme leaders can be seconded from other agencies. In Walsall the Crime and Community Safety Theme Leader is an Inspector seconded from the West Midlands Police. NDC Chief Executives are responsible for the implementation of policies and strategic decisions of the Board and for the management of all NDC staff in implementing the agreed programme. Typically most staff are technically employed by the Accountable Body, the local authority, but work for the Partnership.
- 4.3. Table 4.1 outlines some of the key characteristics in relation to staffing:
- Newcastle employs most through its management and administration budget, Newham the fewest: some staff may well be working ‘for’ the Partnership but as secondees from other agencies
 - the proportion of female staff varies from over three-quarters to a third
 - BME employees range from less than 10 per cent to nearly 60 per cent.
- 4.4. Numbers of staff employed through project funding varies considerably across these case studies: Newham employs six, Lambeth almost ten times as many. These figures need to be treated with a great deal of caution. What they in part reflect is the degree to which NDCs decide to retain certain functions ‘in-house’. Activities such as community engagement, job mentoring, masterplanning and neighbourhood management may be undertaken either by staff within NDCs or by projects and agencies funded by Partnerships. NDCs differ in the degree to which they retain functions within the immediate organisation.

Table 4.1 Staff characteristics				
	Staff employed through Management & Admin budget			Number of FTE staff employed through project funding
	Number of FTE staff	Percentage Female	Percentage BME	
Bradford	9	33	44	9
Knowsley	11	78	6	22
Lambeth	10	68	57	61
Newcastle	19	73	5	18
Newham	6	55	30	6
Walsall	9	56	13	16
NDC average	10	64	25	41

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

- 4.5. In general there are not as many BME employees or members of Boards as local BME populations would suggest (Table 4.2). As is outlined in Table 6.5 the ethnic population of these areas is changing. Perhaps Partnerships are having problems in 'keeping up' with these changes, especially as it will be relatively difficult to engage with some incoming groups.

Table 4.2 Data Team Table of BME Staff Versus Local BME Population			
	Percentage BME board members	Percentage BME staff	Percentage BME residents in NDC area¹
Bradford	64	44	69
Knowsley	0	6	0.5
Lambeth	21	57	44
Newcastle	26	5	40
Newham	33	30	50
Walsall	3	13	2
NDC average	20	25	28

Source: Partnership Survey 2006, 1Ipsos MORI 2006 Household Survey

- 4.6. Most maintain a full staffing complement and do not have problems with either turnover or recruitment. Those that are contemplating staffing changes foresee a reduction in their overall complement (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3 Staff issues					
	Maintained a full staff complement	Turnover a problem	Staff turnover (Percentage)	Difficulties recruiting staff	Staff composition to change
Bradford	Yes	No	0	No	Yes (reduction)
Knowsley	Yes	No	13	No	Yes (in line with programme)
Lambeth	Yes	No	7	No	Yes (reduction)
Newcastle	No	Yes	16	Yes (specialist staff)	Yes (reduction)
Newham	Yes	No	10	No	No
Walsall	Yes	No	3	No	No

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

- 4.7. One issue to emerge in Phase 1 of the evaluation was the degree to which spend at the Partnership level fell following the departure of a Chair and especially a Chief Executive. But interestingly in four of these NDCs there has been a **pattern of stability**, notably in relation to the post of Chief Executive (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Change in Chair and Chief Exec				
	Chair changed in last 12 months	Number of time the Chair has changed since Partnership founded	Chief Exec changed in last 12 months	Number of time the Chief Exec has changed since Partnership founded
Bradford	No	0	No	0
Knowsley	No	0	No	0
Lambeth	No	1	Yes	2
Newcastle	No	3	No	0
Newham	Vacancy at present	4	Yes	2
Walsall	No	0	No	1
NDC average		2		2

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

- 4.8. Partnerships are increasingly aware of the importance of **staff development**. Walsall for instance has implemented a Learning Plan designed to address the needs of all staff in an inclusive and holistic manner. Following away days staff identified a number of areas for development including strategy,

communications and relationships with Board Members. A Staff Communications and an Individual Performance Management framework has been adopted. The latter which has also been used by the Accountable Body, aims to develop performance management, enhance career development and identify learning needs. The Board has shown its commitment to learning through acknowledging the need for a Learning Programme for both Board Members and Staff, including an Induction Programme for newly elected Board Directors and Staff. Board and Staff members have been issued with copies of the Learning Plan and certificates are issued for attendance at all training and learning sessions and events.

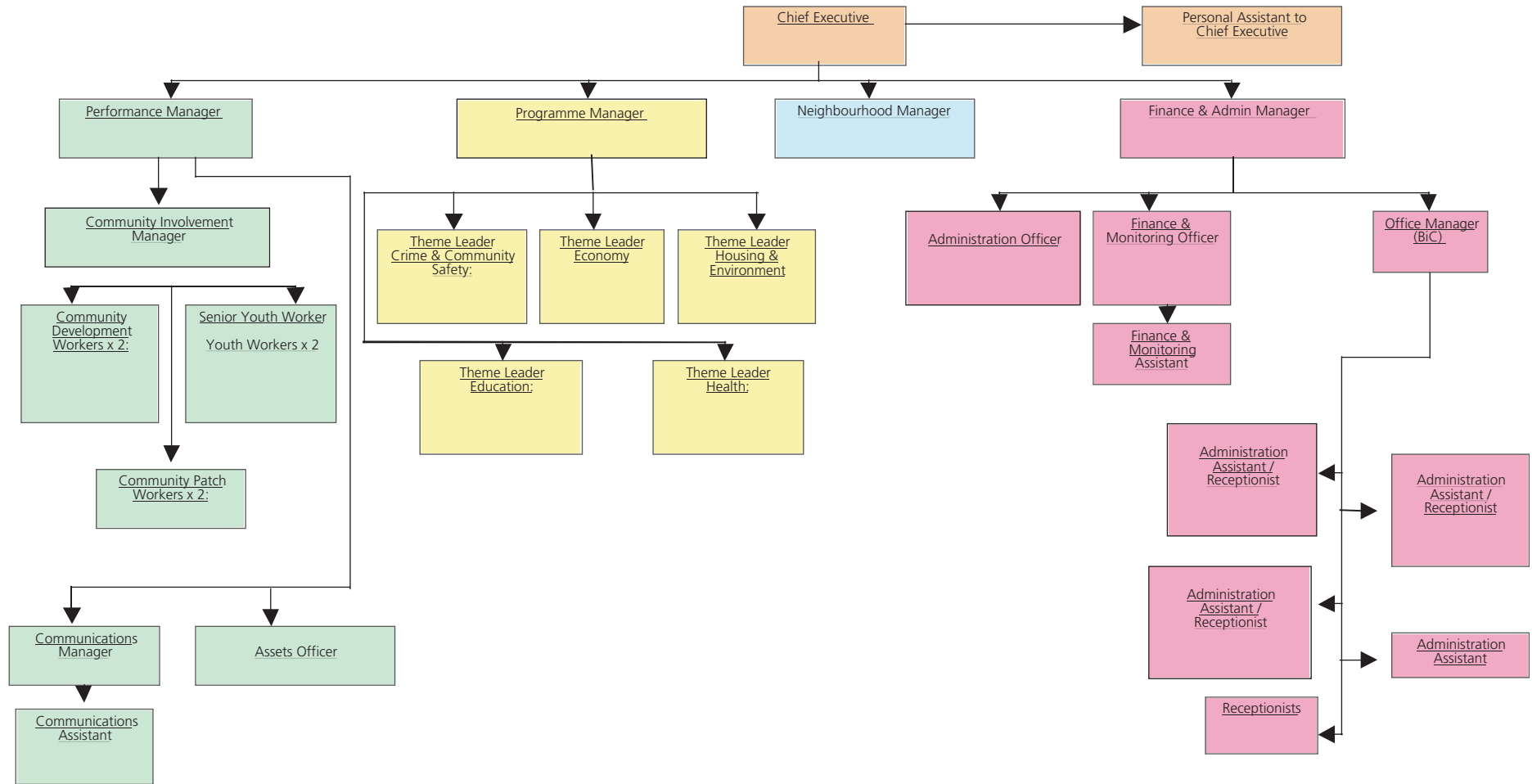
- 4.9. One marked feature of the Programme, very much evident across these six NDCs, is the degree to which Partnerships have enhanced their **local evaluation capacity** (Table 4.5). Most of the six are engaged in most evaluation activities.

Table 4.5 Local Evaluation						
	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
Member of staff with responsibility for evaluation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Employed staff to carry out	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Evaluation plan	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Programme of dissemination	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Involve local people	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Project specific evaluations	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Research with beneficiaries	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Consultants for some evaluation	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Consultants for all local evaluation activities	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
Asses impact of NDC activities on BME groups	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Changed projects as a result	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Resulted in programme change	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

- 4.10. Typically NDCs have adopted **staffing structures** based around key activities or objectives. Walsall for instance is based around three key functions: performance, programme activities, and finance and management (Figure 4.1). Other NDCs more obviously adopt a structure based on key outcome areas.

Figure 4.1 Walsall NDC: Staff Structure



Governance

- 4.11. NDCs have adopted a range of approaches in relation to **institutional or legal status** (Table 4.6). All six are companies limited by guarantee and two are also charities. Two more plan to register as charities in the next three years.

	Co. Ltd by Guarantee	Community Development Trust	Charity	Legal status to change over next 3 years
Bradford	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Knowsley	Yes	No	No	No
Lambeth	Yes	No	No	Register as a Charity
Newcastle	Yes	No	No	No
Newham	Yes	No	No	Register as a Charity
Walsall	Yes	No	Yes	No

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

- 4.12. Ultimate authority for the implementation of Delivery Plans lies with **Partnership Boards**. These six vary from 16 to 38 in size (Table 4.7). There are at least seven resident representatives on every Board; Walsall has 24. Representatives from the police, and the PCT sit on all six Boards, as do at least some local councillors.

Table 4.7 Board Members (counts)						
	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
Number of board members	25	26	16	23	21	38
Affiliation						
LA Employees	0	1	1	3	0	0
LA Councillors	3	3	1	3	3	3
LSC	1	0	0	0	0	0
Private Company/Trade Association	3	0	1	0	0	2
Police/Crime Prevention	1	1	1	1	1	1
PCT/Health	1	1	1	1	1	1
Jobcentre Plus	0	1	1	1	0	0
Voluntary/Community Organisations	1	1	0	1	0	1
Faith Organisations	2	1	0	0	0	0
Resident's Representatives	12	12	7	12	14	24
SBS/Chamber Of Commerce	0	0	0	1	0	0
LEA/Further Education/College/School	0	1	1	0	0	2
Registered Social Landlords/Housing Assoc.	1	1	0	0	2	1
Youth Representatives	0	1	0	0	0	2
Other	0	0	0	0	0	1

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

Note: For Lambeth and Knowsley, the number of board members does not equal sum of affiliation due to vacancies

- 4.13. All six have used **elections** for residents Board representation, although there is a mixed picture in relation to their frequency (Table 4.8). In two recent instances there was no need for an election because numbers of candidates did not exceed places up for election. Where elections have taken place rates vary because of factors such as publicity, the proximity of NDC elections to those for local authorities, the popularity and profile of candidates, the degree to which elections cover all or part of NDC areas, and so on. The point is made in Walsall with its 24 patch representatives that elections occur when seats are contested: 10 for example in 2004, eight the following year. There can be more subtle local political processes at work here too. In one NDC the view is that a cadre of former community activists has moved from being involved in specific NDC theme activities and sub-groups to becoming Board members. They are well known and are respected locally. Turnout rates have fallen probably because they are widely perceived as reflecting 'community views': they have taken the sting out of tensions between the NDC and local residents evident in the early days of the Programme.
- 4.14. To give some local flavour to the election process, Walsall has 24 elected Resident Directors, representing 24 'patches'. Any resident on the electoral roll

may stand for election to represent their patch through an agreed electoral process. Other Board members are representatives of the Local Authority and of other statutory, business, voluntary and faith organisations, mainly nominated through the Local Strategic Partnership.

Table 4.8 Elections for resident board members			
	Elections for resident board members	Frequency of elections	Turnout for last elections (%)
Bradford	Yes	Every two years	40
Knowsley	Yes	Every three years	4
Lambeth	Yes	Every two years	16
Newcastle	Yes	Every year	No need for election
Newham	Yes	Every three years	No need for election
Walsall	Yes	Every year	23

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

- 4.15. Partnerships take seriously the issues surrounding the **operation of Boards**. In Newham for instance the Partnership has produced a detailed job description for the Chair whose responsibilities include ensuring efficient conduct of Board business and a Board Members Handbook which includes:
- a 'Board Compact' emphasising the need for members to treat each other with respect, and establishing that decisions are binding and are not to be re-examined at any subsequent fora
 - an equalities statement
 - a Code of Practice
 - a Board/Officer Compact
 - a Board Members Job Description.
- 4.16. In general Partnerships have put in place various **'thematic' governance arrangements** in order to support the strategic functions of Boards. To give a flavour of these, Lambeth has created a Business Employment and Training Theme Group, attended by residents and officers of the NDC and other mainstream providers, which has helped move debate from identifying needs to delivery and performance management. This Group appraises projects, but the Board takes final decisions on funding.
- 4.17. Similarly in Knowsley thematic change has been driven forward through a number of governance arrangements:
- **Crime and Community Safety:** concerns over the limited impact of some of the early quick-win initiatives encouraged the development of a more strategic approach involving the appointment of a Commissioning Officer

on secondment from the Jill Dando Institute and the development of a 'multi-agency' approach by the 'Problem Solving Team' and its successor Chameleon Project

- Education and Schools Beyond: joint working with North Huyton Learning Collaborative Executive Team based in the NDC's offices
- Employment and Local Economy: the Road to Work Team led by Action for Job secondees to the NDC
- Health and Healthy Living: the integration of NDC work through the Commissioning Officer's involvement in the PCT's Health Equality Team and Health Promotion Network, and via the PCT's NDC Partnership Group, initially set up to oversee development of the PCT's new Primary Care Resource Centre for the NDC area but subsequently evolving into a group overseeing public health projects and initiatives in the NDC area
- Housing and Environmental Services: the North Huyton Housing Partnership Group bringing together representatives of key partners such as the Knowsley Housing Trust and the Neighbourhood Action Team, including a police officer and jointly funded posts with Knowsley Housing Trust in Domestic Violence and Anti-Social Behaviour.

4.18. As the Programme has evolved, arrangements for thematic governance have changed. In Bradford for instance the Thematic Task Groups are increasingly taking on a monitoring and evaluation role as other functions, such as commissioning projects, come to an end. The point is made there too that NDC staff have actively sought links with wider partnerships in the city such as the Housing Partnership Board and Children and Young People's Partnership either through direct representation on the relevant partnership or one of its sub groups, or through close working links with local authority officers serving on these wider partnerships.

4.19. Theme groups will often be the vehicle through which projects are designed, commissioned, appraised, monitored and evaluated. NDCs have developed sophisticated systems through which to drive forward projects. The overall approach adopted by Walsall is outlined in Figure 4.2 for instance. In common with other NDCs the Partnership maintains a separation of project development and project appraisal roles. All projects now undergo an independent external appraisal, prior to being submitted to the Approvals Committee and Board for consideration.

Figure 4.2 Walsall: New Project Commissioning – Flow Chart

STAGES		ACTIVITY	WHO BY
Project Design	1	Identify Gaps & Needs	Theme Group
	2	Develop Project Specification	Theme Leader
	3	'Sign Off' Project Specification	Programme Manager
	4	Project specification to Theme Group for Endorsement & recommendation on Commission route from the following options (i) Statutory Provider (ii) ND:NH Approved Providers or (iii) Open Tender	Theme Group
Commissioning Stages	5	Invite Tender submissions against agreed Project Specification	Programme Manager
	6	Tender submissions assessed to ensure they meet specification	Prog Manager Theme Leader
	7	Tender submissions appraised by Independent Appraiser	Independent Appraiser
Approval Routes Approval Sub/Board/GOWM	8	Short-listed Tender invited to present to Theme Group for endorsement	Theme Leader
	9	Short-listed Tender invited to present to Approvals committee for consideration	Programme Manager
	10	Report to Board seeking Approval/Ratification/Noting [for project less than £1 million]	Programme Manager
	11	Tender Submission to GOWM Approval for Projects above £1 million	Programme Manager
Project Implementation	12	Successful Tender contracted to deliver project	Finance Manager
	13	Project Implementation	Tender Organisation

4.20. These six Partnerships have also implemented a range of **equality and diversity policies**. Some such as Bradford and Newham have effected policies across all Partnership functions (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Equality and Diversity issues						
	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
Equality issues considered as a condition of project approval	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
BME led projects	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
BME targeted projects	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Provide race equality/diversity training for board members	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Provide race equality/diversity training for staff	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Implemented racial equalities policy/strategy	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Implemented a gender equalities policy/strategy	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Implemented a disabilities equalities policy/strategy	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

Relationships with the Accountable Body

4.21. The local authority is the Accountable Body in all six case studies, a relationship usually governed by some form of signed agreement. The Accountable Body is the legal entity nominated by Partnerships to take responsibility for the receipt and use of NDC Grant and the realisation of the Delivery Plan. The 2004 Memorandum of Agreement between Bradford NDC and the city council provides a useful example. Issues covered in this agreement **include**:

- the financial role of the Accountable Body
- the functions of the NDC in deciding regeneration priorities for the area, and in preparing and submitting Delivery Plans to GOYH
- mechanisms through which the Partnership informs and consults with the Accountable Body
- the development and implementation by the NDC of systems governing project appraisal, approval and monitoring; and maintaining appropriate management accounting and risk management systems
- procedures governing external audit
- acceptance that the NDC can enter agreements with other agencies in order to help implement the Delivery Plan
- the production by the NDC of an Annual Report.

Delivering neighbourhood renewal: a concluding comment

- 4.22. This Chapter provides an overview of staffing and governance. Perhaps three overarching themes emerge:
- NDCs have become complex neighbourhood level institutions with an inherent and increasingly apparent dynamism to them: they are significant players within their own contexts
 - they have matured: there is greater emphasis on ensuring business is done, proper procedures apply to equalities and diversities, and appropriate local monitoring and evaluation systems are in place
 - they are all increasingly looking to the future: reduced or restructured teams of staff, new legal systems, and new governance arrangements with other agencies to sustain activity through time.

CHAPTER 5

NDC Level Change: 2001-02 to 2005-06

- 5.1. The previous chapter explores issues surrounding the management of neighbourhood renewal and the next emerging dilemmas in relation to delivering change. This chapter outlines key changes which have occurred in these six areas. At the outset however it is important to stress two overarching caveats.
- 5.2. First, **change does not necessarily reflect the ‘performance’ of individual Partnerships**. Change might, or might not, occur for many reasons including:
- developments in the wider context: economic opportunities occurring in the sub-region might help reduce worklessness for instance
 - the role of other delivery agencies: the co-operation or otherwise of other delivery agencies might be fundamental in affecting the rate and direction of change
 - NDCs are relatively well funded compared with previous ABIs; nevertheless averaged across the Programme spend per person per year per theme is less than £100; clearly individual NDCs may well ‘bias’ investment to some outcome areas rather than others; but it is implausible to imagine that the **relatively limited** scale of NDC investment will, of itself, have yet made a substantial impact across all themes
 - there may be considerable time lags between interventions and outcomes
 - interventions can lead to perverse outcomes: more PCSOs for instance can lead to an increase in recorded crime.
- 5.3. Second, **relationships between interventions and spend, on the one hand, and any associated outcomes, on the other, are in any event far from clear**. One of the key objectives to this case study strand of work is to help disentangle these interrelationships: to get inside the ‘black box’! The national evaluation team are examining that nexus of issues surrounding spend, interventions and outcomes in the broad area of ‘Safer and Stronger Communities’. But it is clear that this will be a complex exercise. It may never be possible **definitively** to tabulate relationships between specific interventions and outcomes: there is simply too much external ‘noise’.

- 5.4. To give some flavour to this issue, it is interesting to relate expenditure per theme outlined in Table 3.1 to change data developed in Table 5.1, which outlines change for 'place based' indicators, and Table 5.2, which tabulates change for some people based outcomes notably health, education, and worklessness. There is at least one instance where there does appear to be a relationship between spend and outcomes. Bradford, and especially, Newcastle have spent more on worklessness than the other four NDCs and this **may** be one of the reasons why associated employment and worklessness outcomes appear to be better for these two than for the other case study areas. That relationship seems plausible: investing in training, job mentoring, and other labour supply initiatives may well impact on employment and worklessness rates.
- 5.5. But there are other examples where there does not as yet appear to be any direct relationship between spend and change:
- Newcastle and Walsall have tended to spend more on crime but this is not always evident in police recorded crime data; Lambeth – which spent less than a third of that committed by either of these two – saw more positive change, although Walsall did see considerable change in relation to community and fear of crime indicators which may have flowed from its strong emphasis on both crime but also community initiatives
 - Bradford and Newham tended to spend more on education, but Newcastle and Knowsley appeared to see at least as much positive change.
- 5.6. To re-iterate the key point: **relationships between spend and outcomes remain unclear and change at the local level may be due to a wide range of contextual and other factors over which any NDC may have little if any influence.**
- 5.7. Nevertheless whilst accepting these realities, it is possible briefly to indicate the scale of change occurring in these six areas. How have they fared compared with:
- national averages?
 - the NDC Programme as a whole?
 - parent local authorities?
 - the comparator areas?
- 5.8. All six outperform **national averages** (Tables 5.1 and 5.2) in at last half of the 15 instances where it is possible to assess NDC level change against national benchmarks. More detailed analysis indicates that:
- changes in Bradford and Newcastle exceeded national equivalents in 13 of the 15 indicators involved
 - change in the two London NDCs exceeded national equivalents in only about half of these indicators

- for seven of these 15 indicators, national change was exceeded in at least five of the six case study areas; these covered a range of outcome areas including feeling part of the community; fear of, and actual, crime; households receiving out of work means tested benefits; and educational attainment; all six saw substantial rates of change in relation to residents being satisfied with the area as a place to live, when the national figure held steady.

5.9. In relation to change against **NDC Programme wide averages** (Tables 5.1 and 5.2.):

- Bradford, Walsall and Knowsley outperform NDC averages in at least 10 of 18 indicators: Newcastle outperforms the NDC average for half of these 18
- on the data presented here, the two London case study areas have not performed especially well against Programme wide averages; but it may well be that further work carried out in 2007 on change within **different classifications of NDC areas** points to there being a ‘London effect’; if this proves to be the case the most appropriate benchmark against which to assess change in Lambeth and Newham may not be all NDCs, but rather one based on the 10 London ones.

5.10. Perhaps there is a hint here too that this group of NDCs is doing well in relation to people based, rather more than place based, outcomes. This theme will be revisited as case study work unfolds. But at this stage it is interesting to note that at least four of the six case study areas saw positive changes above the NDC average in relation to:

- employment rate
- health being good
- educational attainment rates at Key Stages 2 and 4.

	Feel part of the community	Neighbours look out for each other	Think the NDC has improved the area	Satisfied with area as a place to live	Want to move	Satisfied with state of repair of home	Environment/dereliction index ⁵	Feel unsafe out alone in area after dark	Experienced crime in previous 12 months ⁷	Total police recorded crime rate ⁸
Bradford	3	4	33	8	-1	13	-13	-12	-2	-12.6
Knowsley	8	-2	24	18	-5	11	-19	-12	-3	39.7
Lambeth	13	-7	20	11	1	-1	-10	-10	-6	-43.1
Newcastle	9	0	21	11	4	-7	-3	-8	9	-1
Newham	-1	-1	23	9	1	1	-11	2	1	-18.1
Walsall	13	6	51	16	1	11	-15	-17	-5	-22.4
NDC average	7	2	24	11	1	3	-10	-10	-5	
National	2 ¹	-1 ²		0 ³	-4 ¹	3 ^{3,4}		-3 ⁶		-0.7

Source: Ipsos MORI 2002 & 2006 Household Survey, ¹Ipsos MORI 2002 & 2006 Omnibus Survey, ²General Household Survey – Social Capital Module 2000 & Ipsos MORI Social Issues Omnibus 2006, ³Survey of English Housing 2002/03 & 2003/04, ⁴Ipsos MORI Social Issues Omnibus 2006, ⁵British Crime Survey 2001 & 2004/5, ⁶SDRC 2001/2 & 2004/5 figures

Notes: ⁵Environment/dereliction index includes: dogs causing nuisance or mess; litter & rubbish on the streets; run down/boarded up properties; abandoned/burn out vehicles; speed & volume of traffic; vandalism, graffiti and other deliberate damage to property and disturbance from crowds, gangs and hooligans. The index goes from 0-100 and the lower the score the better. ⁷Composite indicator based on proportion of residents who have experienced at least one incident of: burglary inside the home, theft from outside the home, theft from person, assault, criminal damage to household property, threatening behaviour, racial harassment/assault. As not all households have a car this indicator does not include car crimes.

Table 5.2 People based indicators: percentage point change 2001/2-2005/6

	Employment rate	Rate of worklessness ²	Living in households receiving out of work means tested benefits ²	Rate of smoking	Health good or fairly good over last year	Rates of no physical activity for at least 20 minutes at a time	Key stage 2: Level 4 or above in English ²	Key stage 4: 5 or more GCSE A* to C grades ²	Adults of working age with no qualifications
Bradford	8	-1.5	-3.9	-5	1	-4	6.3	16.1	-3
Knowsley	4	-0.4	-4.4	0	5	11	11.3	13.3	0
Lambeth	-3	-0.5	0.3	-5	2	0	13.9	2.3	0
Newcastle	10	-3.8	-8.1	-3	5	-4	12.4	18.8	-5
Newham	1	-0.6	-2.7	-4	6	3	18.8	3.2	-2
Walsall	-2	-0.1	-2.4	-2	7	-2	4	18.3	-11
NDC average	0	-0.6	-2.2	-3	3	0	6	10.8	-2
National	0 ¹	-0.4	-0.8 ¹	-2 ³	1 ³		4.6	5	-2 ¹

Source: Ipsos MORI 2002 & 2006 Household Survey, ¹Labour force survey 2002 & 2006, ²SDRC 2002 & 2005 figures, ³General Household Survey 2000/01 & 2004/05

5.11. Table 5.3 indicates the degree to which these six have closed the **gaps with their parent local authority** in relation to five key indicators. Negative values indicate the gap between the NDC and its parent LA closed (NDC improved relative to LA) and positive values that it widened (NDC worsened relative to LA). In all instances NDC areas have closed the gaps in at least two of these five indicators. Newcastle has closed the gaps in all five instances.

Table 5.3 Closing the gap with parent Local Authorities

	Total police recorded crime rate ¹	Rate of worklessness ²	Living in households receiving out of work means tested benefits ²	Key stage 2: Level 4 or above in English ²	Key stage 4: 5 or more GCSE A* to C grades ²
Bradford	8	-1	-2	0	-8
Knowsley	28	2	0	-5	-1
Lambeth	-14	-1	1	-6	7
Newcastle	-10	-1	-4	-6	-5
Newham	-3	0	-2	-8	7
Walsall	-9	0	-2	5	-15

Source: ¹SDRC 2001/2 & 2004/5 figures, ²SDRC 2002 & 2005 figures

5.12. The concept behind the comparator areas is outlined in 1.12 and a brief description of each outlined in Chapter Two. It is possible to assess change in **NDC areas against their comparators** (Table 5.4.). This evidence needs to be treated with particular caution. These are not 'pure' control areas: many of

the comparator areas are themselves benefiting from other non NDC regeneration initiatives. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that for three of these six key indicators at least four NDC areas showed more positive change than occurred in their comparators: crime rates; house prices; and Key Stage 4 results. Newham saw more positive change than did its comparator for five of these six indicators, while Bradford saw more positive change for four.

Table 5.4 Change in NDC and comparator areas

		Total Crime Rate: Change 2000-01 to 2004-05	Standardised Mortality Ratio: Change 2001-2005	Worklessness Rate: Change 2001 to 2005	House Prices: Percentage Change 2001 to 2005	KS 2 level 4 English: Change 2002 to 2005	KS 4 5+ GCSEs grade A*-C: Change 2002 to 2005
Bradford	NDC	-5.3	-0.097	-2.3	149	6.3	16.1
	Comparator	-5.4	0.045	-3.5	105	4.6	3.4
Knowsley	NDC	33.5	-0.084	-2.9	77	11.3	13.3
	Comparator	21.6	0.079	-4.7	97	17.1	12.8
Lambeth	NDC	-28.4	-0.095	0.4	32	13.9	2.3
	Comparator	-26.6	-0.134	-0.7	9	2.9	25.3
Newcastle	NDC	-1.7	0.119	-3.9	259	12.4	18.8
	Comparator	22.9	0.113	-4.7	117	15.8	10.7
Newham	NDC	-15.2	-0.017	-0.7	87	18.8	3.2
	Comparator	-4.2	0.079	0.3	76	12.0	20.2
Walsall	NDC	-18.3	0.106	0.1	106	4.0	18.3
	Comparator	-17.4	0.056	-1.1	127	15.6	-0.1

Source: SDRC

- 5.13. One of the advantages in undertaking case study work is that it is possible to provide some **context within which to explain or at least better to understand change data**. This is not an objective scientific task. But local knowledge can help to appreciate why changes have occurred and what might plausibly happen in the future. Developments likely to have impacted on change data, or which may well do so in the future, are outlined for each of the six areas below.
- 5.14. In **Bradford** a key objective has been to redevelop and improve much of the housing stock in order to address high levels of dereliction in the social housing stock (primarily in blocks of flats) and to provide assistance (through matched incentive schemes) by which to improve housing in the owner occupied sector. Dereliction and vacant social housing have been addressed through a demolition and rebuilding programme which has seen 34 blocks of flats demolished to date. Investment has also been made in the wider physical environment of the area, through improvements to parks and open space, a living street initiative, and support for neighbourhood wardens. These developments appear to have had a significant effect on place based outcomes. For example, 66 per cent of respondents to the household survey in 2006 were very or fairly satisfied with the area compared with 58 per cent in 2002. Significantly 77 per cent were satisfied with the state of repair of their home, up from 64 per cent in 2002. There has also been a slight fall in the proportion of residents wanting to move home. Although average house prices remain low

- (£62,699 in 2005), this was nevertheless a considerable increase on 2001, when it was £25,189. This 150 per cent increase in house prices over four years compares with a city wide average of 105 per cent. There are plans for private investment in city-centre living accommodation, which may well in turn impact further on house prices in the NDC area. Improvements in the quality of the local environment appear too to have impacted on local perceptions. For example concerns that litter and rubbish are a problem fell from 40 per cent to 21 per cent between 2002 and 2006.
- 5.15. There have also been noticeable and positive changes across people based outcomes. For example, at Key Stage 4, 49.7 per cent of pupils achieved 5 or more A-C GCSE grades in 2005. This is a considerable increase on the 33.6 per cent level evident in 2002 and the NDC level now exceeds the district average. NDC funds were spent in schools (such as learning mentors and capital improvements), on individuals (including after school clubs, summer schools and ICT centres) and more broadly on youth support (such as the youth forum and the Trident Arts Project). There have also been marked improvements in crime and community safety. Residents feel safer (26 per cent of people felt very unsafe after dark in 2006, down from 36 per cent in 2002). Recorded crime is down from 62.9 (per 1,000) in 2002 to 50.3. These outcomes appear to be the result of investments by the NDC in a range of integrated activities and considerable support from the Police and other groups such as the Youth Offending Team. There have also been improvements in health in that levels of smoking have fallen and people feel slightly better about their health, and employability (with the employment rate increasing from 36 per cent in 2002 to 44 per cent four years later. However, the rate of worklessness has changed little, falling from 22.9 per cent to 21.4 per cent, probably reflecting wider national trends.
- 5.16. In **Knowsley** the area is now seeing a major physical redevelopment involving the demolition of around 1,200 mainly social rented properties and the building of up to 1,450 new properties of which around 300 will be socially rented or in low cost housing ownership. The aim is to change the tenure mix from 80:20 social: private to nearer 50:50. This has seen the area adopted as one of the Communities and Local Government 'Mixed Communities Demonstration Projects'. Together the housing and environmental elements of the redevelopment will cost around £160 million, largely from private developers. Housing in the area is already benefiting from a £50 million plus modernisation programme undertaken by the principal social housing landlord, Knowsley Housing Trust, which has brought all of the Trust's housing stock in the NDC area up to the Decent Homes Standard. Partly flowing from these initiatives, the area has seen some encouraging improvements in place-based indicators of change. Between 2002 and 2006 there was an 18 percentage points increase in the proportion of residents who were very/fairly satisfied with the area as a place to live (compared with an 11 percentage points increase for NDCs as a whole). Over the same period, there was an 11 percentage points increase in the proportion of residents who were 'very/fairly satisfied' with the state of repair of their homes (compared with the NDC aggregate figure of just 3 percentage points) and a 5 percentage points fall in the proportion of residents who wanted to move home. The picture for crime and community safety, is more mixed. Police recorded data for the period 2001 to 2005 show an increase in recorded crime, which the NDC and local police believe is partly a reflection

of the crimes associated with the presence of relatively high numbers of empty and derelict properties and also of more proactive policing. The 2006 police figures show some signs of improvement in recorded crime and the 2006 Household Survey shows positive improvements in residents' perceptions of crime and community safety issues. Between 2002 and 2006 there was a twelve percentage points fall in the proportion of respondents feeling unsafe walking alone in or around the area after dark, compared with a 10 percentage points decline for NDCs as a whole.

- 5.17. The picture is also mixed for people based indicators of change. A key element in the NDC's worklessness interventions has been an Intermediate Labour Market Programme and a seconded Jobcentre Plus Action for Jobs Team. These interventions appear to be making inroads into the area's unemployment problem with, between 2002 and 2005, a four percentage points increase in the employment rate and a 4.4 percentage points reduction in the numbers living in households receiving out of work means-tested benefits. The overall rate of worklessness, however, only saw a 0.4 percentage points fall (slightly less than the fall for NDCs as a whole, albeit on a par with the national change), which reflects the relatively stable numbers of residents suffering from work limiting illness. The 2006 survey showed a five percentage points increase in the proportion of residents feeling their health was good or fairly good over the previous year but this was offset by no change in the rate of people smoking and an 11 percentage points increase in the numbers undertaking no physical activity for at least 20 minutes at a time. In education, attainment rates at both Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 4 rose between 2002 and 2005 by 11.3 and 13.3 percentage points respectively. But only 30 percent of pupils from the NDC area gained five or more Grade C GCSE's at Key Stage 4 in 2005, compared with 48 percent for Knowsley Borough and 54 percent nationally.
- 5.18. In relation to place based changes in **Lambeth**, at a basic but symbolic level the area has gained name recognition. For example, Transport for London has included Clapham Park as a destination on London Bus routes. Furthermore, the area has seen dramatic reductions in street level prostitution and drug dealing with the Metropolitan Police's move to neighbourhood policing (with ward based Safer Neighbourhood Teams) providing an added impetus to the NDC's work. These interventions may well be reflected in a fall in those feeling very unsafe after dark (down from 27 per cent in 2002 to 17 per cent in 2006). However, the main physical improvements in the area are yet to be made, as they have been dependent on the stock transfer vote. With regard to owner occupied housing, the number of properties sold each year fell from 276 in 2001 to 116 in 2005, at a time when average prices in the NDC rose by nearly 25 per cent between 2001 and 2005, against a London average of 18 per cent. At the same time there have been increases in those satisfied with the area as a place to live: from 66 per cent in 2002 to 72 per cent in 2004 to 77 per cent in 2006.
- 5.19. In terms of people-based changes, the population of the area rose slightly from 7,090 to 7,335 between 1999 and 2005. Educational attainment rates at Level 4 or above at Key Stage 2 rose from 60.8 per cent in 2002 to 74.7 per cent in 2006, narrowing the gap between the Borough and the NDC from 5.7 points to just 0.2 of a percentage point. However, there is work to be done at Key Stage 4,

where those achieving 5 A to C grades rose from 36.7 per cent in 2002 to 39 per cent in 2006, but the gap between the NDC and the Borough average widened from 1.9 points in 2002 to 8.7 percentage points in 2006. There has been little change in the number of adults with no qualifications with the gap between the NDC and the England average widening slightly from five to seven percentage points. The employment rate actually fell from 64 per cent to 61 per cent, widening the gap with the England average of 75 percent.

- 5.20. In **Newham** capital work has focused on the introduction of an Urban Design Framework, improvements in a number of the area's estates, the construction of a series of community resources centres and capital improvements to all the area's schools. Significant progress has been made in the construction of new build housing on the Brooks estate with the first houses now occupied and the completion of the refurbishment of the first major high rise block. A number of other blocks are due for completion in 2007 and the refurbishment of the low rise estate is now well underway. The NDC's Urban Design Framework has stimulated environmental and design improvements throughout the area, including Plaistow Town Centre, local parks and schools, and the gates to West Ham FC. A central element of the NDC strategy has been the construction of community centres as a focus for community activities and to provide premises for local service delivery. Three of these, the Hub community resource centre, Grassroots centre in Memorial Park, and the Cranberry community centre are all now open. The schools capital improvement programme, (worth some £6m) introduced as part of a successful strategy to reduce teacher turnover, is now complete. A local evaluation found a 45 per cent fall in the average rate of teacher turnover between 2000 and 2004. The impact of these changes have, at least to some degree, been recognised by local people: between 2002 and 2006 there was a nine percentage points increase in the proportion of residents who were very or fairly satisfied with the area as a place to live.
- 5.21. As with other NDC areas there have been variations in the people-based outcomes in Newham, though to appreciate the context it is important to understand the trajectory of the area and its regeneration antecedents. Its decline initially was triggered by the collapse of the docks and related industries in the 60s, and the out-migration of the most employable. Since then, problems have been exacerbated by perceived relatively high levels of population turnover, and a decline in the quality and availability of local services and resources – for example, it sits on the edge of the old LDDC area and therefore missed out on the regeneration investment that offered. Nevertheless, there have been some real improvements in recent years: in education, KS2 results have outstripped both the Borough and the country as a whole. For example, between 2002 and 2005, the proportions achieving Level 4 in KS2 English increased by 19 per cent in the NDC area, compared with 10 per cent in Newham as a whole and 5 per cent in England. KS2 performance in the NDC schools is now broadly in line with the national average in Maths and Science as well. Results at KS3 however continue to lag behind, though the number of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSE A*-C passes in NDC supported schools has increased to the Inner London average. Overall, crime rates have declined faster than the rest of the Borough, (and rates of violent crime in particular) and from a lower starting point. Between 1999 and 2005, both unemployment and worklessness in the area have declined at a faster rate than either the Borough or the rest of the country.

- 5.22. The **Newcastle** NDC area is to see investment of some £60m as a result of redevelopment and refurbishment proposals planned by the Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder, Bridging Newcastle Gateshead, and through 'Decent Homes' investment facilitated by Your Homes Newcastle. Major components to this investment include the refurbishment of Cruddas Park, mixed redevelopment of the Newcastle General Hospital site, and a range of associated environmental improvements. These developments will substantially increase levels of owner-occupation which stood at only 16 per cent in 2006. There is clearly demand for private housing in the area: average house prices rose by more than 250 per cent between 2001 and 2005, more than twice the rate for the city as a whole. These changes to the local housing market are also likely to assist in 'stabilising' the area. Currently there is evidence for considerable population 'churn'. In 2006 fully 42 per cent of residents wanted to leave the area and 43 per cent had lived in their current residence for less than three years. If new residential developments lead to a more stable population, this should help the Partnership achieve improvements in relation to place based outcomes. There is for instance a local perception that the area has suffered from relatively high crime rates. Household survey data suggests that between 2002 and 2006 there was a nine percentage points increase in those experiencing crime in the previous twelve months, at a time when there was a fall of five percentage points across the Programme as a whole. However, the NDC has developed close relationships with the police and this does appear to be reflected in levels of recorded crime. Police recorded crime data fell slightly between 2002 and 2005 and there was an eight percentage points fall in those feeling unsafe alone after dark. There is a sentiment locally that crime rates are very dependent on a small group of persistent offenders living in the neighbourhood. The arrest and conviction of just three people in 2006 was followed by a substantial fall in crime rates.
- 5.23. Stabilising the local housing market should also help the Partnership make progress in relation to people based outcomes. Here there is evidence that the NDC area has seen positive change especially in relation to worklessness: the employment rate rose ten percentage points in four years at a time when the NDC Programme wide average and also the national equivalent remained stable. This may well reflect a range of NDC supported interventions in training and the establishment of an Intermediate Labour Market. Those feeling their health was good also increased by five percentage points in four years, almost double the Programme wide increase, and possibly arising as a result of a range of projects the NDC has supported working with the local PCT. Where there is most obvious scope for change is in relation to some aspects of education . Attainment rates at both Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 4 rose considerably between 2002 and 2005: the latter by fully 19 percentage points. There was too a five percentage points closing of the gap with the local authority. But by 2005 only 27 per cent of NDC pupils were gaining five or more Grade C GCSE's at Key Stage 4. This is half the national equivalent and ten percentage points lower than the NDC Programme wide average. In the light of these results it is not surprising to see that by 2005 only 13 per cent of the relevant age group of NDC pupils was entering higher education, a five percentage points fall on 2001/2. But as the NDC points out, improving educational attainment rates for those aged 11 and over is complex when pupils living in the NDC area attend so many schools throughout the wider city-region.

- 5.24. In **Walsall** the NDC area has undergone considerable environmental and housing change, including the demolition of a number of dwellings, a Decent Homes Programme and environmental improvements. These may well help account for a 16 percentage points increase between 2002 and 2006 in the number of respondents that are satisfied with the area as a place to live. Crime and community safety have been particularly important areas of activity and a number of crime projects have been implemented by seconded Police officers. More recently, a Strategic Assessment of crime in the area has provided a valuable source of data to inform future interventions. These types of activities may well have contributed to a reduction in those feeling unsafe after dark: down 17 per cent between 2002 and 2006, compared with a ten percentage fall across the Programme. The NDC has also undertaken a significant number of community engagement activities, many through the Community Involvement Team which has placed a strong emphasis on involving young people. These interventions may well help explain a 13 per cent increase between 2002 and 2006 in those feeling part of the community, double the NDC Programme wide increase.
- 5.25. In relation to people based outcomes the NDC has a vision of improving the 'economic prosperity of the resident population of the area through training and employment creation'. Activities have typically focused on facilitating and promoting employment and training, along with networking with businesses. As with most NDCs this a challenging task, as evident in a slight fall in the employment rate between 2002 and 2006 (-2 per cent), along with a -0.1 per cent change in the worklessness rate. There has, however, been a drop in the number of households receiving out of work means tested benefits (-2.4 per cent), in-line with the NDC average (-2.2 per cent). The strong emphasis on health has contributed to a seven per cent increase in the number of respondents feeling their health is good or fairly good over the last year, compared with only three per cent across the Programme. The NDC has worked in partnership with the PCT and VCS over a number of years to implement a range of interventions including the nationally recognised 'Blakenall Village Centre', a landmark building accommodating a range of health services and other public facilities. The NDC has also implemented a range of education projects including the widely recognised "You Can Do It!" and outreach projects. At the same time there have been important developments in the area, including a private company taking over education services in the borough and the creation of a City Academy within the NDC area. Change in relation to educational attainment rates has as yet proved mixed. There has been a four per cent increase in pupils acquiring KS2 Level 4 or above for English, slightly below the NDC average but comparable to the national average. But there has been a 19.3 per cent increase in Key stage 4: 5 or more GCSE A* to C grade, well above NDC (10.8 per cent) and national averages (five per cent).

NDC Level Change: 2001-02 to 2005-06

Concluding observations

- 5.26. **Change does not necessarily reflect the ‘performance’ of an individual Partnership.** It may occur for a range of reasons including developments in the wider context, the role of other delivery agencies, impact of other ABIs, etc
- 5.27. **Relationships between interventions and spend, on the one hand, and any associated outcomes, on the other, are not always clear.** There does appear to be some relationship between investment in worklessness interventions and associated outcomes. This seems plausible: investing in training, job mentoring, and other labour supply initiatives may well impact on employment and worklessness rates. But in other themes such as education and crime there does not **at this stage** appear to be any direct read off from spend to change.
- 5.28. In relation to change data, key headlines include:
- all six outperform **national averages** in at least half of the 15 instances where it is possible to assess NDC level change against national benchmarks; changes in Bradford and Newcastle exceeded national equivalents in 13 of the 15 indicators involved
 - in relation to change against the **NDC Programme wide averages**, Bradford, Walsall and Knowsley outperform NDC Programme wide averages in at least 10 of 18 indicators; the two London case study areas have not performed especially well against Programme wide averages, but it may well be that further work carried out in 2007 on change within different classifications of NDC areas points to there being a ‘London effect’: the most appropriate benchmark against which to assess change in Lambeth and Newham may not be all NDCs, but rather one based on the 10 London ones
 - all six areas have **closed the gaps with their parent local authorities** in at least two of five key indicators: Newcastle has closed the gaps in all five instances
 - for three of six key indicators at least four case study NDC areas showed more positive change than occurred in their **comparator areas**: crime rates; house prices; and Key Stage 4 results: Newham saw more positive change than did its comparator for five of these six indicators, while Bradford saw more positive change for four.
- 5.29. Detailed case study work can help **‘contextualise’ change data**. For instance:
- there is widespread sentiment that improving local environmental standards, and introducing crime reduction initiatives and neighbourhood management schemes have helped improve place based outcomes such as fear and incidence of crime and attitudes towards the area

- local knowledge can be vital in understanding change data: a small number of offenders released into communities can for instance have marked impacts on local crime rates
- relationships between people based interventions in areas such as worklessness, health and education and any associated outcomes remain cloudy: these relationships will only become apparent after work is carried out in 2007 on what happened to those who stayed in NDC areas between 2002 and 2006 ('the NDC panel') compared with those who stayed in the comparator areas during this period
- to varying degrees, all six areas will benefit from housing refurbishment proposals; such schemes will in turn impact on the size and composition of local populations and, in all probability, on the nature and trajectory of change: it is quite possible that the rate of change in these areas will increase substantially as housing refurbishment schemes come on stream.

CHAPTER 6

Issues and Dilemmas in Neighbourhood Renewal

- 6.1. Previous sections of this report consider approaches adopted by case study NDCs in delivering their programmes and early evidence in relation to change. This chapter addresses some of the **dilemmas which have affected delivery**. A number of caveats should be flagged up at the outset. This is not a comprehensive overview of all of the issues impacting on, or encouraging, change. Many of these were flagged up in the 2005 Interim Evaluation. Rather it is an attempt to explore **key issues surrounding neighbourhood renewal as they have impacted on these six Partnerships**.
- 6.2. It is also worth pointing out at an early stage that evidence from the later stages of Phase 1 of the evaluation, in common with what is emerging in early work in Phase 2, is that **delivery has become relatively easier**. In the early years of the Programme there were concerns about, say, the quality of NDC staff, the rigour of internal processes, and the ability of Partnerships to create and sustain mutually beneficial relationships with other delivery agencies. But NDCs have undoubtedly matured: their staff are more professional, they have created more robust and action orientated relationships with agencies, they get things done.
- 6.3. Nevertheless, being at the very forefront of neighbourhood renewal and regeneration, NDCs throw into sharp relief key debates surrounding renewal. These are explored below within the following themes:
 - market and institutional contexts
 - relationships with agencies
 - engaging communities
 - delivering services
 - internal processes
 - sustaining change.

Market and institutional contexts

- 6.4. NDC is a ten year Programme. There is a general agreement that renewing these areas will require interventions to be pursued over, at least, this time period. But there is an inevitable consequence to all of this: market trends and

institutional structures will change over such a time period. Some of this change has proved, or may well turn out to be, beneficial. Newcastle points out that the area has benefited from being in the right place at the right time: the local economy is performing more strongly than it has done in recent times and the NDC area will gain substantial investment from the ALMO via the Decent Homes initiative and through the HMRP 'Bridging Newcastle Gateshead'. On balance too, most case study NDCs see the continuing development of LSPs, and perhaps more so the embedding of LAAs in the institutional landscape, as helpful developments in that NDCs:

- tend to identify a complementarity between LAA spending blocks and their own outcome areas
- consider their areas may benefit from LAA investment once NDC funding ceases
- are of the view that the NDC experience can inform wider neighbourhood renewal strategies.

External forces and initiatives can therefore have **positive implications** for Partnerships attempting to transform their areas.

6.5. However, observers also identify a range of market and institutional forces which have **tended to inhibit or delay progress**. To give a **flavour** of some of these issues:

- **changes in public sector budgets:** as with other NDCs, Newham has based its succession strategy on expectations about support from public agencies, either directly for projects, or from lettings in NDC-funded resource centres; however, the PCT recently has had to pull back from commitments because of its own financial problems
- **institutional processes can prove time consuming:** Knowsley points to the protracted nature of the Masterplanning process; this is to some extent inevitable because of the need to allow for community engagement and consultation, EU tendering procedures, selection of the preferred developer (with training to ensure community involvement) and so on; but in all it took nearly 3 and a half years from the beginning of the process to the signing of the Heads of Terms of Agreement between the Housing Partnership and the selected developer; this has necessarily introduced delays in key capital programmes and has meant that the NDC's spending profile has been heavily 'end-loaded', making it particularly sensitive to any annual capping of expenditure
- **legal frameworks change:** Knowsley again points out how changing corporate tax legislation and regulations have impacted on the PCT Resource Centre; the original plan was that the NDC would pay £4 million up front for the new Care Centre and that this would be reimbursed by the PCT over a 25 year period; in the event, tax regulations made this arrangement unviable and the NDC has now had to provide a non-returnable £2 million contribution to get the building started

- **the political world moves on:** Newcastle has seen political control move from Labour to Liberal Democrat; the NDC had some initial concerns that this might create difficulties in that the Programme is seen in some quarters as a ‘New Labour’ initiative; in practice this has not proved to be the case, the new controlling party seeing the NDC as complementing its own neighbourhood agenda
 - **systems of governance change:** Walsall Council, in common with other authorities, has introduced a system of Local Neighbourhood Partnerships across the authority; from the point of view of the NDC this has potential benefits, including providing a framework for ongoing community engagement after the lifetime of the NDC, and for dealing with spillover issues around the NDC boundary; but the LNPs are as yet largely untested, have limited resources, and there is some scepticism about their robustness
 - **new organisations emerge:** in Walsall the NDC has had to take on board the views and activities of a wide range of new or relatively new organisations including the Walsall Regeneration Company and Housing Group, a Regeneration Zone, the LSP, a Local Neighbourhood Partnership structure, and the promotion and development of a sub regional Black Country Strategy.
- 6.6. But there can be little doubt as to what is the most pressing of ‘contextual issues’ impacting on most NDCs: that nexus of questions surrounding **population churn, immigration, and housing**. This is a complex arena playing out in different ways in different contexts. But these trends are nevertheless collectively posing a range of problems and also opportunities, some relatively new to neighbourhood renewal, some subject to debate for more than four decades.
- 6.7. The starting point to this is that populations within NDC areas are changing for a number of reasons. One driving force here is that a substantial proportion of ‘existing populations’ want, or intend, to move out (Table 6.1). In 2006:
- at least 24 per cent of residents wanted to out move from all of these six case studies; in Lambeth more than half wanted to
 - at least 20 per cent intend to move, usually a better predictor of actual mobility than ‘wanting to move’; in Lambeth, Newcastle and Newham more than a third of respondents intend to move out
 - at least 11 per cent plan to move within two years and four per cent within six months
 - in general planned mobility tends to be highest in London and also in Newcastle; Walsall, perhaps the most obvious example of a traditional working class community, appears to accommodate the ‘least mobile’ community
 - in four of the six at least ten per cent of respondents can be seen as trapped: they want to move but do not think they will be able to do so.

- 6.8. As new developments come on stream across these six areas, and in Lambeth's case as considerable redevelopment occurs, it is reasonable to assume that these figures will decline. But certainly as of 2006, in line with experience across the Programme, a considerable proportion of NDC residents wanted to leave the neighbourhood.

Table 6.1 Moving intentions: 2006					
	% want to move	% Intend to move	% Plan to move within two years	% Plan to move within six months	% Trapped²
Bradford	32	28	17	7	10
Knowsley	36	25	13	5	15
Lambeth	51	35	21	5	23
Newcastle	42	45	30	17	8
Newham	48	44	22	8	13
Walsall	24	20	11	4	6
NDC ave	40	33	20	8	13
National ave	25 ¹				

Source: Ipsos MORI 2006 Household Survey, ¹Ipsos MORI Social Issues Omnibus 2006

Note: ²Trapped: respondents indicating they want to move, but don't think they will

- 6.9. These patterns of mobility do not appear to have changed greatly since 2002 (Table 6.2). In some instances, notably Newcastle, rather more wanted, and planned, to move in 2006 than was the case in 2002. In Newham more intended to move. But in Knowsley and Lambeth there are hints that fewer people want or intend to move. Perhaps trends in the latter have been driven by greater certainty about the area following a successful stock transfer vote.

Table 6.2 Percentage point change in moving intentions: 2002 to 2006					
	% want to move	% Intend to move	% Plan to move within two years	% Plan to move within six months	% Trapped²
Bradford	-1	0	-2	-1	-1
Knowsley	-5	1	-1	0	-6
Lambeth	1	-4	-3	-3	5
Newcastle	4	0	3	9	3
Newham	1	6	0	0	-3
Walsall	0	3	4	1	-4
NDC ave	1	1	2	2	0
National ave	-4 ¹				

Source: Ipsos MORI 2006 Household Survey, ¹Ipsos MORI Social Issues Omnibus 2006

Note: ²Trapped refers to those respondents who indicated that they want to move, but who don't think that they will move

- 6.10. This scale of population mobility has obvious implications for neighbourhood renewal. As a parallel study undertaken by the national evaluation team makes clear, compared with those who stay in, or who move into, NDC areas, outmovers tend to be older, in employment, and live in (or move into) owner-occupation⁹. Those who leave tend therefore to be those who are less likely to be 'service needy' and more likely to help NDCs achieve people based outcomes in areas such as education, health and jobs.
- 6.11. As some move out, others move in. The scale of this transformation can be rapid (Table 6.3). By 2006 27 percent of residents in Newcastle had lived in their accommodation for less than a year, and in the two London case study areas this was true for almost a fifth of respondents. These figures under-represent the real scale of population change because of the longitudinal element to the 2006 household survey. The survey is not based on a 'pure' random sample because it involves returning to addresses from which questionnaires were obtained in 2004. It would therefore be expected that the length of residence would increase. In short these figures suggest considerable population churn even before the 'stability bias' built into the 2006 survey is taken into account.

⁹ CLG 2007 The Moving escalator: does neighbourhood renewal encourage the better off to leave the area?

	% Less than a year	% 1 year but less than 3	% 3 years but less than 5 years	% 5 years but less than 10 years	% 10 years or more
Bradford	15	17	10	13	45
Knowsley	7	10	11	16	56
Lambeth	19	13	9	21	38
Newcastle	27	16	10	17	29
Newham	19	13	7	21	39
Walsall	5	8	9	20	57
NDC ave	14	13	11	20	42
National ave ¹	10	15	11	18	47

Source: Ipsos MORI 2006 Household Survey, ¹Survey of English Housing 2005/6,

- 6.12. It is not simply the scale of population churn which is likely to impact on the ability of NDCs to deliver their programmes. There is evidence too that higher proportions of those moving into NDC areas are from communities which **may** impose additional demands on NDCs and other delivery agencies: refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants from EU Accession States, and BME communities. By 2006, other than for Knowsley and Walsall, these case study areas had very mixed patterns of ethnicity (Table 6.4). Interestingly, in the four ‘mixed-ethnicity’ NDC areas, English was not the first language for at least 32 per cent of residents. In Bradford this was true for more than a half of residents.

	% White	% Mixed	% Asian or Asian British	% Black or Black British	% Chinese	% Other	% English not 1st language
Bradford	31	2	53	10	1	3	51
Knowsley	100	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lambeth	55	3	5	32	0	3	33
Newcastle	60	3	26	5	3	3	32
Newham	49	8	16	21	1	4	41
Walsall	98	1	1	0	0	0	1
NDC ave	71	3	12	11	1	1	21
National ave ¹	91.0	1.4	4.6	2.3	0.5	0.4	10 ²

Source: Ipsos MORI 2006 Household Survey, ¹2001 Census data for England/ONS Mid-2005 Population estimates for England, ²Ipsos MORI Social Issues Omnibus 2006

- 6.13. Between 2002 and 2006 these patterns of mixed-ethnicity were, in general, becoming more evident (Table 6.5). There was no evidence that the two more

‘demographically stable’ NDC areas Knowsley and Walsall were either changing ethnic patterns or seeing an increase in those whose first language was not English. But in the four more ‘demographically dynamic’ areas, non-white populations were increasing. In Bradford and Newham there was an increase of more than ten percentage points in those whose first language was not English in just four years. Of course changing populations need not impose additional demands on delivery services or necessarily imply that these patterns will make achieving some outcomes harder. It may well make it easier to make progress in some people based outcomes such as education and jobs. But it is nevertheless likely that the scale of change in four of these case studies will of necessity require Partnerships to review the scale and nature of interventions and processes for community engagement and cohesion.

Table 6.5 Percentage point change in populations: 2002 to 2006							
	% White	% Mixed	% Asian or Asian British	% Black or Black British	% Chinese	% Other	% English not 1st language
Bradford	-8	0	0	5	0	3	11
Knowsley	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lambeth	-6	1	2	0	-1	2	5
Newcastle	-13	1	7	3	1	0	8
Newham	-3	3	4	-5	0	2	12
Walsall	1	-1	0	0	0	0	0
NDC ave	-4	0	2	1	0	1	5
National ave							4 ¹

Source: Ipsos MORI 2002 & 2006 Household Survey, ¹MORI Omnibus 2002 & Ipsos MORI Social Issues Omnibus 2006

- 6.14. The specific impulses driving demographic change vary across these six localities. Newham for instance has seen change arising from that long tradition of the migration eastwards of the most employable of former dock and dock related workers and their families to Ilford, Romford, Basildon, and Canvey Island, and their replacement by successive waves of immigrants. It is thought now that Asian families who arrived 20 years ago are now moving on, creating space for African and East European communities. There are reports of increasing buy-to-let activity, including conversions of large former family houses into houses in multiple occupation for private rent. This may well in turn further accentuate population churn, with unpredictable consequences for the NDC’s longer term outcomes. Similarly Newcastle has seen outmigration of relatively better off households in search of higher performing secondary schools, new and often larger housing, and a more attractive local environment. Outmigration was to some extent inevitable as redevelopment impacted on a locality which was *‘the most densely populated area on the planet at end of Nineteenth Century’*. Bradford has seen its social composition very much driven in recent decades by immigration from New Commonwealth countries such that by 2006 54 per cent of its population was Asian or Asian British.

- 6.15. At the same time as population churn is occurring in NDC areas, thus potentially making some outcomes more difficult to achieve, there is also evidence of **rising house prices** and land values in specific localities within all of these NDC neighbourhoods (Tables 6.6 and 6.7). In Newcastle house prices increased by more than 250 per cent in four years, in Bradford and Walsall more than 100 per cent. In some instances these pressures are due to planned infrastructural developments. Newham for example being on the fringes of the regenerated Docklands and the Olympics sites, is expecting land values to continue to accelerate, with largely unpredictable consequences. One possible implication is that these pressures may undermine teacher and other key worker retention strategies. But on the wider canvas across all of these case study areas, rising house and land prices are likely to be associated with new, generally more affluent populations. This trend should help NDCs achieve outcome targets in areas such as worklessness, education, health and crime.

Table 6.6 Mean house price: 2005

	All dwellings	Detached	Semi-detached	Terraced	Flat
Bradford	£62,699	£150,000	£81,352	£59,446	£38,000
Knowsley	£72,112	–	£68,261	£69,103	–
Lambeth	£200,182	–	£403,333	£239,270	£175,556
Newcastle	£100,306	–	£118,833	£114,092	£76,062
Newham	£192,696	–	£212,000	£202,966	£155,100
Walsall	£106,084	£184,193	£102,426	£87,276	–
NDC ave	£105,189	£176,672	£108,270	£83,482	£168,481

Table 6.7 Change in average house prices: 2001 to 2005 (Percentage change)

	All dwellings	Detached	Semi-detached	Terraced	Flat
Bradford	149	–	134	158	130
Knowsley	77	–	82	188	–
Lambeth	32	–	37	6	55
Newcastle	259	–	–	301	194
Newham	87	–	90	77	88
Walsall	106	79	97	118	–
NDC ave	11	46	58	30	13

Source: SDRC

Note: Prices are not provided where two or fewer houses or flats sold in any one year, to preserve confidentiality. (–) indicates where data has been suppressed due to small numbers or where no properties of a given type were sold in a particular year.

- 6.16. There is a final conundrum in all of this. As Bradford, for instance, recognises, the Trident area has, and will continue to play, a particular role in the housing market, including the provision of low cost accommodation. Environmental and physical improvements facilitated by the NDC, and overheating in nearby housing markets, appear to have altered the profile of occupancy by tenure and income group. Property prices have been rising faster than the district, albeit from a low base. Circumstantial evidence suggests therefore that long term trends in housing market decline may have been addressed. But a basic dilemma remains: if Bradford, in common with other NDC areas, is seeing more in the way of house price increase, and in time more and more expensive owner-occupied accommodation comes on stream, the area's traditional role of providing cheaper, more accessible housing will weaken. Will other neighbourhoods take on this function?
- 6.17. Hence summing up on this complex arena:
- NDCs are seeing rapid population change driven by a range of local, national and international forces
 - there is no consistent evidence across these case studies that fewer people wish to leave the area than was the case in 2002
 - at least some of this churn results in NDC areas accommodating more of the socially and economically disadvantaged, thus making the achievement of 'person-centred' outcomes potentially more problematic
 - at the same time land and house prices are rising in five of these six areas relative to their parent local authority, a trend which is likely conversely to make it easier to achieve some longer term outcomes
 - as tenure patterns and house prices change the traditional role played by at least some of these areas of providing cheaper, and/or more accessible, housing will be weakened.

Relationships with agencies

- 6.18. Issues surrounding relationships between NDCs and partner agencies were discussed at length in the Interim Evaluation¹⁰. Key headlines from that first Phase of the evaluation, and which to a large extent are confirmed in initial work in these six case studies, include:
- there were problems in the early years of the Programme in terms of NDCs engaging with at least some agencies, often reflecting the inexperience of NDC staff

¹⁰ ODPM/NRU 2005 New Deal for Communities 2001-2005: An Interim Evaluation; NRU Research Report 17 <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/publications.asp?did=1625>

- but as the Programme has evolved there is a strong sense that NDCs have become embedded in the neighbourhood renewal landscape: one comment from many agencies towards the end of Phase1 of the evaluation was the degree to which NDCs had become much more ‘professional’ in their outlook
- some agencies, of which the police are consistently the best example, have proved more sympathetic to both NDCs and indeed the neighbourhood renewal agenda more generally, than have some others
- there is widespread agreement that partner agencies are more inclined to, say, change service delivery to meet the demands of NDC residents, rather than actually ‘bend additional resources’ towards NDC areas.

6.19. Drawing on new evidence to date from the six case studies, four issues might usefully be reinforced at this stage:

- the intensity of NDC/agency engagement
- improving relationships with agencies
- relationships with local authorities
- NDCs and other ABIs.

6.20. First, the **sheer intensity** of engagement between NDCs and other agencies is worth reinforcing (Table 6.8). For instance:

- all six engage ‘significantly’ with at least seven agencies; Knowsley with fully 14
- all six engage significantly with the police, the PCT and the LEA
- whereas engagement with some agencies notably the LSC, but also with Connexions and the RDA is more limited.

Table 6.8 Agency Engagement						
	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
LSP	Significant	Significant	Limited	Significant	Significant	Significant
Police	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant
PCT	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant
LSC	Limited	Limited	None at all	Limited	Limited	Limited
Job Centre Plus	Limited	Significant	Limited	Significant	Significant	Limited
Small Business Service	Significant	Significant	None at all	Limited	Limited	Limited
LEA	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant
FE institutions	Significant	Limited	None at all	Limited	Significant	Limited
Social Services	Limited	Significant	Limited	None at all	Significant	Limited
LA Environment & Leisure	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant
LA Housing	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Limited
RSL	Significant	Significant	Significant	Limited	Significant	Significant
LA Regen/Econ dev. dept	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant	Significant
Connexions	Significant in early days	Limited	Limited	None at all	Significant	Limited
Leisure & Youth Services	Limited	Significant	Limited	Limited	Significant	Significant
Transport Authority	Limited	Significant	None at all	None at all	Limited	Limited
RDA	Limited	Significant	None at all	Limited	Limited	Limited

Source: Partnership Survey 2006 (validated by NDC)

6.21. These six Partnerships are positive about their experiences in engaging with agencies (Table 6.9). In general relationships are best with agencies with which NDCs engage the most. Throughout the history of the Programme, the police have consistently been seen by NDCs as the most supportive of organisations. LSCs are the agencies about which NDCs are generally least enthusiastic.

Table 6.9 Agency engagement helped or constrained

	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
LSP	Significantly Helped	Helped	Neutral	Helped	Helped	Helped
Police	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped
PCT	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped	Helped	Helped	Neutral	Significantly Helped
LSC	Neutral	Neutral	Constrained	Constrained	Helped	Neutral
Job centre plus	Helped	Significantly Helped	Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped	Helped
Small Business Service	Helped	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral
LEA	Helped	Neutral	Significantly Helped	Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped
Further education institutions	Helped	Helped	Neutral	Neutral	Helped	Helped
Social Services	Neutral	Helped	Neutral	Constrained	Helped	Helped
LA Environment & Leisure	Significantly Helped	Neutral	Helped	Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped
LA Housing	Helped	Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped	Helped
RSL	Significantly Helped	Helped	Significantly Helped	Neutral	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped
LA Regen/Econ dev.dept	Helped	Helped	Helped	Helped	Significantly Helped	Significantly Helped
Connexions	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Constrained	Helped	Neutral
Leisure & Youth Services	Helped	Helped	Helped	Neutral	Helped	Significantly Helped
Transport Authority	Helped	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral	Neutral
RDA	Helped	Neutral	Neutral	Severely constrained	Helped	Neutral

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

6.22. To give some **local flavour to the scale of NDC/agency engagement**, Knowsley's involvement with core agencies includes:

- Community Participation and Young People: Knowsley MBC Community and Youth Services/Children's Services
- Crime and Community Safety: Merseyside Police, Knowsley MBC, Knowsley Housing Trust
- Education and Schools: Knowsley MBC (Education), Sure Start and local schools
- Employment and the Local Economy: Action for Jobs/Jobcentre Plus, Blue Arrow, Connexions, Huyton Churches, Knowsley MBC (Fusion 21 Construction Training and Knowsley Construction Partnership), Knowsley Community College
- Health and Healthy Living: Knowsley PCT, Knowsley DAAT, Knowsley Housing Trust, Knowsley MBC (Sports and Leisure, Social Services)
- Housing and Environmental Services: Knowsley Housing Trust and Knowsley MBC and the New Horizons Liaison Group bringing together representatives of NDC, Knowsley Housing Trust, Developer, Neighbourhood Network and Resident Groups.

- 6.23. This scale of activity reflects a simple truism: implementing effective neighbourhood renewal programmes across five or more outcomes must of necessity be based on widespread and intensive partnership activity.
- 6.24. Second, **relationships with most agencies have matured and improved**. Reflecting on its experience Bradford for example suggests that success has been premised on ensuring that:
- all key local agencies are on the Board
 - agencies are represented by senior level personnel
 - equal value is ascribed to the contributions of all parties
 - the Partnership continues actively to work with the grain of mainstream policy agendas such as Neighbourhood Wardens, and PCSOs.
- 6.25. That is not to say that relationships between NDCs and partner agencies always run smoothly:
- partnership working involves substantial and continuing transaction costs: these are universally seen as worth bearing but they are real nevertheless
 - there can be a rapid turnover of relevant senior staff: one NDC has had six Strategic Partner Directors from the police service, which has inevitably disrupted progress
 - not all NDCs are convinced that agencies fully appreciate or are entirely at ease with the 'NDC model': *'I think they're sceptical, this is a special case, whether it's been successful they don't know, but there's no way they could afford to do it on the scale that we've been doing'*.
- 6.26. Third, **relationships with local authorities** remain central to what NDCs are trying to do. There have been problems. One NDC officer commented that the, recently departed, local authority Chief Regeneration Officer apparently took pride in never having been to the NDC area. In addition some authorities have been reluctant to 'let go'. One observer suggested that in its relationships with the local NDC, the council saw itself as the '*mother ship*'. And the NDC experience does not inevitably permeate district wide regeneration strategies, Sustainable Community Strategies, and other strategic frameworks. In practice too, many local authority departments are having to change rapidly, but do not use what might be invaluable NDC experience. A recently established Neighbourhood Services Department in one district is introducing new approaches to environmental services and neighbourhood wardens, but has taken little cognisance of the NDC model of community representatives and local service delivery. This new department is driving through participatory budgeting based on an annual allocation of about £50k per ward. The local NDC has experience of doing this with £50m.
- 6.27. But in general, relationships between NDCs and their parent local authorities have undoubtedly improved:

- as Accountable Bodies, authorities have tended increasingly towards a *'letting us get on with it'* approach, programmes often being signed off up to an agreed limit
- although experience varies across authorities, and indeed often across departments within the same council, in general, authorities do work more collaboratively with NDCs; this is perhaps because of a weakening in the traditionally paternalistic ethos evident in many authorities, and perhaps too because councils are having themselves to accept that their own role is going to be more of an enabler working with other agencies to achieve agreed goals, an assumption central to the NDC model
- changes in personnel can be vital: a new Head of Regeneration in one case study local authority has helped make the council more aware of lessons emerging from the NDC
- the comment is made too that local authority officers, working within NDC theme groups or sub-committees, can be absolutely fundamental in driving forward delivery and change.

6.28. And fourth, there are the particular issues surrounding **relationships with other ABIs** (Tables 6.10 and 6.11). This could prove to be an important issue in the longer run. It may be easier to achieve theme outcomes if these six neighbourhoods also benefit from other ABI investment. Lambeth has the smallest number of overlapping ABIs, four, whereas both Newcastle and Newham have nine. All six consider that they benefit a great deal from engagement with at least two ABIs, Newcastle with five. The six case studies are generally most positive about engagement with Neighbourhood Wardens schemes, Sure Start and YIPs.

Table 6.10 ABIs within NDC boundaries

	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
Action Team for Jobs	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
Building Safer Communities	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
Drugs Action Teams	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Early Excellence Centre	No	No	No	Don't Know	No	No
Education Action Zone	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Employment Zones	No	No	No	No	Yes	No
European Structural Funds	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Home Zones	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No
Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders	No	No	No	Yes	No	No
Neighbourhood Wardens	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
SRB	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	No
Sports Action Zones	Yes	No	No	Don't Know	No	No
Sure Start	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Urban Regeneration Companies	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Youth Inclusion Programme	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

Table 6.11 NDC engagement with other ABIs in their area

	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
Action Team for Jobs	N/A	A great deal	N/A	N/A	A fair amount	N/A
Building Safer Communities	N/A	Not at all	A great deal	N/A	N/A	N/A
Drugs Action Teams	Not very much	A great deal	A great deal	Not very much	Not very much	A fair amount
Early Excellence Centre	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Education Action Zone	N/A	N/A	N/A	Not very much	N/A	N/A
Employment Zones	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	A fair amount	N/A
European Structural Funds	A great deal	A fair amount	N/A	A great deal	A fair amount	A fair amount
Home Zones	N/A	Not at all	N/A	N/A	A great deal	N/A
Housing Market Renewal Pathfinders	N/A	N/A	N/A	A great deal	N/A	N/A
Neighbourhood Wardens	N/A	Not very much	A great deal	A great deal	A great deal	A great deal
SRB	N/A	N/A	N/A	Not very much	A great deal	N/A
Sports Action Zones	A fair amount	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sure Start	A great deal	A fair amount	N/A	A great deal	A great deal	A great deal
Urban Regeneration Companies	A fair amount	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Youth Inclusion Programme	A great deal	A fair amount	A great deal	A great deal	A fair amount	N/A

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

Engaging communities

6.29. Earlier sections (3.40 onwards) consider assumptions underpinning, and initiatives designed to enhance, the ‘community dimension’. During Phase 1 of the evaluation most observers were positive about ‘the community being at the heart’ of the Programme. But evidence emerged indicating that this approach was not without its problems:

- a range of practical factors tended to limit the community dimension¹¹ including problems in engaging young people
- evidence pointing to an inverse relationship between spend and the absolute numbers of residents on NDC Boards¹²: possibly suggesting that as numbers of residents Board members increased, decision making became more difficult.

6.30. New evidence now emerging from these case studies points to further complexities surrounding the ‘community dimension’ including:

- maintaining the interests of different constituencies: in Knowsley for instance owner-occupiers groups have been vociferous on occasions; but once their concerns were addressed, engagement tended to fall off

11 ODPM/NRU 2005 New Deal for Communities 2001-2005: An Interim Evaluation; NRU Research Report 17: par 4.63 <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/publications.asp?did=1625>

12 ODPM/NRU 2005 New Deal for Communities 2001-2005: An Interim Evaluation; NRU Research Report 17: par 12.27 <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/publications.asp?did=1625>

- managing conflict: a degree of conflict is inevitable, perhaps desirable, in neighbourhood renewal; nevertheless the scale of conflict which has occurred is sometimes surprising between residents and both agencies and local authorities, and also amongst different communities or constituencies
- race: in at least one of these case studies, territorial conflict and abrasiveness have partly been driven by race; these tensions are maintained not so much by explicit racial parameters, but rather by geographical shorthand of comparing the ‘north’ versus the ‘south’ of the area
- these are deprived areas: it is easy to forget just how bereft of community infrastructure and resources many were before NDC designation: there was often very little upon which to build community resources.

6.31. Despite these considerations, there remains a strong and persistent belief across these six case studies that community engagement is what neighbourhood renewal is about:

- there is an ethical dimension to all of this; key players in NDCs have spent many years in regeneration: they tend strongly to the view, that whatever the drawbacks in the community being at the heart of the Programme, the alternative is far worse
- community conflict can be rewarding: divisions and tensions exist within any community; conflict can deaden activity; but when properly channelled it can help identify choices, reveal who the real losers are, and reinforce the importance of bringing benefits of the programme to all residents
- the community has huge resources: in Knowsley Resident Directors act as mentors to young people in worklessness projects; one was the lead speaker at an information event set up for potential developers
- residents know their area: staff in Newcastle point out how important resident Board members have been in questioning the value added of new proposals: they are best placed to know the degree to which agency led projects genuinely add to local services as opposed to replacing services which either had once been delivered or which should now anyway be carried out as part of the mainstream.

6.32. Early evidence from these six case studies confirms the validity of the overarching conclusion emerging from Phase 1 of the evaluation: whatever the complexities involved, those driving these six are consistently and strongly of the view that the ‘community dimension’ is one of, and probably, the, central characteristic of the Programme.

Delivering services

6.33. Chapter Three outlines assumptions underpinning, and projects central to, each of the main outcome areas. However, experience in these case studies is also valuable in informing debates surrounding **delivery**. These are outlined **in brief** below.

(i) EDUCATION

6.34. Across the case studies there is a sense that education can be made to work at the local level. Nevertheless, a number of considerations can inhibit delivery:

- post 11 pupils in NDC areas attend a wide range of schools: in the case of Lambeth apparently fully 57 schools in 14 separate boroughs, making engagement with this group especially difficult
- education reorganisation can lead NDC pupils to be further distanced from new, often larger, secondary schools or ‘academies’ as is occurring in Newcastle; reorganisation proposals can also take years to feed through: in Knowsley it took four and a half years from the establishment of the independent Schools Commission (partly funded by the NDC) to the LEA’s ‘Future Schooling’ proposals
- head teachers are powerful players whose driving focus tends to be on achieving national targets rather than any explicit neighbourhood renewal objectives; although it should be said that where heads have experience in the deployment of regeneration resources they can offer invaluable advice on what sort of intervention should be adopted
- a cultural antipathy towards learning on the part of some parents.

6.35. Summing up experience across these NDCs, **key lessons** in relation to neighbourhood level interventions in education are as follows:

- it is easier to work with primary schools which are more embedded in the local neighbourhood than organise effective interventions for post 11 pupils; indeed there is a debate as to what neighbourhood level agencies can plausibly achieve when secondary school pupils attend so many different educational institutions
- there may be a need for interventions specifically designed to address young people not in education, employment or training: Walsall has developed a project to prepare young people for employment and business working with partners to create vocational ‘pathways’ for 15-19 year olds
- small scale projects are often well received: small capital grants, funds for assistants, and also resources to retain staff, which in Newham has contributed to reduced teacher turnover and improved performance at least at primary level
- there can be a merit in enhancing the quality of pupil level data: Knowsley has supported an Educational Collaborative of 12 primary and secondary schools, which will allow performance to be tracked and support to be targeted on most needy pupils
- it is easier to work with the grain of national policy, elements of which have clear and positive neighbourhood level implications, including the extended hours initiative and the potential role of schools as community hubs

- the planned roll out of 2,500 Children's Centres by 2008 will in any event transform the interface between neighbourhood renewal and educational facilities and attainment levels: Lambeth is working with a nursery to help it attain Children's Centre status by providing a community building for two days a week which will be used for New Start and Maths for Parents classes and to accommodate a childminders' support network
- anticipate developments in national educational policy: Bradford has invested in school based community facilities thus providing infrastructural investment through which to engage adults in education.

(ii) HEALTH

6.36. It is probably true to say that, of all the outcome areas, this is the one that has caused most complexities for Partnerships:

- PCTs continue to be affected by financial and institutional flux, and their relationships with NDCs can evolve '*depending a lot on who has been in what position*'
- it has tended to attract least community interest, although there can be substantial interest in, and involvement from, the VCS: Lambeth has set up a Time Bank project to support social networks empowering individuals by enhancing their feelings of control
- projects often last for relatively short periods: PCTs and other agencies can prove reluctant to mainstream NDC funded initiatives
- it can be difficult for Partnerships to plan interventions because of a paucity of NDC specific data on issues such as substance abuse and obesity
- some interventions, such as those around complementary medicines, are of a lower order of magnitude than might ideally be the case; but it can be more difficult for NDCs to organise strategic multi-agency responses around issues of diet and smoking cessation.

6.37. **Key lessons** in relation to health include:

- the central importance of engaging with the local PCT which will inevitably play a key role in helping to design, fund and conceivably mainstream activities: but this is a two way process in that NDC initiatives can be mainstreamed more widely as has been Knowsley's Teenage Pregnancy project which now operates throughout the Borough
- the need to ensure all partners are aware of both the scale of health problems, but also the time horizons which will be needed to shift ultimate outcomes
- the acceptance that whilst 'health centres' may not have any huge longer term impact on health outcomes, these are widely seen by local residents as improving the volume and quality of local services; as in Bradford they can also help modernise the delivery of primary health services.

(iii) CRIME

- 6.38. Crime is the outcome area with which NDCs are most at ease. There is an established set of institutions. Neighbourhood level interventions tend to complement the direction of national police policy for deprived neighbourhoods, including PCSOs/community police and wardens, as well as the use of Problem Oriented Policing. There have been more obvious signs of post NDC mainstreaming in relation to police activity than for any other outcome area. The Newcastle NDC 'police team' is for instance to be mainstreamed by Northumbria Police. But issues have emerged including:
- there can be tensions between national police priorities (say to reduce burglary) and what tend to be local priorities: aspects of anti-social behaviour and drug-related crime
 - local observers suggest that improving crime rates in NDCs may conceivably displace criminal activity to surrounding areas, although interestingly evidence from Phase 1 of the national evaluation indicated that where crime fell in NDC areas there tended to be a positive halo effect on surrounding neighbourhoods¹³
 - at least one NDC points to the continuing impact of 'criminal families' living in parts of its area: *'there has been no joined up approach to the decision; there's been no joined up approach between housing, the police, education, social services for example and ourselves to try and address that issue'*
 - in another case study the comment is made that there remain, as yet often unresolved, issues arising from drug use, dealing and related crime which pose significant long-term challenges for local communities, the criminal justice system and health care providers
 - NDCs have also sometimes struggled to get partners to address issues surrounding domestic violence.
- 6.39. Across these six case studies evidence to date indicates that **key lessons** for neighbourhood level interventions in crime include:
- look for early wins: Bradford, informed by community sentiment and knowledge looked from an early stage to fund community police officers, to make better use of CCTV, and to implement target hardening of residences subject to repeat burglary
 - ensure that there is an appropriate balance between initiatives designed to reduce fear of crime (such as PCSOs) and those designed to reduce actual crime including targeting hot spots

¹³ ODPM/NRU 2005 New Deal for Communities 2001-2005: An Interim Evaluation; NRU Research Report 17: par 12.27 Par 8.37 <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/publications.asp?did=1625>

- look to engage senior police officers if at all possible: in Walsall the crime and community safety theme has been led by a Police Inspector which has helped ensure good relations between the NDC and the local force
- the more the police can use any additional resources in a flexible manner, the more likely it is that these will have an impact locally; this can be especially useful in addressing an issue identified by several NDCs: the very specific location of crime hot spots and/or criminal families within NDC areas
- other 'models' for reducing crime need to be considered: educating and employing ex-offenders, building resilience in the community, youth diversion initiatives, and schemes to 'design-out' crime: Knowsley's 'Escape' youth development project aims to reduce the risk of young people offending by challenging their attitudes and acts as a counterweight to overt policing and enforcement activity
- develop multi-agency problem solving approaches to tackling crime and community safety: Knowsley's Problem Solving Team/Chameleon project acts as an umbrella for interventions such as an ASB initiative targeted at problem tenants which involves close inter-agency working especially between the police and Knowsley Housing Trust, the NDC's RSL
- it may be useful too to target other, often neglected, crime prevention agencies; Newcastle points to a dramatic change in the attitudes of the local fire service from '*kicking down doors and fighting fires*' to an approach wedded to educating local people and informing policies to 'design out' arson.

(iv) WORKLESSNESS

6.40. These six case studies would generally point to good relationships being established with Jobcentre Plus, Action Team for Jobs, and other key delivery agencies including private sector training organisations. Case studies point too to ways in which projects have successfully linked local skills with local needs. In general too NDCs tend to see intensive job mentoring projects as being effective at linking residents into wider job markets. But these case studies also point to a number of institutional and market forces impacting on delivery:

- there is little scope to implement sizeable demand side interventions at the neighbourhood level; one obvious constraint is that there is often a lack of premises, or developable land, for new start-ups
- there can be difficulty in accessing LSC and RDA funds and initiatives
- many economic development organisations and agencies, such as RDAs, LSCs, Chambers of Commerce, and economic development partnerships, work to sub-regional or even regional targets making it difficult for NDCs to engage with them in meaningful ways

- negative attitudes on the part of some residents towards training and employment: ‘cultural’ barriers tend to cement patterns of worklessness; in one NDC area local observers suggested that not participating in stable, paid employment was a life style choice for some youths and young men
- there can be a deep-seated expectation in some communities of an entitlement to local employment even when the main source of local work, such as dock related industry, may have disappeared many years ago
- residents generally face *‘diverse multiple barriers when seeking employment’*
- especially perhaps in London, there are significant numbers of unemployed people who do not fit into recognised national categories of benefit entitlement and are therefore difficult to identify and access
- reorganisations of Jobcentre Plus can lead to a physical distancing between NDC residents and appropriate services
- mental health issues can have a major impact on worklessness; but joint work with local PCTs is not always possible because of budget constraints and organisational changes in the health sector
- local observers question the degree to which a neighbourhood based-intervention like an NDC can realistically hope to tackle worklessness, given its lack of influence over the local labour market.

6.41. **Key lessons** emerging from these initial case study overviews include:

- the critical importance of linking into existing supply and demand side agencies and expertise
- a probable focus on locally delivered supply side initiatives providing intensive, dedicated, continuing support to individuals and households in order to help them overcome a myriad of problems constraining engagement in the wider job market; Lambeth has created a Shop for Jobs open seven days a week and in the evenings, which provides employment focused training for about 200 residents a year, Bradford’s @Work job brokerage service undertakes a similar function working closely with Jobcentre Plus
- ensuring practical barriers are addressed, notably the provision of child minding facilities
- if demand side initiatives are to be considered, more appropriate approaches are likely to focus on small scale changes to the physical environment and local infrastructure, such as improving vehicular access, creating new, or improved premises, and as is the case in Bradford, a small grants scheme to improve security measures.

(v) HOUSING AND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

- 6.42. Overarching problems identified by NDCs include:
- as Lambeth has found, once stock transfers votes are won and refurbishment ‘companies’ established, there can be teething problems between what the existing NDC does and the ‘housing plus’ activities undertaken by the new refurbishment agency
 - NDCs are largely reliant on other organisations such as local authorities and ALMOs to achieve Decent Homes standards
 - similarly NDCs are likely to have relatively limited impacts on standards in the owner-occupied or private rented sectors, although they are by no means powerless as Bradford’s improvement programmes such as Facelift Plus have shown.
- 6.43. Reflecting on early **lessons** emerging from these case studies:
- neighbourhood warden and/or neighbourhood management schemes are widely seen as cost-effective vehicles through which to address a range of local issues, engage communities, improve service responsiveness, and sustain a neighbourhood level tier of support once NDC funding ceases
 - neighbourhood level renewal agencies, such as NDCs, will not of themselves be in a position to undertake major physical redevelopment schemes: but they can act as facilitators in co-ordinating other organisations; they can encourage community level debate; they can lobby for stock transfer votes; they can inform the detailed planning of major schemes; they can take the lead in organising the Masterplanning of the area; and they can help establish ‘housing refurbishment companies’ through which to sustain improvements in the delivery of neighbourhood level services once NDC funding ceases
 - NDCs can influence local tenurial patterns: Walsall has developed an innovative ‘Home Buy’ loans scheme which helps local residents to buy affordable homes in the area
 - NDCs can develop exemplar projects: Lambeth has delivered a successful recycling project with well over 90 per cent participation rates.

Internal Processes

- 6.44. One perhaps surprising conclusion to emerge from this first tranche of case study work is the extent to which observers point to the positive impact on delivery of a range of internal processes. The degree to which these have genuinely impacted on outcome achievement may be open to debate. Nevertheless, NDCs and indeed key partner agencies are often firmly of the view that processes have been important in driving forward change. Some point to **staffing** issues:
- the critical importance of employing ‘good people’, leading to the creation of effective and capable staff, and senior management, teams

- some Partnerships point to the importance of maintaining a robust and consistent staffing base: Bradford has worked to make sure staff morale is high, thus helping to ensure low turnover and hence retaining ‘in-house’ skills and knowledge
- in at least one NDC the comment was made that one of the biggest factors in encouraging delivery was the employment of programme officers and theme experts which made a *‘huge difference’*
- a number of observers point to what they see as being an appropriate mix of senior expertise often based on a more ‘visionary Chief Exec’ together with a very effective programme manager having long term expertise/knowledge of the area; it should be said some are more sceptical of the *‘vision thing’*, seeing delivery as rooted in effective programme management.

6.45. In other instances observers identify **systems** as impacting on activity:

- Newcastle points to the importance of robust project monitoring and evaluation systems and an almost constant process of reflection and review; these processes informed the Year 7 planning process leading to a comprehensive re-assessment of priorities to ensure that interventions helped to close gaps, worked towards strategic objectives, and addressed weaknesses identified in the 2004 household survey
- Bradford suggests that ongoing research and consultation have helped the Partnership maintain a keen understanding of issues of concern to residents thus informing the annual update of the Delivery Plan; in addition an evaluation strategy agreed in 2002, combined with subsequent project and thematic evaluations, have informed decision making, including the early termination of some projects
- one interviewee identified the PMF as being a catalyst in turning around the fortunes of one case study Partnership: *‘it made everyone focus on spend, outcomes and interventions’*.

Sustaining change

- 6.46. One marked difference in the attitudes and ethos of NDCs in late 2004, when the national evaluation team last undertook Partnership level work, compared with what was dominating thinking two years later in these six case studies, is a much greater focus on ‘sustainability’. Although this can mean different things, for most NDCs the bottom line here is looking to see how renewal can be sustained during the remaining years of the Programme and, more especially, after NDC funding ceases.
- 6.47. Three of the six case studies have an exit or forward strategy in place and all will have one within a year (Table 6.12). Bradford has explored a wide range of issues within its succession strategy, but all six have considered a number of relevant factors including legal status post NDC, trading income, and continued service delivery.

Table 6.12 Exit/Forward Strategy issues

	Bradford	Knowsley	Lambeth	Newcastle	Newham	Walsall
Exit Strategy	In place	Process of developing	Process of developing	Process of developing	In place	In place
When will it be in place		6mths to a year	6mths to a year	Within 6mths		
Issues considered in developing an exit strategy						
Legal status post-NDC	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Asset/facilities management after funding is spent	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Trading income	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Continued service delivery	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Managing neighbourhood wardens	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Parish councils	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Proposals for a development trust	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Consideration of continued income streams	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mainstreaming of projects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Plans for the wind down of the Partnership	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
Other			Joining an RSL group			

Source: Partnership Survey 2006

- 6.48. The degree to which NDC activities and objectives are likely to be sustained after the end of the Programme will suffuse all aspects of our case study work during Phase 2 of the evaluation. The intention here is therefore simply to provide a flavour of some of the mechanisms through which NDCs anticipate activity being sustained. Broadly, sustainability is being driven forward through **four, inter-related processes**: changing governance structures, building community assets, working with agencies to mainstream initiatives, and embedding themselves in new institutions.
- 6.49. First, NDCs are introducing new **modes of governance** to help sustain activities in the longer term. For instance in Bradford following a review and restructuring of partnership and management arrangements, a Crime Reduction and Economic Programme Working Group was established which has encouraged forward thinking in relation to longer term sustainability in the economic development arena:
- the business forum is likely to strengthen and expand
 - LEGI and LAA bids will be pursued alongside leveraging in Fair Cities activities and funding in order to bring extra resources to the area
 - funding streams for capital and revenue support for business will be set on a sustainable footing; Business Link will be engaged to ensure both sustainability and to make sure that Link advisors' local intelligence has some bearing on the ground
 - support to residents and skills development will move towards a 'one-stop shop' offering a range of interventions to bring people into employment; in addition an outreach focused model of support will engage disaffected workless groups

- Support to Business will continue and further funding will be made available for new business start-ups, additional security, and environmental improvements.
- 6.50. In Knowsley the aim is to bequeath a more balanced and sustainable neighbourhood governed by a successor to the North Huyton ‘New Deal New Future Partnership’. Three options are being explored: a voluntary management board; continuation of the current company limited by guarantee with a skeleton staff of perhaps one or two employees; and a registered charity.
- 6.51. Second, **community assets** are being developed to provide longer term funding streams. The major flagship development in Walsall, the Blakenall Village Centre, delivers a range of mainstreamed services, thus generating a lasting legacy for the NDC as a whole. Bradford has created a £10m asset base providing a £500k pa income stream. Newcastle has agreed to ring fence £5m, in addition to an already allocated £1m, in order to develop an asset strategy. Here the NDC is committed to playing a role in regenerating the West End after 2010. Revenue income is likely to be generated by investments in assets and/or trading companies whose surpluses will be used for regenerating the area. The local authority is working with the NDC to carry out a comprehensive audit of investment opportunities in and around the area. These activities are designed to reassert the Partnership’s long term aspirations of maintaining and strengthening community led governance in the area up to and beyond 2010. To one local observer: *‘you can’t really expect people in the future to have a voice and participate unless they have their own assets ... their own stake in their local area; ... we need to invest in the area; we know that we need large family housing in the area or could develop managed workspace or small to medium sized enterprises to lock them into the area as well; there’s property and land values in here growing up so we need to act quickly to get maximum benefit’*.
- 6.52. Third, NDCs are **working with other mainstream agencies in order to sustain activity in the longer run**. Knowsley provides an interesting example of the degree to which NDCs work with agencies to achieve a lasting legacy. The Partnership has influenced mainstream activities and avoided the duplication of mainstream provision in relation to:
- Crime and Community Safety: the rationale of the Problem Solving Team/Chameleon Project is to influence mainstream activities (police, PCSOs, Wardens) and ‘bend’ resources towards neighbourhood problems
 - Education and Schools Beyond: the North Huyton Learning Collaboration matches NDC expenditure with mainstream funding (DfES, Excellence in Cities) whilst retaining a neighbourhood emphasis ensuring a focus on the educational performance of children from the NDC area
 - Employment and Local Economy:
 - the development of an Intermediate Labour Market Programme (‘Road to Work’) building on lessons of the early Team North Huyton Project but replacing the latter’s ‘bespoke’ (and relatively expensive) training

with a package of mainstream training programmes with the NDC's Road to Work Team acting in a brokering role

- the agreement by DWP to pay pensions and benefits through a Credit Union is likely to prove important in sustaining the latter: the Credit Union is now the only bank in the area
 - the decision not to proceed with the original proposal for the building of 'Managed Workspaces' in the NDC area to avoid duplication of facilities being offered by the authority in nearby Prescot
 - the decision to proceed with a specialised Training Centre was justified by its focus on 'niche' training not currently provided by existing providers with flexibility linked to both employers' needs (including the 'Floor laying Academy' in Huyton) and also the wider regeneration programme including, for example, skills needed in the new housing programme, such as timber frame and other modern methods of construction
- Health and Healthy Living:
 - the NDC area acts as a pilot for Borough-wide initiatives, notably the programme of Men's Health Checks and the Healthy Communities Collaborative for Falls Prevention
 - the monitoring system developed for Community Health Development Programme has been adopted by the Borough-wide Health Promotion Steering Group
 - joint funding with the PCT of a Health Bus and a Primary Care Resource Centre
 - mainstreaming, by Knowsley PCT, of Falls Prevention and Teenage Pregnancy initiatives involving the innovative use of evidence; for the Falls Prevention this involved combining data from the Ambulance Service and qualitative evidence from patients; the Teenage Pregnancy model has been adopted at Borough level.

6.53. The Partnership also points out however that the long-term management of the neighbourhood will be heavily dependent on the successful operation of Knowsley MBC's recently introduced 'Concept Knowsley' which includes a neighbourhood management element. This is widely seen as having a crucial impact on sustaining the NDC's legacy.

6.54. One interesting theme which has cropped up in relation to mainstreaming is the question of NDC boundaries. In Newcastle observers point to an ambivalence regarding the size of the area. It is sometimes seen as too large, not taking into account natural communities or people's associations with particular localities. On the other hand, the compactness of the area allows everyone to develop a good understanding of local issues and to deal with the whole NDC area, not just a subsection of it. However the Partnership is currently considering 'extending activity' beyond NDC boundaries post 2010 as a means

of sustaining renewal after the NDC finishes: *'the challenge for us is to transform ourselves from just a small area into something that plays a part in a bigger area ...part of our ambition is to dissolve our borders. Over the next three years we expect to scrap our boundaries ...how we do that is really, really difficult, because there are other people jostling for primacy within the community sector and there are those that say we've had our chance'*. But whatever the outcome to these local debates the NDC sees sustainability as being more likely to be achieved if it looks to a wider area than that which it currently administers. This attitude reflects a probable truism: mainstream agencies are more likely to express interest in initiatives covering areas wider than those currently being overseen by NDC Partnerships.

- 6.55. And fourth, NDCs are **embedding themselves within, and in turn benefiting from, new institutional arrangements**. In Walsall the NDC Chief Executive is on the Board for the Borough's Strategic Regeneration Framework with Walsall Housing Group and the Council. Increasingly the major driver in terms of the local context is the LAA and the LSP, in which the NDC is strongly and actively involved. The intention here is to ensure NDC priorities map onto LAA priorities, with NDC investment complementing not replacing other investment around LAA blocks. Participation occurs within nearly all management, pillar and sub-theme groups. This includes the NDC Chair being on the strategic partnership and the CEO on the executive group. The degree to which Bradford is embedding itself in the wider institutional landscape is outlined in Figure 6.1.

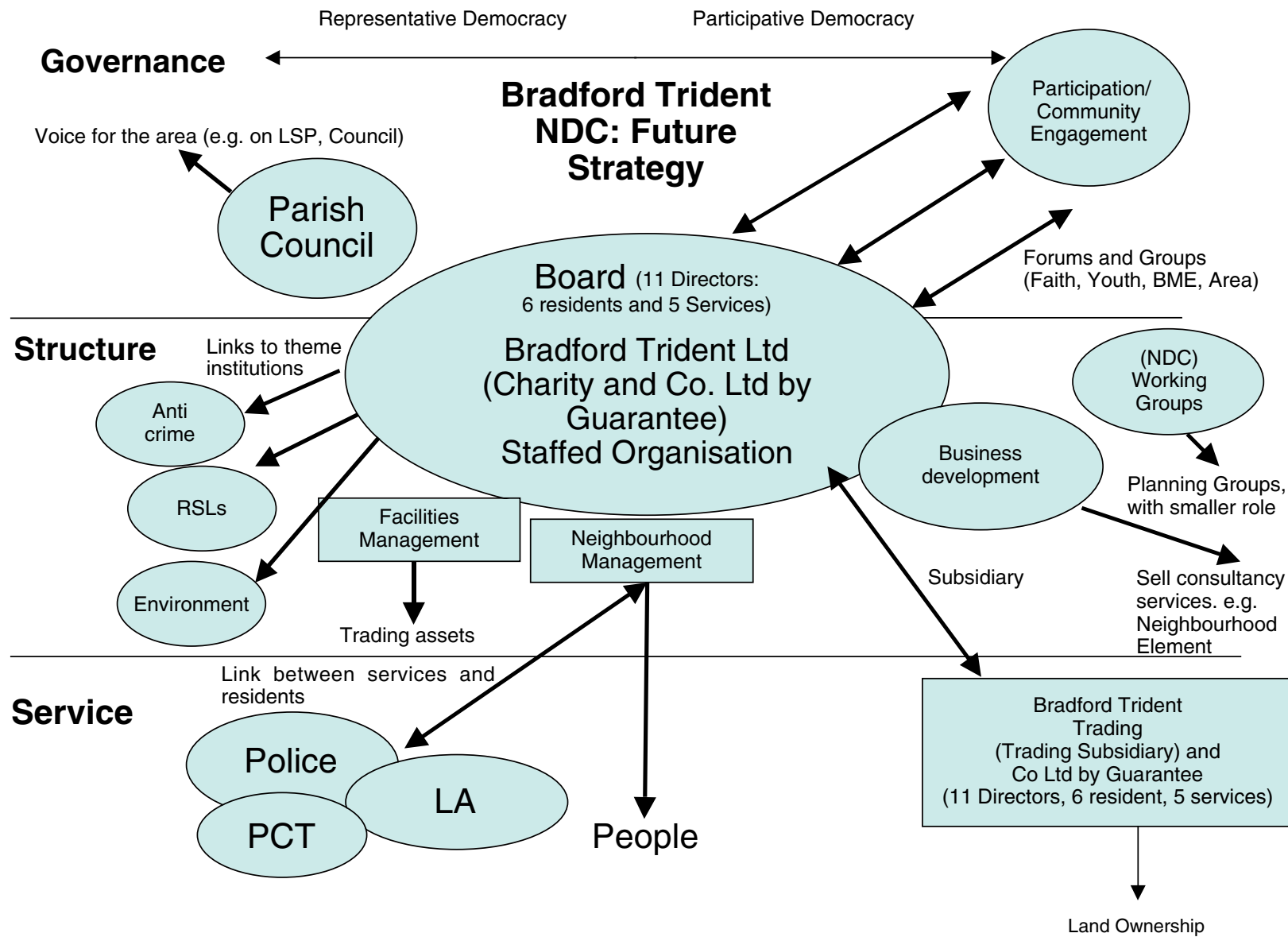
Issues and dilemmas in neighbourhood renewal: a concluding comment

- 6.56. This Chapter has provided an overview of issues impacting on delivery which have arisen from early work in these six neighbourhoods. Not surprisingly many of these considerations were also identified in the later stages of Phase 1 of the national evaluation. At this stage four issues are worth emphasising;
- there is a view across these six areas, not simply from NDCs, but also from partner agencies, that there has been an easing in the tensions and barriers which have impacted on NDCs since the Programme was launched: agencies are keener to work with NDCs; local authority/Partnerships relationships have improved; the quality of NDC staff and their internal systems have got much better
 - but renewal at the local level is never going to be easy; these are difficult enough areas in the first place; on top of that, there can be further layers of complexity: other agencies and ABIs operating in the locality, an increasingly dynamic institutional context, changes to the local economy, and so on: there is a huge amount of extraneous 'noise' going on, it is not always easy for NDCs to eke out their own vision and strategy
 - perhaps the biggest single, and maybe unanticipated, contextual issue with which NDCs are having to grapple is that of demographic change; achieving positive outcomes for largely 'stable' populations was always going to be

demanding: if a quarter or more of residents in any NDC area have lived there for less than 12 months, how plausible is it to imagine that any Partnership is going to achieve person based outcomes in worklessness, education and health for all local residents?

- finally it is worth commenting on the ‘community dimension’ so often seen as the defining feature of the Programme; it is intriguing to note here the continuing and strong commitment on the part of so many NDC staff , and indeed many agency representatives too, towards the principle of the community being at the ‘heart’ of the programme; but equally so this remains contested territory; the community dimension does bring out, and maybe add to, conflict; it is never ending; it can be tinged with aspects of racial tension; and it is not as yet clear that once NDC funding ceases there will always be in place a strong community resource through which to perpetuate positive neighbourhood level change.

Figure 6.1 Bradford: Future Strategy



Source: Bradford NDC

CHAPTER 7

The Six NDC Case Studies: Concluding Observations

- 7.1. As is discussed in the opening chapter to this report, it should be stressed that this is the first ‘setting the scene’ case study output from the national evaluation team. It is designed to provide a benchmark, a ‘state of the art’ overview of these six NDC areas as of late 2006. As this strand of case study work evolves over the next two years the intention is that this report will act as a resource through which to contextualise more detailed forensic work. This, and subsequent case study work, will in turn inform Programme wide evaluation reports and also the renewal and regeneration communities more generally.
- 7.2. At this early stage perhaps five overarching issues should be addressed:
- the local matters
 - renewal is an intensive, time consuming and demanding process
 - successful renewal takes time, but the world moves on
 - limits on neighbourhood renewal
 - implications for the national evaluation.

The ‘local’ matters

- 7.3. The Programme is premised on the assumption that effective regeneration requires Partnerships to devise and implement strategies which reflect local circumstances. Perhaps the single most obvious headline to emerge from initial work in these six localities is just how true this is. These areas vary considerably with respect to a wide range of ‘framing parameters’ including most obviously:
- the intensity, mix and evolution of problems impacting on these neighbourhoods and their residents
 - the scale of recent economic and demographic changes which can either enhance opportunities or alternatively impose further ‘costs’ on local Partnerships
 - the institutional and governance landscapes within which NDCs operate
 - the depth, scale and nature of support from delivery agencies.

- 7.4. This of course raises an interesting dilemma. The NDC is a national renewal Programme. There are issues which, it can be argued, require or justify a 'national perspective': But exactly because local circumstances vary so considerably across, sometimes even within, these six areas it is intriguing to consider what these 'national considerations' should ideally be. To take one obvious example. The assumption has been that each Partnership should attempt to achieve change across five or, if community is considered as a separate outcome, six themes. But because of differing local contexts it is perfectly plausible to argue that some NDCs could, perhaps should, have majored on a smaller portfolio of outcomes in order accurately to reflect the particular suite of problems they faced. This initial case study work re-confirms the view that effective regeneration and renewal policies have to be firmly embedded in the 'local context'. The exact role which national, or indeed regional, government should play in defining neighbourhood level strategies remains unclear. But it seems most appropriate to assume it should be a 'light touch'.

Renewal is intensive, demanding and time consuming

- 7.5. Early evaluation work in these six localities confirms one overarching message to emerge from Phase 1 of the evaluation: effective neighbourhood level renewal is an immensely complex process. There are formidable transaction costs in setting up 'quasi-autonomous' Partnerships, working with delivery agencies, enhancing community involvement and engagement, and driving forward strategic change. This is perhaps the most ambitious ABI ever launched anywhere. Such ambition is entirely laudable. But exactly because of this, the NDC Programme highlights all too clearly the complexities of intensive neighbourhood level renewal. Most obviously:
- Partnerships can take many years to work out optimal, in some instances workable, relationships with agencies and their Accountable Body
 - agencies might, or might not, be convinced of the need to alter delivery processes or budgets to meet the needs of 'non-standard', time limited, agencies such as NDC Partnerships; but because NDC Partnerships are engaged in change across so many outcomes this of necessity will involve them in creating and sustaining positive relationships across, what can be a formidable array of delivery agencies
 - processes inherent to setting up and sustaining renewal delivery agencies are in one sense never fully 'signed-off' with the Partnership then moving onto more critical issues of delivery; agencies change, new funding mechanisms emerge, key agency contacts move on, community representatives leave: it is a treadmill
 - engaging with communities is widely seen as essential; but hard nosed, sometimes bitter, experience in some of these NDCs points all too clearly to what can happen: intra-community infighting, racial tensions, an unwillingness to move on once decisions have been made, the damaging

impact of a few disruptive individuals, and so on; none of this is new, and key players in NDCs are overwhelmingly of the view that those are costs which have to be accepted; but there should be no illusions about the real and continuing ‘costs’ of community engagement which **may** occur in renewal programmes.

- 7.6. However neighbourhood level renewal is configured it is likely to prove a complex and demanding process. What the NDC Programme has shown is an obvious, but nevertheless important, truism: the more ambitious the Programme the more complex will be the ‘processes’ involved in establishing, maintaining and nurturing effective renewal delivery agencies.

Successful renewal takes time, but the world moves on

- 7.7. A further dilemma thrown into sharp relief by this Programme is that nexus of issues surrounding time. One of the key, and surely correct, principles underpinning this Programme is the assumption that renewal will take a long time. These areas have been disadvantaged for decades, in some cases for well over a century. The architects of the NDC Programme realised that ‘turning these areas around’ needed a sustained programme of support for ten or more years.
- 7.8. However interventions are easier to implement, and probably culminate in more obvious outcomes, in periods of **relative** ‘market and institutional stability’ because:
- if other delivery agency budgets and objectives are reasonably clear and robust it is easier for renewal agencies to plan strategically
 - if the institutional landscape is largely constant it is easier for NDCs to secure and maintain alliances: new agencies and funding streams necessitate new working arrangements
 - a relatively stable ‘beneficiary population’ assists in defining planned outcomes, targeting interventions, and identifying positive changes.
- 7.9. But of course NDCs have operated in a period of perhaps unprecedented change, key elements of which are discussed above (6.4 onwards). These collectively impose formidable challenges for neighbourhood level renewal agencies. For example how:
- if at all, should Partnerships respond to new agencies, funding mechanisms or emerging policy issues?
 - can they always conceivably respond to the needs of what may be dramatically changing local populations?
 - can they assist local residents in maximising new economic benefits which may be occurring in the wider city-region?

- 7.10. Locating NDCs within a longer time horizon was exactly the right approach to adopt. However, precisely because of this design the Programme highlights the intrinsic tensions arising from renewal programmes being effected over longer periods of time. Rapid market and institutional change can of course provide real opportunities. But they are likely also to impose challenges which may stretch even larger organisations such as local authorities. For relatively small neighbourhood level renewal agencies such as NDCs with limited resources, ambitious targets, and an imperative to work with other agencies, pressures arising from a changing world can seem extremely challenging.

Limits on neighbourhood renewal

- 7.11. Because of the kinds of factors alluded to immediately above, it is important that NDCs are **judged by what they can plausibly achieve**. It is true that Partnerships are relatively well funded compared with previous ABIs. They have also perhaps been given more of a political and policy profile than many previous initiatives. They are seen too as a beacon initiative within the government's overall National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal. Nevertheless it is easy to overestimate what NDCs can realistically hope to achieve for at least five reasons.
- 7.12. First, there are **financial constraints**. As on average each NDC area accommodates about 10,000 people, a £50m local programme works out at less than £100 per person, per theme, per year. Of itself this kind of investment will not lead to major shifts for many outcomes. These financial equations further underline the critical importance of NDCs engaging with other delivery agencies. Not all such agencies will be convinced that NDC areas justify any 'additional' investment.
- 7.13. Second, the **institutional environment** imposes its own limitations. Although NDCs are relatively big players when compared with previous ABIs, their significance can be overstressed. Other agencies, processes and funding mechanisms will exceed, sometimes dwarf, what NDCs can do. When the Programme was launched in 1998 there were no LSPs or LAAs. But since then powers and resources driving local renewal agendas have 'moved upwards and outwards' away from NDCs. Having said that NDCs do have an important role to play in 'higher level' deliberations. They can for example promote themselves as exemplars of how LSPs might narrow the gaps in relation to their neighbourhood targets.
- 7.14. Third, it is important to recognise that the **'logic chains' underpinning effective renewal are far from clear**. There is no comprehensive evidence base which NDCs, or indeed any renewal agency, can employ which will inevitably move Partnerships from known baseline problems to realistic ten year outcome targets through the implementation of a specific suite of interventions. It may indeed prove often to be the case that NDC spend of itself has little to do with outcome change.
- 7.15. Fourth, the rate of neighbourhood level **demographic change** suggests that NDCs may struggle to make much of a dent in people based outcomes such as improved educational attainment, health indicators, and worklessness. Evidence

from the Programme as a whole suggests that those leaving NDC areas are tending to be replaced by those with more acute manifestations of deprivation¹⁴. This is likely to impact on all NDCs in at least two ways:

- those who are more likely to help achieve person based outcomes are tending to leave NDC areas
- to be replaced by those imposing more ‘people based’ demands on NDCs and other agencies.

7.16. Fifth, it is worth re-iterating that the Programme is about neighbourhood level renewal. Whereas it is plausible to argue that some issues such as say crime and environmental improvements can ideally be addressed at the local scale, others such as jobs and education, are largely driven by wider city, city-regional or even national forces. NDCs may be attempting to affect outcomes in areas over which they have **only limited influence or control**.

Implications for the national evaluation.

7.17. As is outlined in the introductory chapter, one of the key reasons why the national evaluation team is undertaking case study work is so that relationships between interventions and (any) associated outcomes are better understood and that key lessons are widely disseminated across the renewal community. There will probably never be a better opportunity through which to fill what has widely been seen as a key gap in the renewal evidence base¹⁵. Even at this early stage it is clear that this will not be a straightforward exercise:

- relationships between spend and any associated outcomes will rarely be immediate, obvious and ‘linear’
- changes may well be occurring in case study areas for a wider range of contextual factors: market forces, new agency services, other previous or extant ABIs, new demographics: this makes it difficult to unravel the impact of these forces in order **definitely** to identify the ‘NDC effect’.

7.18. Nevertheless it needs to be stressed that case study evidence is of particular value in helping **to inform the three issues which underpin the national evaluation**:

- change data across all 39 NDC areas can identify the **degree to which the Programme is succeeding**: but local case study evidence is invaluable in helping to contextualise this ‘top-down’ data by exploring the degree to which, and how, local issues and interventions either have impacted on, or are likely to affect the rate of, change

¹⁴ DCLG 2007 The Moving escalator: does neighbourhood renewal encourage the better off to leave the area?

¹⁵ DETR 2001 A Review of the evidence base for regeneration policy and practice

- case study work can provide valuable insights into the **added value of the Programme** by, for instance, identifying those locally articulated benefits which arise from an ABI wedded to community engagement, longer term planning, partnership working with other agencies, and sustainability
- locality work can also assist in teasing out the **most effective way through which to plan renewal over ten years**: undertaking longitudinal work in a small number of case study areas will allow the evaluation team, and in turn others, better to comprehend the processes inherent to, and the lessons emerging from, the planning, implementation and impact of an intensive, multi-outcome ABI in a small number of deprived localities.

APPENDIX ONE

Selection of Case Study NDCs:

Four criteria were used to inform the selection:

- ‘good performance ‘
- regional spread
- type of neighbourhood
- strategic approach

(i) GOOD PERFORMANCE

An overarching aim of case study work is to achieve a better understanding of good practice in NDC Partnerships and to disseminate what is working to the neighbourhood renewal community more generally. Case studies, therefore, were selected from amongst better performing NDCs. ‘Good performance’ was identified using:

- PMF scores (ranked)
- Index of Relative change (ranked): performance of each NDC area between 2001-02 and 2004 against that achieved in the other 38 NDC areas
- Closing the gap with Local Authorities (ranked)

These three performance indicators were combined to create two further rankings:

- Combined rank 1 is based on both the Index of Relative Change and Closing the gap with Local authorities
- Combined rank 2 also includes PMF rankings.

The six preferred NDCs ranked amongst the top 18 performers on the first combined rank indicator (relative change and closing the gap) and amongst the top 12 based the second combined rank indicator (relative change, closing the gap and PMF).

It should be stressed that this selection was based on evidence available to the national evaluation team as of early 2006.

(ii) REGIONAL SPREAD

In order to ensure wider contextual issues are captured there was always a strong case for a **regional spread** of case study NDCs. Two were selected in London because:

- 10 NDCs are located there
- London NDCs tend collectively to be rather different to other Partnerships e.g. major pressures in terms of housing demand, but often higher than NDC Programme wide averages in relation to some indicators such as educational attainment
- methodologically it is useful to have 2 case studies located within one city in order to provide a 'common institutional/market context' within which to explore why and how change is occurring
- there is the argument that more is happening in London which is likely to impact on NDC performance e.g. the 2012 Olympics
- the two NDCs involved, Lambeth and Newham, are different in strategic approach: the former being part of a major redevelopment proposal, the latter adopting more of an incremental approach.

The remaining four NDCs are located in those 'non-London regions' accommodating most NDCs: the North-East; the North-West; the West Midlands; and Yorkshire and the Humber.

(iii) TYPE OF NEIGHBOURHOOD

In addition the six selected case studies represent a range **across key socio-demographic variables**:

- Tenure profile: proportion of social renters ranges from 36 per cent (Bradford) to 68 per cent (Knowsley), the NDC average being 55 per cent
- Proportion of BME residents: ranges from one per cent (Knowsley) to 64 per cent (Bradford) compared with a NDC wide range of one per cent to 82 per cent and an average of 27 per cent

(iv) STRATEGIC APPROACH

The overall strategic approach has been addressed using four indicators (Tables 1 and 2):

- existence of an exit strategy: three of the six had a formal exit strategy in late 2005 compared with 15 out of the 39 NDCs
- legal status: all six are companies limited by guarantee

- proportion of resident board members ranges from 41 per cent (Lambeth) to 67 per cent (Walsall) compared with a Programme wide average of 54 per cent
- the mix of spend across themes appears largely representative of the Programme as a whole: for example, the proportion of total spend directed towards community safety outcomes ranges from six per cent (Newham) to 28 per cent (Walsall) compared with a range of three per cent to 28 per cent across the Programme; there is also a useful range across the six in relation to the relative allocation of overall expenditure; for instance health varies from one per cent to 14 per cent, worklessness four per cent to 20 per cent; crime six per cent to 28 per cent and HPE 19 per cent to 51 per cent.

Table 1 Strategic approach			
NDC	% resident board members	Does the partnership have an exit strategy?	Legal Status
Birmingham A	53	No	Other
Birmingham KN	57	Yes	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Bradford	48	Yes	Co. Ltd. by guarantee/CD trust/Charity
Brent	63	No	No legal status
Brighton	50	Yes	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Bristol	57	Yes	Co. Ltd. by guarantee/Charity
Coventry	45	Yes	No legal status
Derby	46	No	Charity
Doncaster	48	Yes	No legal status
Hackney	67	Yes	Co. Ltd. by guarantee/Charity
Haringey	38	No	No legal status
Hartlepool	52	Yes	No legal status
H'smith & Fulham	47	No	No legal status
Hull	44	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee/CD trust/Charity
Islington	67	No	No legal status
Knowsley	56	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Lambeth	41	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Leicester	80	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Lewisham	48	No	No legal status
Liverpool	31	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Luton	73	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee/CD trust
Manchester	50	Yes	No legal status
Middlesbrough	42	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Newcastle	55	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Newham	59	Yes	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Norwich	60	Yes	Co. Ltd. by guarantee/CD trust
Nottingham	72	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Oldham	37	No	No legal status
Plymouth	41	Yes	No legal status
Rochdale	41	No	Society to benefit the community
Salford	65	No	No legal status
Sandwell	55	No	No legal status
Sheffield	48	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Southampton	63	No	No legal status
Southwark	70	No	No legal status
Sunderland	54	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Tower Hamlets	61	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee
Walsall	67	Yes	Co. Ltd. by guarantee/Charity
Wolverhampton	60	No	Co. Ltd. by guarantee

Preference Case study NDCs / Substitute NDCs

Table 2 Theme expenditure to 2004/05: % of total spend

NDC	Community development	Safety	Education	Health	Housing & Physical Environ	Worklessness
Birmingham A	5	13	20	23	10	16
Birmingham KN	35	14	9	2	18	5
Bradford	16	9	11	7	31	20
Brent	14	9	25	4	33	3
Brighton	30	8	17	8	23	13
Bristol	32	5	7	22	8	24
Coventry	10	7	53	4	11	5
Derby	18	13	36	20	1	13
Doncaster	21	17	14	5	17	13
Hackney	14	3	12	4	14	48
Haringey	8	14	17	28	24	5
Hartlepool	20	18	17	4	22	11
H'smith & Fulham	22	6	14	5	30	4
Hull	31	6	18	6	26	8
Islington	10	7	15	21	17	9
Knowsley	11	6	8	1	51	10
Lambeth	22	11	9	1	19	15
Leicester	18	3	5	12	49	7
Lewisham	9	27	16	10	16	7
Liverpool	13	17	18	9	26	10
Luton	55	10	9	6	4	6
Manchester	8	4	10	7	61	8
Middlesbrough	10	14	26	4	30	14
Newcastle	8	13	28	13	20	18
Newham	13	6	17	11	42	4
Norwich	4	11	31	13	1	36
Nottingham	22	13	11	10	5	28
Oldham	8	8	5	60	7	9
Plymouth	13	19	14	9	26	7
Rochdale	7	11	6	4	58	5
Salford	13	6	39	8	25	3
Sandwell	33	15	28	3	5	7
Sheffield	26	13	23	17	17	5
Southampton	21	11	15	6	22	7
Southwark	28	8	11	5	13	21
Sunderland	12	12	51	2	2	16
Tower Hamlets	15	19	23	6	20	4
Walsall	19	28	7	14	23	4
Wolverhampton	12	19	16	1	34	3

Preference Case study NDCs / Substitute NDCs