

## **PART II: APPROACHES TO NEIGHBOURHOOD RENEWAL**

*Housing and Neighbourhood Renewal*

## **9 Inner City Neighbourhood and Peripheral Estate Renewal in Glasgow**

Neighbourhood renewal in Glasgow is, in many ways, both a model and an inspiration for neighbourhood renewal elsewhere. The initiative began around 15 years ago, and the recent and successful 'Glasgow's miles better' campaign, the clean-up, refurbishment and pedestrianisation of its Victorian city centre and Merchant City, and the Garden Festival were all preceded by an innovative neighbourhood renewal approach. This has been undertaken since 1976 by partnerships between community groups, community based housing associations, and local, regional, and central government.

The renewal process in one of these neighbourhoods, Queen's Cross -Maryhill, is reported here. Glasgow is also known for its successful large scale partnership urban renewal in the GEAR (Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal) project, reported elsewhere (Donnison and Middleton, 1987). These earlier inner city renewals are now giving rise to new initiatives on Glasgow's peripheral housing estates, and two of them, at Drumchapel and Castlemilk, are also reported here.

### **Housing in Glasgow**

Glasgow is unusual in many ways. The District Council is the largest municipal housing administration in Europe, managing about 165,000 council houses. The public sector tenure share is 58 per cent. Owner occupation in the city is correspondingly low at 28 per cent compared with 64 per cent for Britain overall. Current tenure arrangements in Glasgow compared with Britain as a whole are shown in Figure 9.1.

**Figure 9.1 Tenure split in Glasgow and Britain**

	Glasgow	Britain as a whole
Local authority	58	26
Owner occupation	28	64
Housing association	6	2
Scottish Special Housing Association	5	--
Private renting	3	8

Source: *Grieve Report*, 1986 (adjusted)

Many more Scottish people live in flats, many in tenemental blocks, than elsewhere in Britain, 41 per cent, compared with 18 per cent nationally. Glasgow City Council also owns one-third of all the tower blocks over 20 storeys high in Britain. Seventy thousand people in Glasgow live in 267 system built council blocks over four storeys in height.

In 1985, Glasgow Council undertook a survey of housing conditions in its stock and an attitude survey of its tenants. It also commissioned a major review of its management practices by a committee led by Sir Robert Grieve. The house condition survey indicated that 72,000, mainly post-war, council houses (44 per cent of stock) required essential repairs, and 21,000 of dwellings (13 per cent) were below tolerable standard, now referred to as BTS houses (Ash, 1988).

The general problems facing Glasgow's council stock are outlined by MacLennan (1988, pp.32-33). First, as indicated in the survey, the post-war stock has deteriorated at an alarming rate. The physical environments of these council estates have also deteriorated, and these were often poorly designed to begin with. Second, Glasgow's council tenants have both aged and become increasingly isolated from the mainstream of economic activity. MacLennan notes that more than half of the tenants are over the age of 60. The working age population, on the other hand, has been hard hit by the substantial increase in unemployment over the last two decades. Only one council household in three has an adult in employment. This trend has particularly disadvantaged the isolated peripheral estates of Glasgow, where young unemployed households, jobless single people, and single parents have become concentrated. Due to population decline and unpopularity these estates are also under-occupied, with many dispiriting empty properties. Turnover rates can be as much as 30 to 40 per cent per annum in the least favoured neighbourhoods. These poorly designed, isolated estates on the edge of the

green belt have become the residualised neighbourhoods of Glasgow (Figure 9.2).

**Figure 9.2 Maryhill corridor and peripheral estates in Glasgow**

### **The Scottish policy framework and neighbourhood renewal**

In many ways, Glaswegian and Scottish partnerships for policy making and implementation provide a useful mirror with which to examine English arrangements for urban neighbourhood renewal. Although renewal partnerships in Glasgow are not without problems, they are generally constructive and pragmatic. Scottish experience of central-local-community relations suggests a number of ways in which English practice may be improved, and issues which will need to be addressed if genuine community-based renewal is to take place.

Scottish housing policy formulation, while being subject to national trends overall (for example, the encouragement of council house sales), has been mainly devolved to the Scottish Office, which deals with most urban policy functions, and brings social and economic concerns together in a single

department. This has enabled priorities and spending to be recast in the light of Scottish needs and potential, and new initiatives to emerge which are not derived from English practice. Recently, the Scottish Office (1988) set out the framework of its urban and housing policy in the document *New Life for Urban Scotland*, a remarkably straightforward statement of policy intent, of a kind lacking for England.

A particularly successful urban initiative has been the partnership renewal of the traditional neighbourhoods of Glasgow. In general the institutional model for this renewal process has been public sector intervention and planning by the City Council and the Scottish Development Authority (SDA) working with community based housing associations, and with policy back-up and substantial financial support from the Housing Corporation in Scotland.

In part this innovative renewal approach is possible by the very fact of devolution of policy making from Whitehall to the Scottish Office. This has meant that, whatever the apparent ideological differences, central-local government relations in Scotland have been healthier than in England, making renewal partnerships not only possible but productive. The fortuitous devolution of policy making is reinforced by the relative geographic intimacy of Scottish political life – there is nothing of the great distance in appreciation and perception which seem to exist between DoE and local authorities in England.

In addition to an important role for local government, to which we return, two agencies of central government play a role in urban renewal in Scotland – the SDA and Scottish Homes, the latter now incorporating the Housing Corporation in Scotland (HCiS), and the Scottish Special Housing Association (SSHA). With the big exception of a lead role in GEAR, the SDA now has less to do with housing renewal per se, but since its inception in 1975 it has had a major influence on Scottish urban renewal practice. The SDA has wide powers for economic development, land renewal and environmental improvement. Activities include building factories and workshops, land engineering and derelict land renewal, environmental work, landscaping and stonecleaning of buildings, and support for businesses.

The SDA was set up by the Labour government in 1975, and since then has been a test case of how a regional development agency could work in a mixed economy. In some ways it seems improbable that it has survived ten years of ‘anti-planning’ in Westminster, but the Conservative political position in Scotland has probably been too tenuous to allow such a success story to be abandoned, and the SDA continues to enjoy all-party support.

The SDA also administers the Scottish version of UDG, called LEG-UP (Local Enterprise Grants for Urban Projects). Many of the grants involve the provision of new buildings or the conversion of older property for shops, flats for sale, recreation and leisure use, and industrial development. In one or two specific locations, such as the Merchant City in the centre of Glasgow, LEG-UP has helped bring about the successful conversion of older vacant property, significantly improving the physical appearance and level of commercial activity in the area. LEG-UP support is said by the Scottish Office to have secured £170 m of private investment with £30 m of public investment. *New Life for Urban Scotland* summarises the philosophy behind LEG-UP:

By offering LEG-UP assistance the SDA can enable viable projects to proceed where the risks involved cannot be matched by an adequate level of return on the investment, thereby securing private sector funds which would otherwise be lost and demonstrating that real opportunities exist in areas which in the past have all too readily been overlooked.

As noted earlier, the Scottish Office has not felt the need to replace LEG-UP with City Grant. It is also telling that the Scottish Office in *New Life for Urban Scotland* states that:

Given the existence of the SDA, its powers, and the role we have given it to deal with urban renewal, the Government do not consider that there is at present a case to set up Urban Development Corporations in Scotland. Last year the SDA spent £62 million, 47 per cent of its budget, on a wide variety of urban renewal work. The Government has agreed with the SDA that this should be a major aim in its corporate plan over the next few years.

Both the Scottish Office and SDA (with LEG-UP) are active in the Castlemilk Partnership, reported below.

The second central agency with a key role in neighbourhood renewal, the Housing Corporation in Scotland (HCiS), was incorporated in April, 1989 into Scottish Homes. In a surprisingly different approach to that of its more housing oriented English counterpart, the HCiS has for many years considered its main priority to be what it called until last year 'neighbourhood or area renewal', reflecting its orientation to traditional inner city neighbourhoods, and which it now calls 'urban renewal' to encompass its peripheral estates initiatives.

The HCiS (and now Scottish Homes) has its own Scottish Board with its development programme annually approved by the Secretary of State for Scotland. The programme appears to be cost effective – with 11 per cent of

the national budget for housing associations, the HClS has funded, since 1980/81, 17 per cent of all association rehabilitations in Great Britain (Maclennan, 1988, p.41). The portions of the HClS budget committed to area renewal is indicative of its priorities: between 1985 and 1989 the percentage allocation of the total HClS budget given to area renewal varied only slightly from 59 to 62 per cent. Overall investment in area renewal has grown steadily, for example, by 15 per cent from 1986/87 to 1987/88, and an additional 8 per cent from 1987/88 to 1988/89, but not including £25m for peripheral estate initiatives (Figure 9.3).

**Figure 9.3 Housing Corporation in Scotland investment programme (£m) 1988/89**

For Glasgow, the HClS and Glasgow District Council developed a neighbourhood renewal model based on German, Dutch and Swedish experience. This evolved from a programme for fixing-up housing stock classified as 'below tolerable standard' (BTS), to a programme for providing 'growth-poles' for housing-led neighbourhood change. The programme has the following features (Maclennan, 1988, p.41). It has been run from its inception by a joint Steering Committee of elected members of the District Council and the HClS. In conjunction with District Council, which undertook detailed neighbourhood housing condition analysis, including the location of BTS housing and 'gap sites', the corporation identified sets of adjacent potential Housing Action Areas. Community-based housing associations were then nurtured into existence, sometimes from existing community groups, to manage the rehabilitation programme in designated Housing Action

Areas containing 1,000 to 2,000 units, as rehabilitation agents of the District Council, and under management committees consisting mainly of local residents. Later these associations branched out from housing rehabilitation to new build on gap sites, then into environmental improvements, and employment and training initiatives.

Aside from the obvious benefit that elderly people and low income residents now had access to rehabilitated housing, the wider neighbourhood benefits reported by MacLennan have been substantial. In adjacent areas improvement grant uptake has risen sharply, building societies have increased their lending share from 20 to 80 per cent, and new private house building has grown on adjacent sites.

As the renewal programme became more sophisticated, the focus on tenement rehabilitation in HAAs was expanded in the early 1980s to encompass many of the basic elements of neighbourhood renewal. The thinking of the HCiS (1984), set out in its pamphlet *Neighbourhood Renewal and Specialist Housing*, is telling on this point:

Associations are faced with broadening their horizons to participate in the development of a neighbourhood renewal strategy that will seek to balance house size and tenure in their locality. Central to this strategy is the integration of new build developments on gap sites; conversion of redundant buildings for community use; and the development of amenities such as tenement front space for gardens, parking and play areas.

The challenge for Housing Associations, the District Council and the Housing Corporation in the future is to keep their activities relevant to, and in pace with, the needs of residents and to ensure that the widening thrust of neighbourhood renewal under discussion at present, becomes reality.

Attention also shifted in 1987/88 to ways of enhancing the total housing environment in areas where tenement rehabilitation programmes had already been completed. A series of pilot streetscape projects were initiated in Glasgow in collaboration with the District Council, Strathclyde Regional Council and the SDA. The first such scheme, at Blair Street, Shettleston, was completed by the Shettleston Housing Association.

There is one other area of Scottish policy innovation relevant to neighbourhood renewal. This is the policy support provided for community enterprise agencies which, as will be seen in the Drumchapel case study, increasingly play a key role in local economic and employment regeneration. The main vehicle for policy support of community enterprises in Glasgow is a recently established community enterprise development agency, set up

jointly by GDC and SRC. This is called Strathclyde Community Business Limited (SCBL). It provides advisory support, funding, training and monitoring of business development. Funding for community business has now shifted from the traditional process of bids for Urban Aid funding passing up through local authorities to the Scottish Office, to a block grant system under the direct control of SCBL. McArthur and McGregor (1989) report a major advantage with the new funding system has been a substantial reduction in the time it takes for project approval. This has proved particularly important where a new business hopes to exploit commercial possibilities as they arise. It also means that projects are assessed by people who have a good working knowledge of community enterprise. It is likely in future that community enterprise will be considered an integral part of the Glaswegian neighbourhood renewal approach.

There have been many plaudits for the Scottish approach to neighbourhood renewal:

The success of the community based housing associations, tenant management cooperatives and the emerging par-value housing cooperatives represent the most positive and exciting development in housing in Glasgow. We consider that the further development of community based housing agencies acting in partnership with the Council and the Housing Corporation has a potential, second to none, to ensure the effective renewal of declining housing areas and estates in Glasgow (The Grieve Report, 1986, p.35).

The proliferation of community-based housing associations throughout urban Scotland are testimony to the commitment of the Housing Corporation and district councils to making better use of the older tenemental stock. Public support for private sector improvement has been similarly instrumental in the rediscovery of a Victorian and Edwardian architecture that not only provides superior housing but undoubtedly improves the appearance of the Scottish city (Boyle, 1987).

MacLennan (1988, pp.41-42) concludes:

Though long term, targeted investment, public led housing investment has created a renewed private spending interest. English cities have much to learn from this experience, as long as they recognise that the Glasgow success has taken 15 years, involving more than £600m to achieve and been backed by an equally extensive programme of individual repair and improvement work.

Generally, therefore, the Glaswegian approach to neighbourhood renewal is successful and worthy of replication. But it is also necessary to point out that four conditions hold in Scotland while contributed to this success, and

which would presumably need to be replicated in some form elsewhere, were similar success to be achieved.

First, a constructive and cooperative working partnership was firmly established between the Housing Corporation in Scotland's regional office and both members and officers of Glasgow District Council (Housetalk, 1985). Second, central government finance through the agency of the HCiS significantly and specifically funded neighbourhood renewal in Glasgow. Third, city-wide plans for neighbourhood renewal were prepared to establish area priorities, based on the 'growth-pole' model which, with hindsight, worked well in promoting neighbourhood renewal. This city-wide approach differentiates Glasgow from the strictly city-centre renewal approaches in many American cities touted as models by British politicians. Fourth, and perhaps most important, officers and members of the District Council, and the officers of the HCiS regional office, were committed from the start to the establishment of a new form of community based housing association (CBHA). These differ markedly in their patterns of organisation and control from traditional housing associations (Housetalk, 1985). CBHAs open up to the community the possibility of an active partnership role, without which there is little chance of self-sustaining urban regeneration.

The 29 CBHAs in Glasgow, at an average size of 630 units, now manage more than 17,000 homes, the great majority of which had been inner city, tenemental slums. The CBHAs are firmly based on notions of resident participation in the renewal process and very often initiated with the assistance of existing community groups. They act as local regeneration agencies, not just a different form of tenure, and in the interest of the neighbourhood not just for their members. The establishment of CBHAs is a time consuming process – often two or three years from early consideration to incorporation. Considerable financial support and a supportive policy infrastructure is necessary to initiate the process.

### ***A question of future policy***

An important question is whether the constructive Scottish multi-agency approach will be continued by Scottish Homes, or whether emphasis will shift to home ownership, private renting or a more corporate housing association sector. Some such shift is possible, but hopefully the strong commitment of Scottish Homes' constituent organisations (HCiS, SSHA) to the more holistic neighbourhood renewal approach will not be diluted. In 1988 for example, the SSHA reaffirmed its commitment to 'close cooperation ... with local authorities' and 'a wider process which includes employment creation and the

regeneration of community spirit'. Equally HCiS's last report of 1988/89 gives a good indication of its priorities:

- New initiatives – particularly in peripheral estates - while maintaining the momentum of the traditional rented programme;
- Four 'Partnership Areas' – Castlemilk, Ferguslie Park, Wester Hailes and Whitfield. In these areas the Corporation will be working with the resident community and in partnership with the local authorities and other agencies to improve housing and environmental conditions and to develop employment initiatives. New resident controlled associations will be the vehicles for the Corporation's support.
- Extra funds used to increase the pace of development of the traditional rented programme in key urban areas.

With regard to the recent incorporation of HCiS and SSHA into Scottish Homes, central government's broad intention for Scottish Homes are set out in *New Life for Urban Scotland*:

Our policies for the continued improvement of housing and diversification of tenure in Scotland were set out in the White Paper, *Housing: The Government's Proposals for Scotland* (Cm.242). A powerful instrument for achieving many of these policies will be the new housing development agency, Scottish Homes, which will also have a major role in promoting and co-ordinating urban renewal activities. Scottish Homes will be able to build upon a substantial level of existing activity.

Scottish Homes therefore is to have a higher profile and be more of a lead agency than HCiS in urban renewal. The motivations for this are left unsaid, but they probably include a genuine, historical concern for neighbourhood and estate renewal, the need for a policy vehicle for promoting home ownership (which is much lower in Scotland than elsewhere), and political promotion for the Scottish Conservatives to counter their marginalisation in local politics and their weak representation in Parliament.

Whatever the reasons, central-local government cooperation in neighbourhood renewal is well ingrained as a means of policy implementation in Scotland and therefore unlikely to be substantially altered. This is borne out by the announcement in November 1989 of a 'joint investment programme' agreed by Scottish Homes and Glasgow District Council (GDC). The arrangement is the first between a Scottish local authority and the new housing agency. Under its terms about £200 million will be spent over the next five years on improvements in priority areas through the council's

Community Renewal Programme. Another element of the programme is extending tenant involvement in the management of estates. Scottish Homes' contribution to the regeneration includes a major input from its enabling budget through housing associations and the development of housing cooperatives. It will also use its new powers to help sustain community regeneration, and to create a balanced housing mix by increasing owner-occupation where there is appropriate demand.

The joint strategy's main thrusts are:

- Inner city regeneration – Scottish Homes will continue to fund community-based housing associations in priority areas agreed with GDC. The council's support will comprise improvement grants to owner-occupiers, and continuation of its inner-city planning role.
- Priority estate regeneration – £200 million will be spent by the council in the Castlemilk and Drumchapel peripheral estates and in other estates over five years while Scottish Homes expects to contribute £75 million over three years.

In addition to the financial arrangements, the two levels of government have agreed working arrangements which include: consultation on national policy issues as they affect Glasgow; an agreed long-term strategy; a commitment to effective tenant involvement; and regular meetings between the two organisations to discuss major policy issues and joint projects (*The Bulletin*, November 1989).

One area of considerable concern to the Scottish Federation of Housing Associations is whether Scottish Homes intention to develop performance indicators will bias the funding system against the smaller community based associations and co-ops which are the foundation of Scotland's enviable success in neighbourhood renewal. Based on the evidence in this report, such a move would be a grave mistake.

### **Renewal in the Queens Cross-Maryhill neighbourhood**

The neighbourhood renewal initiative in Queens Cross-Maryhill is more than ten years old, and the area has changed radically as a result. The key characteristics of the area's urban structure are rooted in 19th century patterns of industrial and social land use, and its housing is characterised by the handsome four-storey, stone tenement building common to the inner urban areas of Glasgow. While these tenements are not unique to Scottish cities, the proportion of tenement buildings and the resultant population density, were

significantly greater in Scotland than in English 19th century industrial housing of mainly two-storey, back to back houses.

The Maryhill Corridor, as this area is sometimes known, runs either side of Garscube and Maryhill Roads northwest out of Glasgow's city centre, in the inner ring of 19th century Glasgow (Figure 9.2). By the early 1970s, the area suffered from virtually every form of urban dereliction. Many absentee landlord's tenements, and some owner occupied tenements, had suffered serious damage in a 1968 storm. They were of little market value, grossly overcrowded, in poor condition and generally with no inside toilets or baths. There had been extensive clearance, and thus vacant open sites, with the population rehoused in local council estates or decanted to the peripheral estates. Vandalism was rife. The condition of decay had been compounded by the announcement of a motorway through the heart of the Maryhill Corridor, and planning blight had set in.

In 1974, in keeping with a shift of its policy away from large scale clearance to area renewal, the Glasgow District Council established Queens Cross-Maryhill, along with the GEAR area, as a priority area. HAA designation followed. A Maryhill Corridor working group was established, and the existing Queens Cross Action Group was invited to join. This community group had been started a few years earlier to address the problem of rats in the area; it subsequently evolved into the active Queen Cross Housing Association. From central government agencies, HCS and the SSHA joined the Maryhill Corridor working group. From local government, the District Council's Planning and Estates departments joined the Housing Department on the team.

By 1976 the Queens Cross Housing Association (QCHA) was established with 163 members and 13 staff, operating under an agency agreement with GDC to undertake tenemental improvement according to the renewal model developed in conjunction with the HCS, described earlier. The QCHA set up a management committee of 20 members, of which at least ten must be local. Most of the remainder would have some traditional ties with the area, for example, former residents decanted to peripheral estates. The local elected member of GDC was given a seat on the management committee, and was asked to take an active role in the affairs of the association. This arrangement is now replicated in most CBHAs around Glasgow and makes a direct link between each association and the political process.

Perhaps most important, the overall objective of the housing association is to serve the needs of the community at large, rather than just its membership.

This influences all the decisions taken by the association. The QCHA now has around 783 houses, by the following types:

639 Mainstream Tenemental Flats	–	82% of stock
12 places of hostel accommodation		
29 Sheltered Houses for Elderly Persons	–	4%
8 Amenity Tenemental Flats	–	1%
91 Mainstream Houses, New Build	–	12%
4 Wheelchair Houses for Disabled Persons	–	1%

In addition to providing housing, the QCHA, as befitting a neighbourhood renewal agency, is involved in a broad range of initiatives. The Association has three kinds of supported accommodation: sheltered housing for the elderly, young single people, and ex-psychiatric patients. The Association has also set up Queen's Cross Workspace Limited to stimulate economic activity and provide accommodation to small businesses. The policy of the Workplace is to give priority to local people, and the project has been supported by the Clydesdale Bank, the GDC and Strathclyde Regional Council.

QCHA is currently promoting an Environmental Maintenance Team as a community-based employment initiative, to maintain and improve the communal backcourt areas and gardens of those houses owned and factored by the Association. Public open space areas are also maintained in the neighbourhood. This work has improved the visual aspect of the environment and made it more attractive for local residents to live in. The Environmental Maintenance Team is presently carrying out work for a neighbouring association and is actively seeking work from other housing associations. It is hoped that these jobs will become permanent and that more jobs will be created, enabling the Environmental Maintenance Team to be set up as a 'community business' under the auspices of the Workspace.

Another initiative the Association is sponsoring is employment counselling, in its Hostel Project for young single people in St Georges Road. One of the residential hostel managers, in conjunction with the Co-ordinator of Queen's Cross Workspace, is attempting to encourage the development of work related skills and provide advice/information on job-seeking, setting up businesses and other areas of interest.

The Association's new build scheme at Queen's Cross East on the Maryhill Road incorporates a community room which is open to all residents of the neighbourhood, whether tenants of the association or not. The community room is considered an essential element of the development, to provide an opportunity for the association's tenants to meet with other people in the

community and facilitate social interaction among all residents of the neighbourhood.

QCHA has recently completed its first 'streetscape scheme'. The improvements include new lighting, landscaping and upgrading of roads and footpaths. This compliments the Open Space Improvements Programme which provided a kick-about pitch, play facilities and further landscaping. These were joint projects involving the association, the SDA, GDC and Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC).

Most recently, the QCHA restored an important listed church in the neighbourhood for housing, adding to the housing stock as well as retaining an historic but derelict building in the neighbourhood. Also QCHA is completing a number of recent new build schemes, making use of the GDC's architects and providing rented accommodation, shared ownership housing, and an augmented care unit for frail elderly people. Those represent the last of the Association's new build schemes, and mark the winding down of its development programme.

There have been many other simultaneous initiatives in the Maryhill Corridor. For example, while QCHA was working in the south of the area, it was joined by a Maryhill Housing Association established in the north of the area in 1977 with 244 members and eight staff. Maryhill now has more than 600 houses, and an equally active community programme. Other smaller, specialist housing associations are also active.

The local authority, within its own extensive stock of 8,000 units, has encouraged the establishment of six tenant management co-ops, involving more than 2,000 units. A seventh is in development. The SSHA has initiated a tenure diversification programme on one of its large estates, involving rehabilitation for fair rent, cooperatives, housing association development, and low cost sales. The SDA has been involved in industrial premises development and environmental improvements. Finally, the tenemental and estate improvement programme has been complemented in the 1980s by a number of private builders who have constructed low cost homes for sale on vacant land provided by the local authority.

The cumulative effect of this activity and investment has been an almost complete turnaround for the neighbourhood. The exceptions are some dispiriting council estates, where tenant-participating 'Community Renewal Schemes' have had to be delayed because of severe spending constraints, and with a corresponding problem of expectations raised and then dashed.

The effects have been social as well as physical. The renovation of older tenements by CBHAs has provided the opportunity for the neighbourhood to

reconstitute itself, for long term residents and the younger generation to stay, and for residents decanted to peripheral estates to return (Boyle, 1987) comments:

This process is the opposite of gentrification. Instead of removing the indigenous community, tenement renovation in Glasgow since 1974 has reformed urban communities – frequently rehousing the same families and building for the next generation.

One need only to walk through Maryhill to see and sense the change in spirit. In addition to sufficient investment and institutional support, a key to the renewal process has been the work of the community based associations, working within one clearly defined neighbourhood, and with local management. But as the process of tenemental renewal and association new build in neighbourhoods like Maryhill comes to a logical conclusion, it presents a dilemma to these CBHAs. There is a temptation to make use of development expertise and to maintain development staff by moving into other neighbourhoods, but thereby losing the strong community orientation. Conversely, many housing association members are wary of their associations becoming too big. They feel that their success is predicated on active resident involvement, and that at about 1,000 units in housing management is a good point to stop. For example, the QCHA members have recently debated these points, and they have decided to shift into a lower profile, management oriented mode, but perhaps acting as a secondary association to newer CBHAs. This is a dilemma which all genuine community associations may expect to face sooner or later.

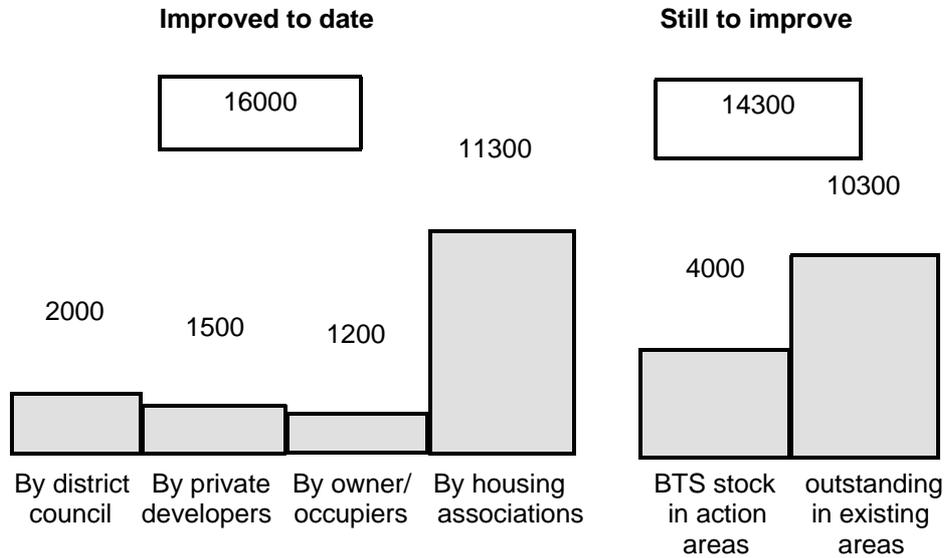
It is worth remembering that while there has been substantial and worthwhile investment in priority neighbourhoods like Queens Cross-Maryhill, there are other neighbourhoods and particularly peripheral estates which have not benefitted from this degree of attention. The improvement record in inner city Glasgow in 1987 is shown in Figure 9.4.

There is clearly still much to do, but one could say that for Glasgow's BTS stock in the inner cities, the tide has well and truly been turned by a partnership of the community, with local and central government, working to an agreed development policy and with adequate funding.

### **Peripheral estate renewal in Glasgow**

Although there was substantial inter-war suburban construction in a ring around Glasgow's inner area, some along garden suburb lines, this was insufficient to reduce the very high population densities which prevailed in

**Figure 9.4** BTS stock condition in Glasgow inner neighbourhoods



Source: G.D.C., *Investment Strategy Review*, 1987.

the tenemental inner city. For example, the 1951 Census recorded population densities as high as 565 persons per acre, and that 51 per cent of all Glasgow families lived in 1 or 2 room flats. The solutions pursued to tackle these severe problems of overcrowding included: overspill, particularly to new towns; comprehensive redevelopment of inner city areas, replacing the overcrowded tenements with the high-rise blocks; and construction of large, peripheral housing estates on the edges of the city, generally on green field sites, often involving the local authorities in boundary extension (Scottish Development Agency, 1987, p.60).

Four massive peripheral housing estates, adjacent to the green belt, were constructed at Drumchapel, Pollok, Castlemilk and Easterhouse (Figure 9.2). The current physical condition of the housing on these estates is no worse than that for council housing elsewhere in Glasgow – around 14 per cent of the stock is below tolerable standards. But notorious problems derive from the conjunction of poor design, geographical isolation and severe economic and social deprivation. Mason (1988) for example, refers to ‘the brutal style and unrelieved expanse of these estates’. They were built quickly, with the best of intentions, to decant people from the city centre to clear air and green fields. But just as quickly a sense of isolation crept in. Reliable tenants started transferring out again and by the late sixties the estates were already difficult to let. By the 1970s the estates were characterised by:

- high levels of deprivation as measured by the proportion of the population who were unemployed and dependent upon state benefits;
- high overcrowding, reflecting the inadequate family to dwelling size ratio;
- a large proportion of single parent families and young singles;
- an unbalanced social mix, with few people in professional and non-manual groups; and high proportions of unskilled workers;
- poor environmental quality caused by bad housing design and estate layout;
- a lack of social, recreational and leisure facilities; and
- a poor 'image', both with tenants and the outside world (SDA, 1987, p.1).

The problems persisted and steadily worsened. The growth of unemployment is recorded in Figure 9.5.

**Figure 9.5 Glasgow's inner city and peripheral housing estates: comparative unemployment rates**

*column percentages*

Area	Male unemployment rates	
	1971	1981
Inner Glasgow	17	26
Easterhouse	16	37
Drumchapel	13	32
Pollok	14	30
Castlemilk	14	30

Source: McArthur and McGregor, 1988

The Grieve Report (p.21) argued that the peripheral estates represented the single most serious set of housing problems facing the city, with major concentrations of socially and economically disadvantaged groups. Grieve reported that half of the most deprived areas in Glasgow were now located in the peripheral estates. This is much the current situation. Male unemployment as high as 40 per cent in some neighbourhoods is common, and much higher levels of youth unemployment exist in some areas. Overcrowding (above one person per habitable room) is high, seven times the British national average; on some estates infant mortality (first year of life) is almost five times the national rate. The estates also suffer serious deficiencies of social and community facilities. In Drumchapel, overcrowding is a

problem for one-quarter of households, with 15 per cent of households single-parent families. Thirty-five per cent of heads of households are in low paid occupations and 82 per cent of households lack a car. Industrial decline worsened problems. In Drumchapel the closure of the Goodyear tyre factory in 1979 removed the last major industrial employer in the area.

The SDA (1987, p.4) summarised the dynamic process by which the peripheral estates went into decline. First there was rapid construction of the estates in the 1950s and 1960s to house those displaced by inner city redevelopment. The provision of facilities (shopping, leisure, education etc.) was not a priority and some estates were relatively isolated. The estates soon became unpopular with tenants.

This resulted in requests for transfers so that, in many instances, the estates were used to house disruptive tenants, many displaced by slum clearance. These new tenants tended to be poor (dependent upon welfare benefits), unskilled and anti-social. These problems were made worse by the high proportions of young people (over 40 per cent of the population on some estates).

This resulted in the setting in of a spiral of decline. The estates become more unpopular, with high turnover rates, leading to a lack of social/community cohesion, an increase in aberration (as the most able tenants left), and a very poor external image.

These problems were exacerbated by housing design problems (particularly a mismatch between house and family size), inadequate management and maintenance, and the relative insulation of estates. This, coupled with the poverty of the residents, made it difficult for them to interact with the wider socio-economic system. There was a tendency therefore for the residents of the estates to become inward looking and have relatively low expectations. The recession of the 1970s/1980s exacerbated these problems as the skill levels of the residents meant that they were very hard hit and many of the industries adjacent to the estates closed.

Problems on the estates are also recently exacerbated by an overall crude surplus of council housing, stemming from declining population in Glasgow, giving rise to numerous voids, demographic shifts which meant that the biggest group of new housing applicants in the 1970s and 80s were under 25 and single, and an allocation policy which encouraged movement away from the estates. As early as 1978 a joint report by GDC, Strathclyde Regional Council and the Scottish Development Department predicted the implications of a projected surplus of housing and high vacancy rates in peripheral estates:

there will be financial, physical and social consequences that must be borne. Whole blocks of streets may be vacated, intensifying the process of decline and associated problems of vandalism; rent arrears and abscondencies are liable to increase and maintenance, repair and protection costs, already high, will become higher (*Glasgow: Implications of Population Changes to 1983*, 1978, p.7).

Glasgow's population is continuing to decline. The latest figure from the GDC for the number of people living in the city is 697,577 compared with 860,812 when its boundaries were redrawn in 1976. Glasgow District Council urges caution about the new figure, which is based on the electoral register and so affected by factors associated with the introduction of the poll tax. Firm figures will not be available until after the 1991 census.

These problems were not helped by low levels of inward investment during the 1970s and early 1980s, when the peripheral estates were competing for public investment with more favoured inner cities areas like Queens Cross-Maryhill and the GEAR area. In the late 1970s public housing expenditure in GEAR/Maryhill was six times that in the four peripheral areas, even though they contained half of the most deprived areas in the city, one fifth of the city's population, and one quarter of the council's housing stock (Mason, 1989). This reflected the national policy agenda in which interest in 'overspill' and new towns had shifted to a concern for the inner cities.

The same 1978 report which warned of the worsening condition of the peripherals, also marked the beginning of a policy shift towards concern for their problems. At that time the Glasgow District Council agreed that the principal objective for the peripheral estates should be to 'try to reproduce ... the character and spirit of a medium sized town ... (with) ... the more ambitious members of the existing communities to be given the chance to satisfy their ambitions within the townships to be created'. This 'new township' objective has since given way to an 'integrated suburb' approach, but more importantly the idea of giving priority to peripheral estates has slowly gained momentum as a policy objective of GDC, SRC and the Scottish Office.

In 1980 the GDC also adopted an 'alternative strategy' which acknowledged the need to maximise the use of existing resources against the likelihood of no additional resources from central government. This represented a shift in the political agenda in Glasgow towards the adoption of pragmatic, rather than ideological, policies towards the management, rehabilitation and possible tenure shift in council stock.

In spite of this general policy shift towards some measure of pragmatic forward vision for the peripheral estates, two further policy refinements were

necessary to initiate some real action. One has been the development of a corporate and partnership approach to the problems facing the peripheral estates. At present the Council is working with Strathclyde Region to develop and implement Joint Social and Economic Initiatives in Easterhouse and Drumchapel. These represent an explicit commitment of both levels of local government to work together with local community representatives.

The second is the tenure diversification policy, and the establishment of a Council sub-committee to pursue this. In part this policy of the early 1980s was reinforced by the Grieve Report, which identified a lack of tenure choice with reduced opportunities for mobile young people, and those wishing to remain in a neighbourhood, but in a non-council tenure. Grieve (p.34) argued that:

A substantial reduction is required in the Council's near monopoly control of access to public rented housing and in its dominant position in the supply of rented housing in the city. Whilst several thousand houses have been transferred from Council ownership in the past 10 years, the Council still provides 170,000 houses, 58 per cent of all the stock in the city. A real increase in variety and choice for tenants is required which in turn requires a greater number and variety of agencies providing housing.

The report also argued that rent differentials between various areas did not reflect their relative popularity but were based on a type of rough egalitarianism which penalised those living in the less attractive areas. But the main problem was the council monopoly which reduced choice between rent levels, areas and housing standards (Keating, 1987, p.548). This council monopoly over tenure is now recognised by the GDC as an obstacle to the development of a balanced community in the peripheral estates. It weakens attempts to attract or maintain even the most modestly upwardly mobile of Glaswegians (Keating and Mitchell, 1987, p.205).

The Grieve Report therefore recommended that some 25 per cent of the council stock should eventually be disposed of to cooperatives, housing associations and the private sector, to produce a better social and tenure mix, particularly in the peripheral estates. Although the matter is still the subject of political debate and Glasgow Council has not formally committed itself to the 25 per cent figure, there is widespread support for the policy among Glasgow's Labour, Conservative and other elected members. What is most interesting about this debate over tenure diversification is not the numbers themselves, but that the issue has been confronted and is being debated in a pro-active and constructive manner, as it has been since the GDC itself took the initiative to commission the Grieve Report. This is an object lesson for

other local authorities which have yet to grasp this nettle. For the remaining council stock, there are to be improvements in management, on the neighbourhood principle, with local repairs teams covering 500 to 1,500 houses, and known and accessible to the tenants. Participation in management is to be improved, with an optional 5p per week payment from tenants to finance tenants' associations. Firm encouragement is given to housing cooperatives and Glasgow is already known for innovative co-ops, for example, Calway at Easterhouse.

### **The Drumchapel initiative**

The GDC, working with SRC, decided in the first instance to concentrate its efforts at Easterhouse and Drumchapel, western and eastern peripheral outposts of Glasgow's council housing. At first, the designation of these estates by GDC/SRC as areas for priority treatment (APTs) in the late 1970s did nothing to counter the inherent bias in policy towards inner city funding, and this situation was reinforced by general cuts in housing capital expenditure in the early 1980s. For example, in Glasgow the central government authorisation for council house investment declined 19 per cent from 1979/80 to 1984/85, a substantial fall in real terms. Peripheral estates, which had little economic activity except council investment, were bound to suffer.

In late 1983, the Chief Executive's Department of the SRC, in association with GDC, put forward proposals for a Joint Economic and Social Initiative for Drumchapel. The *Scottish Government Yearbook* (Keating and Mitchell, 1987, p.211) describes its intention:

A steering committee was to be established consisting of elected and senior officers of the two authorities as well as other agencies, the Scottish Development Agency, Greater Glasgow Health Board, and possibly the Scottish Office and Manpower Services Commission. In the event the part played by the central agencies was negligible or, in the case of the Scottish Office, non-existent.

In January 1985 the District and Regional Councils agreed to establish both the Drumchapel and Easterhouse Initiatives as joint committees involving the local communities. The objectives approved by the Councils include:

- to regenerate the local economy
- to create jobs and provide training
- to improve the type, size, tenure and quality of housing
- to improve health, education, social work and other services

- these objectives to be achieved on the basis of effective community involvement.

In 1985 ‘community conferences’ were run at Drumchapel, under the auspices of the new Drumchapel Initiative (DI). The first result was an elected Residents Forum of six members. Subsequently, an Area Management Group (AMG) was set up in 1986, with three representatives each from GDC, SRC and from the many community organisations, themselves represented by an overall Community Organisations Council (COC). Area budgets, jointly funded by the participating agencies, were then devolved to the AMG, but the AMG is also in a position to lobby for greater priority for capital and revenue allocation from GDC, and to apply for Urban Programme and other sources of outside funding.

### ***The regeneration strategy***

There has been considerable and necessary organisational development within the Drumchapel Initiative during the period 1986-1989. A director was appointed in 1986, and a core staff in 1988. The Initiative and related groups now have spacious offices, home to about 17 staff, in the main shopping square of Drumchapel. The staff operate as a ‘core team’ in a developmental fashion, rather than by becoming involved in direct service provision. Instead the Initiative team aim to move quickly from one area of need to another, providing leadership and facilitating establishment of suitable organisations and responses. The Initiative also provides a logical base for communication, and an integrating mechanism between the various agencies concerned. The Initiative has made a number of bids for funding, most particularly through the Urban Programme. Most importantly, the team have evolved a regeneration strategy, which encompasses both economic and social initiatives. The broad aims of the strategy are:

- to create a viable local economy – by emphasising local employment and integration of Drumchapel into Glasgow and the region’s wider economy; and
- to attract and retain residents – to stabilise the population, and create a more balanced community by emphasising quality of life factors.

The Drumchapel Initiative’s strategy is set out as a strategic cycle which reflects their understanding that there is no logical starting point to renewal, and that renewal must proceed simultaneously on a number of fronts:

**Figure 9.6** Drumchapel initiative strategy

A basic assumption of the strategy is that nothing lasting or significant can be achieved without the local community eventually taking over ownership and leadership of the process. This requires building the capacity of individual members of the community to manage community affairs; and increasing the numbers of people who participate in, and understand, the process of change.

A community conference was held in April 1988 which resulted in the establishment of eight community/officer Issue Groups, such as employment, each with a brief to devise priorities and targets and to stimulate action in their topic areas. Through such initiatives the DI is now established as a focus for the local development process. It has a community wing working through the COC, and an economic and employment development wing through Drumchapel Employment Initiatives Ltd. Moving beyond the confines of the original GDC-SRC partnership, it has successfully drawn in other agencies, notably the Scottish Development Agency, and the wider private sector

through CBI Scotland the Scottish TUC, and relationships with individual companies (Stott, 1989b). Progress is greatest in areas in which the Area Management Group is able to take direct action: the inclusion of an Employment Development Officer in the Initiative, and Urban Programme success in securing and setting up a Community Resource Unit, both contributed to early action in these areas.

In developing an economic strategy the Employment Issue Group and the AMG recognise that the most likely area for employment for Drumchapel people is in the city centre and in existing industrial areas, and that Drumchapel should work towards economic recovery by increasing the ability of its people to be successful in the Greater Glasgow labour market. This strategy is based upon breaking down the present isolation of Drumchapel both in terms of location and skills, rather than seeking to develop the area as a self contained 'new town' unit. Drumchapel is to be a successful suburb by the criteria that its people have jobs and they want to live in the area. Conversely it will fail if people, especially skilled younger people or those with jobs, move out of the area because they cannot find the right housing or have no confidence in the area (Stott, 1989b). The DI and AMG recognise that before positive results can be expected, appropriate community based institutions need to be developed to provide a focus for partnership action.

To this end the following organisations have been set up as a result of the Drumchapel Initiative:

- Community Organisations Council Ltd (COC) – The key concern of the COC (and its staff team the Community Resource Unit) is support for community participation in the process of change, particularly through the Initiative. It provides technical assistance to community groups, information services and develops projects to meet needs identified by the community. The COC launched a benefits campaign in 1988. An Appeals Advisory Service, Food Co-op Development Project and a Money Advisory Service, have also been established.
- Drumchapel Community Business Ltd (DCB) – DCB concentrates on the provision of work space for businesses employing local people. Through its subsidiary Drumchapel Community Enterprises Limited (DCEL) it is having growing success in establishing profit making community businesses, particularly those starting from Local Authority contracts.
- Drumchapel Opportunities Ltd – Concerned primarily with providing advice, support and information to unemployed people in Drumchapel to help them take action towards employment. This includes 'Jobsearch'

activities involving Drumchapel Opportunities Staff in identifying employers who have vacancies which might be filled by local people.

- Drumchapel Training Trust Ltd – is to act as a broker and catalyst for the provision of vocational training. It will concentrate on developing customised training which will prepare Drumchapel residents for specific vacancies.
- Other – in addition to the wide range of community organisations put together under the aegis of the Community Organisations Council, a number of projects operate in some way within the local economy but currently have no clear mechanism for support. These include Drumchapel Community Transport, *Drumchapel News* and a Credit Union. These organisations are seen as second order structures which will eventually form part of a much wider and very loose collection of economic projects, including businesses and community projects. It is intended that these new projects find a clear line of support within the structures outlined above.

### ***Drumchapel projects***

There are also a number of smaller projects run directly from the Initiative office. These include:

- Launchpad – a scheme providing small grants of around £10 to £250 to individuals. The grants are made to help people to progress towards employment through, for example, taking training, purchasing materials to pilot business ideas, purchasing tools or clothing to enable them to take up employment, purchasing equipment to help them maintain and develop skills etc. The project has a budget for grants totalling £30,000 per year for four years.
- Jobs from Construction – This project provides a staff team of two with a budget for training and wage subsidy to secure maximum local employment from the planned investment in housing in Drumchapel.
- Jobs from Environment – This project provides a staff team of two with money for training and also planning money for environmental improvement projects. The main focus will be on securing training for local people through environmental improvement projects within Drumchapel, enabling them to secure long term jobs in the future.
- Drumchapel Community Management and Enterprise Network – This is currently an Urban Programme application which will provide a focus for all forms of enterprise advice and support in Drumchapel giving a ‘one

door' approach to community business, cooperatives, private businesses, non-employment generating community enterprises, and support for community financial management. Again it is a small team which will make much of its impact by ensuring the most effective and efficient input of work from outside agencies.

### ***Current developments in Drumchapel***

To date the Initiative has pursued a policy of developing this rather loosely connected set of independent organisations to undertake economic development work. Drumchapel Opportunities and Drumchapel Training Trust were the first, and it was envisaged that other organisations would come into being as required, linking loosely with the first two organisations and with Drumchapel Community Business and the Community Organisations Council.

However, DI's on-going review of its overall development programme suggested that expansion of the partnership and better co-ordination of organisations were both necessary to achieve the objectives. On the first point, a Confederation of British Industries (CBI) Drumchapel Support Group has been established. This has led to the identification of opportunities for the development of new companies in Drumchapel, each likely to result in the provision of between 15 to 100 jobs within three years. Two of these prospects are under active development. It is anticipated that both DCB and the COC will, with support, be able to take up some of these opportunities. Others will require a new local company, able to form joint ventures with private sector companies. In part as a result of this CBI involvement, SDA have increased their commitment to Drumchapel and are poised to make investments in environmental improvements and in economic development.

Secondly, in the light of new restrictions on the ability of local governments to engage in economic development, the Drumchapel Initiative decided to review their current organisational arrangements. They found that:

- there are likely to be substantial problems in delivering high quality results through Drumchapel Opportunities, the Training Trust and the Enterprise Network whilst they remain independent of each other;
- there is no mechanism for responding to the opportunities presented through the CBI and SDA;
- the structure does not involve key players (particularly the SDA and CBI) at a strategic level;

- existing structures are not well poised to overcome threats and grasp opportunities in the future.

After local consultation and consultation with the officers in the District Council and the Regional Council, DI has now proposed to establish a single organisation, Drumchapel Employment Initiatives Ltd, to implement all the economic activity initiated directly by the Drumchapel Initiative.

It is proposed that the new company have as its members, representatives of Glasgow District Council, Strathclyde Regional Council, Drumchapel Community Organisations Council, the SDA, the CBI and the Scottish Trades Union Council (STUC). At a membership level each organisation would have one vote, thus giving the main Initiative partners 60 per cent of the voting power and therefore ultimate control. It is proposed that the board consist of the following representatives: one each from SRC, GDC, SDA, CBI, STUC (the two Councils being represented by members of the AMG), four COC, up to four co-opted, and one chairperson nominated and elected by company members.

It is envisaged that the chairperson would, in time, be a member of the community. In the meantime it is proposed that a suitably skilled experienced, independent person be found.

It is proposed that Drumchapel Opportunities, the Training Trust and the proposed Enterprise Network all become subsidiaries of the new company. Each would have a board of directors of around seven in number, with four nominated by DEI and up to three elected from clients, other community groups etc.

A new company limited by shares, Drumchapel Ventures Ltd., will be established. This will not have a separate staff but be managed directly by the DEI board. Its function will be to take part ownership of new companies, constructed as joint ventures with private sector companies through the CBI support group.

Each of the three charitable parts of the operation (Drumchapel Opportunities, the Training Trust and the Enterprise Network) will normally be self-contained and self funding, securing funds through their own negotiations. Funds are already secured for the first two organisations, and funds for the third have been applied for.

### ***The future***

The recent involvement of the CBI and SDA marks an important turning point for the Drumchapel Initiative, and not only for its direct financial and employment benefits. It also indicates a situation where the Initiative, with

its strong community links, has said that GDC/SRC participation is important but not sufficient, and that they have therefore been prepared to go out and draw in other powerful participants, with the sole purpose, not of playing politics, but of benefiting the residents of Drumchapel. This represents genuine community development, of which the GDC/SRC are to be commended for initiating (even if it bites back occasionally) and the community for grabbing the opportunity presented. This development, and a willingness to continually evaluate and re-align organisational arrangements to create new opportunities, bodes well for the Drumchapel Initiative.

Although things have moved more quickly in employment and community organisation, there have been other substantial achievements in housing, environment, education and social services. In housing for example, in addition to the proposed Kingsridge-Cleddans Development Corporation, described earlier, three community co-ops, one TMC and 108 units of sheltered housing have been initiated. These and other developments are reported in *The Drumchapel Initiative: Annual Review and Monitoring Report* (October, 1989). The report also identifies the next main priority for the Initiative as the improvement of housing, housing choice, the environment, and the image of Drumchapel.

### **The Castlemilk strategy**

The Castlemilk estate is four miles south of Glasgow and covers 820 acres, of which 40 per cent is open space, including 83 acres of amenity woodlands. Built on north facing slopes, Castlemilk commands dramatic views across the city. Developed mainly in the 1950s, Castlemilk accommodated families displaced from the inner city through slum clearance. Delays and failures to provide facilities and services to the area, declining quality of the housing stock, a lack of local employment opportunities, and other associated problems contribute to the current difficulties faced by Castlemilk and to the dramatic decline in population illustrated by the following:

<b>Year</b>	<b>Population of Castlemilk</b>	<b>Source</b>
1971	36,951	Census
1981	28,855	Census
1986	23,400 (est.)	SRC
1989	20,000 (est.)	Scottish Office

The composition of the Castlemilk population varies from the District and Regional averages with a higher proportion of children and teenagers and a lower proportion in the age groups 65 and over. In 1986, 33 per cent of the Castlemilk population was aged 19 or under. This compared with an average

of 26 per cent for Glasgow District and 28 per cent for Strathclyde Region. In 1986 there were 8,735 households in Castlemilk. Again comparing Castlemilk with District averages, there is a higher proportion of families with young children, a much higher proportion of single parents (10.8 per cent of households as against the District figure of 4.7 per cent) and a slightly higher proportion of families with 4 or more children (Castlemilk Partnership, 1989).

In early 1989 there was an overall unemployment rate in Castlemilk of 22 per cent, compared with 17 per cent in Glasgow District and 13 per cent in the Strathclyde Region. However, male unemployment in Castlemilk is 31 per cent, compared with 23 per cent in Glasgow and 16 per cent in Strathclyde. Fifty-two per cent of Castlemilk unemployed have been out of work for over one year. Around 80 per cent of the registered unemployed are reported to have no more than basic labouring skills.

In terms of local schools, only 53.6 per cent of the available primary school places and 40.7 per cent of the secondary school places are filled at present. In 1987, 55 per cent of Castlemilk pupils left without any O level or Higher qualifications.

Most of the accommodation in Castlemilk is in flats in three or four storey tenemental blocks (83 per cent of residents), with five high towers (9 per cent) and a smaller number of houses (8 per cent). Council tenure has now declined to around 84 per cent, with the recent disposal of 1,076 units to the Scottish Special Housing Association (now Scottish Homes, 11 per cent of the stock) and around 400 units to housing cooperatives or community based housing associations (4.5 per cent of the stock). Only 0.9 per cent of the stock is owner occupied, having been bought under right to buy provisions.

The overall turnover rate of tenants in Castlemilk is about 20 per cent per annum, but in some neighbourhoods the rate is as high as 40 per cent. This compares with the average for Glasgow District Council property of 11 per cent. An increasing proportion of tenants are young single adults. In 1986, 49 per cent of tenancies in high turnover areas given to single tenants below 25 years were reported to last less than 12 months (Castlemilk Partnership, 1989). Castlemilk contains 5.8 per cent of Glasgow's housing stock, but in the early 1980s housing investment never exceeded 4.4 per cent of the total (1983/84) and fell as low as 2.6 per cent (1985/86) (Scottish Development Agency, 1987). However this situation has changed, and from 1988 to 1992 additional capital expenditure is earmarked for Castlemilk.

In terms of local facilities, the shopping centre is run down and unattractive to shoppers and shopkeepers and is steadily deteriorating. There is no supermarket, no gas or electricity showroom, and no bank or building society.

Many of the small local shops scattered throughout the scheme are physically dilapidated and visually unappealing. On the plus side, Castlemilk has a good swimming pool with gymnasium facilities built in 1969 and a new sports centre is under construction. A new health centre is also under construction.

### ***The Castlemilk approach***

As at Drumchapel, the overall scale of the problem is obvious, as is the need to take an holistic view of it. This dictates a comprehensive strategy and a partnership approach. As noted, there are presently two comprehensive strategies – one proposed by the Castlemilk Partnership, but without GDC participation, and one proposed by the GDC (Figure 9.7). There is also a report documenting the community's response to the Castlemilk Partnership proposals.

The basic elements of the GDC's Castlemilk strategy were given by way of example in Chapter 6, and the delicate negotiations between central and local government over the structure of the Castlemilk Partnership were described in Chapter 8.

As noted earlier, the existence of parallel strategies reflects not as much a failure of the partnership process, as the still early stages of negotiation between two powerful and important players. GDC is not only the majority landlord, but an important innovator and leader in Glasgow's renewal process. But GDC's proposed strategy requires £77m. of outside funding. On the other hand, the Scottish Office (with Scottish Homes and SDA) also has had a significant hand in Glasgow's renewal, for example through SDA in GEAR and HCiS in inner city neighbourhood renewal. Central government also holds many of the purse strings, but probably has less political credibility because of the weak Scottish Conservative representation in Parliament. It sees its involvement in Castlemilk as a pilot exercise for a more pronounced lead agency role in urban renewal and housing on the part of the new Scottish Homes. For example, *New Life for Urban Scotland* states:

The SSHA, HCiS and many local authorities are already heavily involved in housing-led urban regeneration projects. Scottish Homes will bring a greater degree of co-ordination to these activities. As a pilot scheme for Scottish Homes' activities both the SSHA and the HCiS are involved in an initiative in Castlemilk peripheral estate.

The initiative referred to is the purchase of 1,076 homes by SSHA from GDC in the Windlaw area of Castlemilk. Scottish Homes' objectives for Windlaw are very much in keeping with the GDC's general objectives, and

**Figure 9.7** A sense of vision for Castlemilk

Source: Glasgow District Council, 1989

given the magnitude of the task, GDC was probably wise to spread the responsibility. Early indications are that Scottish Homes has a challenging task ahead in revitalising Windlaw, particularly in engendering tenant participation in a neighbourhood with nearly half of the tenants on the transfer list, 78 per cent on housing benefit, an annual turnover rate of 20 per cent, and a void rate of 18 per cent, three times Castlemilk's average. A *Strategy for Windlaw* was prepared by SSHA in late 1988 but it is too early to comment on its progress as the main initiative has been in enlisting tenant interest.

Although central government's interests are relatively clear, what is less obvious is why the Scottish Office itself appears to be angling for a lead agency role, when the substantial repository of urban renewal skills lies in the constituent organisations of Scottish Homes. There is perhaps a danger of too many levels of involvement, and of the direct involvement of what should be policy making levels of government in estate level activity. On the other hand it may be that the Scottish Office wishes to ensure the equal cooperation of Scottish Homes and the SDA, at a time when Scottish Homes is finding its feet.

Clearly it is not possible now to suggest how things will turn out for Castlemilk, nor exactly how the partnership will work. In the original proposal of the Scottish Office for implementation the GDC got only 2 seats on a board of 20, with seven seats reserved for central agencies, an unacceptable proposal, and one which made Castlemilk start to look like a quasi-UDC. The subsequently acceptable proposal (still being negotiated at this writing) is in the order of one quarter representation each for the community, central government, local government (GDC and SRC) and business, CBI and trade union representation taken together.

There is also little evidence that as yet the community itself is taking initiative, or acting as the kind of mediator of partnership and instigator of action, such as is occurring at Drumchapel. This may well develop now that the critical issue of the partnership structure is resolved between GDC and the Scottish Office.

### ***The alternative strategies and the community response***

The GDC's strategy is called 'Castlemilk Initiative ... A Change for the Better', and its key strategic objectives were set out previously, in Chapter 6. Taken together with its supplementary papers and proposals, it appears particularly useful in terms of town planning, housing, retailing, community and recreational services, and environmental improvement. The Report sets out GDC's renewal philosophy for Castlemilk:

The tactics necessary to bring about change must relate to a strategy for the area. If the future of the area is to be put on a solid foundation, if it is to be 'turned around' to the point where people make a positive choice to live there, Castlemilk must offer not only housing choice in tenure and form, but also opportunities for employment and the range of shopping, community and recreation facilities and environment which people would expect in an area *irrespective of whether they rent or own their homes*. The broad strategy, therefore, must be for medium to long term gradual change towards these ends. It must take a longer term view of the area's regeneration and this must be reflected in its initial five year framework (their emphasis).

Under housing, the document proposes a targeted tenure split of 80 per cent social rented, and 20 per cent owner occupied. Of the 80 per cent in the rented category, 30 per cent of housing is to go to the voluntary sector, leaving 50 per cent in the council sector, and representing a council divestment of half its original stock. The GDC warns correctly that tenure diversification can be a means to an end, but not an end itself. An integrated housing strategy is therefore to be carried out, which combines council investment with incoming investment via tenure diversification. In particular this will be through a GDC lead in four kinds of projects.

- Community Renewal Projects – small scale, high cost projects in key locations providing high quality council housing in tenant management cooperatives.
- Community Renewal Feasibility Studies – for large areas requiring radical redesign and where there is scope for further development, in community ownership or owner occupation. Renewal will be led by the District Council in partnership with the residents, and new build for sale by private developers.
- Environment Renewal Projects.
- Client Based Projects – aimed at particular client groups, for example, elderly people, young singles, students, and more mobile tenants requiring rented accommodation.

The Scottish Office's parallel document is 'Castlemilk Partnership – Strategy Report'. Its strategic objectives are similar, its strengths complementary to the GDCs, especially in the critical areas of training, skills upgrading, employment generation and the development of the local economy through a Castlemilk Economic Development Agency; and for health, social security and for benefits.

Both strategies argue for a population turnaround, and then a stabilisation at about 25,000-28,000 residents. But neither strategy is related to any long term population forecasts for the region and neither entertains the scenario that the population in Castlemilk will continue (or could be allowed to continue) its relentless decline. Nor has either strategy forecast a long term age and sex structure for the community and related proposed developments to that structure.

The Community has responded to the Castlemilk Partnership strategy via the umbrella group of community organisations, which undertook to coordinate the response. Written comments were elicited from more than 100 residents, and 14 topic working groups were formed. The results were published as 'A Tale of Two Castlemilks', one as represented in the Partnership document, the other as perceived by the residents themselves. On the whole Partnership approach, the Castlemilk Umbrella Group (1989, p.3) comments are telling:

The proposed influx of more officials in itself threatens the development of community involvement, as officials inevitably import their own agendas and are accountable upward to their bosses rather than downwards to the community. There is an assumption in the partnership that some 'really important' things have to be pushed on without being able to 'wait for the community to catch up'. But in fact the community is often waiting somewhere else, at a different place, for resources that never arrive. For example, we would have preferred to develop through Castlemilk Community Business, a body which would gradually have developed the functions of CEDA as the local people managing it grow in knowledge and experience ... The same is true of other areas of work: the Partnership Strategy pays lip service to the idea of 'developing community involvement' and 'building on existing developments', but it does not in practice entrust the future of Castlemilk to its own people.

The Umbrella Group goes on to warn of the danger of a three-tier economy – those from outside in the top jobs, those local people able to take advantage of extra support and help in job-seeking, and those caught in a benefits trap unable to take low paid employment or to re-train. They recommended that the Partnership address issues like resources for high quality training, local jobs for local people, and general support for the fight against the effects of poverty.

The Umbrella Group are also concerned about the Partnership's concentration on statistics. They point out, for example, that bringing the Castlemilk unemployment figure into line with the average rate for the Glasgow travel-to-work area might be more easily achieved by attracting

people in work into Castlemilk through changes in ratio of private to public sector housing. They recommend mechanisms be established to monitor exactly how objectives are set and achieved.

On housing, the Umbrella Group's main fear is the effect of rent rises in the council sector, and of the introduction of Assured Tenancies and mixed funding arrangements on rents for the new housing associations and cooperatives which may be developed. Among many other concerns are:

The most glaring is the omission of any plans for the improvement of education, both in school and for adults. Then the proportions of the Strategy are felt to be inappropriate, with only one chapter on all the 'Social and Community Issues' which the community feel are so important. Also lacking are specific plans for the houses and for jobs, although here are long chapters on both these topics (p.4).

The Umbrella Group also warn that the very process of consultation must be nurtured:

This is a positive process which should be of benefit in the continuing development of action on the Strategy. But the community's plans will have to be allowed room to grow or these fledging ideas will be shot down when the big guns move in (p.1).

### ***Current developments***

The fact that the appropriate partnership arrangements are only just resolving themselves, does not mean there is no activity in Castlemilk. For example in 1989, GDC announced a £2.8m community renewal programme for 92 houses, and a £1.7m sports complex, funded by GDC, SDA and the Scottish Office. The Scottish Office in 1989 also announced a £1.5m Leg-Up grant towards the refurbishment of the Castlemilk Shopping Centre.

GDC has identified 14 distinct neighbourhoods within Castlemilk and each is, or will be, the subject of a Community Renewal Study. An overall framework is established giving guidelines for various council, CBHA, Scottish Homes and private sector initiatives. Castlemilk has also one of Glasgow pioneering par-value cooperatives at Castlemilk East, now in a second and final phase. An adjacent co-op at Castlebrae has recently taken over 210 homes. A third coop is established and a fourth is in the development stage.

Both GDC and the SO have firmly nailed their colours to the mast of the renewal of Castlemilk to a degree of economic and social viability it has historically yet to obtain. It therefore represents a substantial challenge, but

early successes in developing realistic organisational mechanisms at Drumchapel give cause for a note of optimism. Above all else, economic viability is essential, and will depend in good measure on general prospects for Glasgow's economy. The Castlemilk initiatives are right to follow the Drumchapel Initiative's pragmatic shift from 'independent township' strategy to integrated suburb, for links with wider economic activity and opportunities for employment are essential.

But is it still early days in Castlemilk. A lot of groundwork is in place, and with a continued growth in the active involvement of the community and adequate funding, good things could happen fast.

### **Conclusion**

The challenge of Glasgow's peripheral estates, unlike many of its inner city tenemental neighbourhoods, is still to be resolved. But the partnership initiatives described here and others are well under way, and if Glasgow's record of inner city neighbourhood renewal is anything to go by, have some chance of success. In the beginning section, a number of conditions which held in Glasgow and Scotland, and which gave rise to this success, were discussed. In considering the relative success of completed and planned initiatives in Glasgow, and their potential replicability elsewhere, it is worth keeping in mind some of the differences between Scotland and England. In Scotland, for example, relationships between central and local government are much more productive, this enables genuine partnership approaches. The other advantages are:

- there is less chopping and changing of relevant Ministers, and more consistent and publically-stated policy, for example in *New Life for Urban Scotland*;
- the agencies of central government, particularly the HCS, now Scottish Homes, and SDA, in conjunction with local authorities, have evolved a much more clearly defined and integrated housing-neighbourhood renewal policy, which covers housing and planning issues together;
- there is specific and substantial funding for neighbourhood renewal less hindered by Treasury restraint.

All of these factors have contributed in some measure to Glasgow's good record in neighbourhood renewal.