

# Regeneration Policies for Peripheral Housing Estates: Inward- and Outward-looking Approaches

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## Introduction

Over the past 10-15 years, peripheral social housing estates in England and Scotland have come to be recognised as sites of multiple deprivation, rivalling inner-city areas for the attention of policy-makers and planners. The aim of this paper is to review the range of regeneration policies which have been applied since the mid 1980s. A process of policy learning and change emerges from this review. Regeneration policies for peripheral estates reflect, and are reflected in, changes in the wider urban policy arena. The review is based primarily on literature, with examples drawn from regeneration attempts in Scotland and a preliminary analysis of a few successful Round One (1995/96) Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Bids.

It will be argued that regeneration policies have tended to focus on solving 'internal' problems, which are related to the nature of the estate, and have ignored 'external' problems, which are related to structural factors and the relationship between the estate and the city. Such approaches are labelled as 'inward-looking', stressing housing improvements, tenant participation and community stabilisation, local economic initiatives, and estate-based area-targeting and institutional structures. They are contrasted with emerging 'outward-looking' approaches, which seek to overcome physical and social isolation directly, improve access to employ-

ment, and place more emphasis on strategic, city-wide or 'linked' partnerships. Although these approaches should complement each other, there are contradictions and tensions between them.

The paper is structured in three sections. In the first section, the nature and causes of the problems of peripheral estates are discussed. The issue of peripherality is explored separately. The second section identifies the four main elements which comprise the inward-looking policy approach, and contrasts these with the emerging outward-looking approach. In the third and concluding section, the inward- and outward-looking approaches are formally compared, and the future of regeneration policies for the peripheral estates is discussed in the light of the outward-looking approach.

## The Nature and Causes of the Problems

In many respects, problem peripheral estates may be seen as a particular variant of the wider phenomenon of the hard-to-let social housing estate. In this paper, the term 'outer' is used to describe the physical location of an estate, while the term 'peripheral' is used to signify the relationship between some outer estates and the cities in which they are located. Peripherality thus refers to a range of phenomena, including spatial isolation,

long travel-to-work distances, social stigma amongst non-residents, insularity amongst residents and marginalisation from employment opportunities. Not all outer estates are regarded as peripheral to the same degree, and peripherality is not related to spatial distance in some simple and direct way.

In the absence of clear definitions, it is difficult to describe statistically the variation in the range and incidence of the problems experienced by peripheral estates. Further research is needed on this issue to inform policy-making. However, typical problems of peripheral estates may be divided into four main categories; physical, social, amenity and economic. It is important to stress that these problems are closely inter-connected.

Physical problems facing the residents of peripheral estates are seen as a direct product of planning and construction policies applied during the 1950s and 1960s (Power, 1993; Langhammer, 1992; Stewart, 1992). Commonly mentioned problems include (CES, various dates; Sim, 1984):

- structural faults and poor housing stock, especially poor insulation and heating;
- an impersonal and alienating physical environment;
- some peripheral housing estates have experienced the problems of vandalism and decay associated with high levels of housing voids;
- lack of variety in housing types and sizes;
- physical isolation, including external physical barriers such as major roads and railway lines; and
- the distance between estates and other parts of the city.

The social problems associated with peripheral estates include (Stewart, 1992; CES, various dates; McCrone, 1991; Holmes, 1992a; Sim, 1984; Easterhouse, 1995):

- concentrations of marginalised people, such as the disabled, single-parent households and households containing no employed adults;
- health problems;
- a high level of benefit dependency;

- crime, including drug abuse and vandalism;
- a young population, with many ‘youth’ problems such as poor educational achievement, and lack of recreational opportunities;
- residents of some estates have been characterised as insular in their world-view, and apathetic;
- a high rate of population turnover frustrates community cohesion; and
- many peripheral estates suffer from social stigmatisation by outsiders, particularly from employers.

Concentrations of ethnic minorities are generally not associated with peripheral estates (Holmes, 1992a).

Planned as dormitory areas, peripheral estates often lack retail, recreation and social services, facilities and amenities (CES, various dates; Lloyd and Newlands, 1989; Holmes, 1992a; Wright, 1987). The facilities and services that do exist are often regarded as inferior to those found elsewhere, while the physical isolation of some peripheral estates is reinforced by inadequate public transport and low levels of private car ownership.

Economic problems commonly associated with peripheral estates include the lack of a local economic base (McCrone, 1991) and high levels of unemployment (CES, various dates; Sim, 1984). Unemployment, particularly long-term (and even second-generation) unemployment, is associated with poverty and low demand for goods and services. The high levels of poverty, reinforce, and are reinforced by, the absence of local employment opportunities and lack of private services.

What is remarkable about this list of problems is the extent to which it is repeated throughout the UK, and indeed much of north-western Europe. However, not all the problems listed above are present on all the estates, and not all outer estates display such problems. Even in the ‘worst’ peripheral estates, important local resources and development opportunities may be available.

Among the factors often mentioned as desirable are access to green space and the potentially attractive suburban residential environment (Castlemilk Partnership, 1995; Holmes, 1992a; Easterhouse, 1995). Residents of some outer estates have shown a strong sense of community pride, as evidenced in their willingness to become involved in participatory projects and schemes (Holmes, 1992a). In some areas, the housing stock is of a good or adequate standard (CES, 1985e; South Ashford SRB, 1994).

Disentangling the causes of the problems from their nature or description is a complex, yet crucial, task. Conflating cause and effect often leads to the simplistic explanations of the underlying problem. However, the problems encountered on the peripheral estates do display self- and/or mutually reinforcing tendencies. Many authors refer to a 'vicious' or 'downward' cycle which grips certain estates, while by-passing others (see Power, forthcoming). In the case of Glasgow's tenements, the cycle of decline may be initiated at the level of the individual building. This occurs when voids or unsuitable placements lead to the flight of existing tenants and/or micro-level management difficulties. The same may be said of tower blocks or street blocks within larger estates—for example, the central area of the Limes Farm estate near London (Limes Farm SRB, 1994). This can lead to pockets of extreme deprivation which are often missed in aggregated statistics.

The starting-point of this cycle is 'low demand' for accommodation on a particular estate. The implication of low demand is that those with the least choices become concentrated into the worst estates, since they are forced to take which ever vacancies exist on the council waiting-list. Thus it is not housing demand *per se* that is too low, rather that the demand is concentrated in specific social categories. This pattern of low and socially concentrated demand may be explained with reference to a series of factors which may be characterised as internal or external. Internal factors are those which relate to the nature

and characteristics of the estate itself, while external factors relate to the broader economic, social, political and policy environment. Explanations which stress internal factors suggest regeneration policies which are aimed at changing the nature of the estate, while those which stress external factors suggest policy changes at city, regional or national level, and structural and macro-economic change.

There are three internal factors which are thought to be central in explaining the decline of particular estates. First, 'low demand' for accommodation within the estate is most often related to physical, particularly housing, conditions on the estate (Sim, 1986). Low demand has also been related to the lack of tenure choice. For example, Castlemilk in Glasgow lost many of its most upwardly mobile residents when they found that they were not able to purchase homes for owner-occupation (before the right-to-buy legislation).

Secondly, the size of some estates may be seen as a causal factor. Many housing estates were originally located on the periphery of cities because it was possible to assemble parcels of land large enough for industrialised building methods popular at the time (Dunleavy, 1981). Power (forthcoming) argues that size contributes to management difficulties. Furthermore, when problems do occur within estates, physical size contributes to the stigmatisation of estates and estate residents, and also means that more people are affected by the stigma.

Thirdly, many problems are blamed on management deficiencies and breakdown. This is particularly relevant in the case of system-built peripheral estates which require constant maintenance and repair to deal with problems such as damp and condensation. Another aspect of the poor management record of many estates is the exclusion of residents from decision-making processes. Such disempowerment may be associated with a range of problems, from vandalism to apathy and a lack of social cohesion.

While recognising the importance of these internal factors in explaining 'low demand',

most authors also recognise the importance of structural forces. Housing allocation and economic restructuring are identified as the two main external factors. Market and non-market aspects of the housing allocation process, are understood to contribute to the problem in four ways.

First, selective housing privatisation following the right-to-buy legislation under the 1980 Housing Act is blamed for the increasing unattractiveness of council rental stock (Pinto, 1991). However, this explanation cannot be universally applied, since hard-to-let estates were first noted in the 1970s, before the right-to-buy legislation. Secondly, housing allocations within the public sector may have concentrated marginalised groupings within the least desirable housing stock (Fordham, 1995). This is seen as undermining local communities and displacing potentially upwardly mobile residents, whilst introducing outsiders who have above-average social needs. The third factor is the impact of gentrification and area-based regeneration policies elsewhere in the city which result in the displacement of poor and marginalised groups into peripheral estates (CES, 1984). An example of this may be the gentrification associated with the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) (Lever, 1993). A fourth factor is the exclusion of the 'working poor'; as rentals have increased to become market-related, or at least cost-recovering, so low-waged residents have moved out (Power, forthcoming). This leaves behind those on targeted allowances (housing benefit), further concentrating deprivation.

Economic factors are also seen as crucial to any understanding of the emergence of problem estates. First, low economic growth rates are seen as underpinning the low aggregate residential demand in some cities (for example, Glasgow). Secondly, in certain cases, the closure of a large local employer is seen as responsible for precipitating the downward cycle of a particular estate—for example, East Middlesbrough; see CES (1985b) and Wright (1987). Thirdly, economic restructuring is seen as underpinning the processes of social polarisation which

gives rise to the simultaneous increase in demand for social housing by certain groups, and decreased demand from others (Fordham, 1995). Fourthly, an inappropriate skills profile is seen as crucial in explaining the poor employment performance of residents (McGregor *et al.*, 1992; CES, various dates). Fifthly, cut-backs in state expenditure in a variety of areas, including public transport, are seen as establishing some of the conditions for physical and social decline (CES, 1985e). Sixthly, there is an imperfectly understood relationship between residential location and employment opportunity (McGregor and McConnachie, 1995; Webster, 1994a). This is discussed in further detail in the following section.

Housing allocations and economic factors are seen to reinforce each other:

(I)t is clear that ... there is a Europe wide polarisation between those at risk in housing and labour markets (and often housed in peripheral estates), and those in work, well housed and with access to a full range of urban services. (Stewart, 1992, p. 3)

Given that lower-income people in Britain rent from the government,

social polarisation is becoming synonymous with tenure and is certainly more acute in council housing than in continental social housing. (Power, forthcoming, p. 72)

External factors cannot explain why particular estates are impacted upon more severely than others, thus establishing the uneven pattern of decline. Thus we need to look at both external factors, the wider social and economic environment, and at internal factors, the nature of the estates themselves. Internal and external factors are inseparably mutually reinforcing. Furthermore, external factors relate not only to international and national factors, but also to factors which may be particular to specific cities and regions. For this reason, it is important to assess the relationship between the estate and the city in

which it occurs, a relationship of peripherality.

### *Understanding Peripherality*

In relation to other explanations of the causes of the problems, the importance of peripherality is contested. Wullkopf (1992, p. 162) asks,

Does the problem of (hard-to-let) estates not lie simply in their bad location and only to a much lesser extent in the low standards and aesthetic qualities?

In this section, it is argued that peripherality is caused by, and itself causes, 'low demand'. Furthermore, peripherality may have become more important due to changes in the labour market.

Many authors argue that peripherality is a limitation on employment search behaviour:

Poor provision of public transport and low rates of car ownership increases the time and cost of travel to work and reduce the choice of employment opportunity. (Lloyd and Newlands, 1989, p. 116)

Webster (1994a), using a gravity model, argues that distance from employment within a conurbation affects the probability of finding employment. While facing less competition for jobs in the area in which they live, residents of outer areas are also less able to compete for jobs elsewhere. Thus, assuming that employment opportunities are located in the centre of the city, residents of peripheral locations will face a higher probability of unemployment in a city with a positive unemployment rate, than residents in more favourable locations, other things being equal. This lower probability of finding employment is reinforced by any stigmatisation suffered by residents of a particular housing estate.

This argument rests on two important assumptions. First, it assumes that the urban labour market is not fully integrated and that people have limited employment search areas. There are several reasons why the effective search field of the low-skilled might

be smaller than the entire conurbation (CES, 1985e). Low-skilled workers receive lower pay, while transport is a normal good with an income elasticity greater than unity. Low-paid workers thus have a lower marginal propensity to travel, and they are less likely to enjoy the flexibility of private motor-vehicles. Transport limitations on employment search area could have been compounded by rationalisation of the public transport services. Women, particularly those who are single parents, tend to have smaller employment search areas because of obligations to children (Webster, 1994a). This is an important group within many peripheral estates, due to the housing allocation processes described above. There may also be a self-reinforcing tendency, since employment search information will be less available and more costly for those who are part of communities which already have higher unemployment rates.

Secondly, in order for peripherality to be a limitation for job-search, there must also be rigidities in the housing market within a given urban area. It has been noted that manual workers are less mobile than non-manual workers at the inter-urban and inter-regional levels (Evans and McCormick, 1994). It is not clear to what extent there are intra-urban barriers to residential mobility. Again, this may be more of a problem for low-skilled workers, particularly those within the council housing sector. For example, apparently the Glasgow City Council generally does not approve transfers within the council housing system on the grounds of moving nearer employment.

If a peripheral location is a problem for any particular group of job-seekers, then it is most disadvantageous for the low-skilled and low-paid, particularly if they enter the labour market or become unemployed while residents of peripheral estates. Insofar as this contributes to inefficiency in the city-regional economy, and damages city image-building, concentrated unemployment in the peripheral estates may also be profoundly detrimental to the growth prospects of the wider city-region (McGregor *et al.*, 1992).

Peripherality may take on a new signi-



fiance in a deindustrialising economy. Two aspects of current labour market conditions may be particularly relevant here (see, Eisen-schitz and Gough, 1993; Sassen, 1991; Hamnett, 1994; Hughes and McCormick, 1987).

First is the relative (and absolute) growth of the services sector. This sector follows a different locational logic from that of manufacturing industry, but agglomeration economies are still crucially important (Daniels, 1991). Locations of recent employment growth include the city centre (for example, tourism and business services), and prestige or low-cost suburban and ex-urban locations (for example, back-office activities) which may be very remote from peripheral estates in a typical radial transport network. This spatial distribution of new job opportunities constitutes a deterioration in employment prospects from the point of view of many residents of peripheral estates.

Second is the emergence of casual, part-time contract work particularly for the low-skilled, who may come to rely on more than one job at a time to generate sufficient income. It may be argued that these conditions constitute a 'dis-integration' of the urban labour market, in which proximity to employment opportunities is even more important than before. Having access to information and being available for employment at short notice may be crucial in successfully accessing casual, part-time or short-term work. Peripherality thus implies a lower probability of finding employment. This problem would be more than proportionately compounded if individuals needed to find more than one job for a given period of time, since the probability of finding a second job is the square of the probability of finding the first one, other things being equal. Certainly, the evidence of organisations such as Drumchapel Opportunities suggests that much of the employment available to the residents of peripheral estates is of a casual, short-term nature (Turok, 1992a; Turok and Healy, 1994).

Together, these arguments suggest that a peripheral location is detrimental to the employment prospects and social integration of

low-skilled people. Although displaying many of the problems found in inner-city estates, peripheral estates are not simply outer social housing estates which are hard-to-let, and they cannot be treated as such. It follows that sustainable regeneration policies cannot afford to ignore the relationship between the peripheral estate and the wider city-region.

### The Policy Response

This section examines the regeneration policies which have been applied to the peripheral estates since the mid 1980s. Hard-to-let outer or peripheral estates were first identified as early as 1971 (Sim, 1984), but the 1978 Inner Urban Areas Act ignored outer estates (Sim, 1986). A series of national initiatives spurred on the search for a more co-ordinated policy response from the early 1980s. In 1982, studies of four outer housing estates were begun by CES Ltd. These were conducted in collaboration with local authorities at Easterhouse in Glasgow, Orchard Park in Hull, Kirkby/Stockbridge Village in Knowsley, and in East Middlesbrough. The CES studies recommended a combination of community, local authority and national government initiatives, with the overall aim of reconnecting the estates into the mainstream economy (CES, 1985e). However, a co-ordinated national strategy for outer estates never materialised.

The CES Ltd studies did give rise to the formation of the National Housing and Town Planning Council-linked Radical Improvements for Peripheral Estates (RIPE) Ltd in 1987:

By research and information exchange RIPE seeks to influence those in power and to empower residents to improve the situation on peripheral estates. (Wright, 1990, p. 16)

In RIPE's 1989/90 Annual Report, it is noted that seminars and study tours "quite consciously tried to shift attention on peripheral estates from being predominantly housing focused" (RIPE, undated); the actual content

of policies which were applied suggests that this was not entirely successful.

From 1979, the Priority Estates Project (PEP) with Department of the Environment backing, was developing regeneration policies for hard-to-let estates which emphasised decentralised management, local lettings policies, physical improvements to the housing stock and support for tenants' initiatives (Sim, 1990). One of the CES case studies, Orchard Park in Hull, was an early PEP (Power, 1993). PEP was extremely influential in the establishment of the Estates Action (EA) in 1985 (Pinto, 1991).

EA was a broad-based, targeted programme of estate renewal, which by 1991 accounted for up to 20 per cent of local authorities' capital allocations from central government (Power, 1993, p. 226). EA programmes were characterised by the following elements; physical rehabilitation, devolved management, better infrastructure, attempts to diversify the tenure mix and promote privatisation, participation, tackling voids, and improved security and safety (Pinto, 1993; Provan, 1993). The EA has subsequently been combined into the City Challenge (Power, 1993) and Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) programmes.

In Scotland, peripheral estates have been more central to the formation of recent urban policy. The 1988 Scottish Office policy document *New Life for Urban Scotland* identified four partnership projects on peripheral estates in Edinburgh (Wester Hailes), Glasgow (Castlemilk), Paisley (Ferguslie Park) and Dundee (Whitfield) (Lloyd and Newlands, 1989). This followed, and complemented, a range of local authority-led programmes (for example, at Drumchapel and Easterhouse in Glasgow) (Wiseman, 1987). Interim evaluations of the four partnerships have recently been published (McGregor *et al.*, 1995; Kintrea *et al.*, 1995; Gaster *et al.*, 1995; O'Toole *et al.*, 1995), and the experience gained on the peripheral estates has been influential in the subsequent Scottish Office emphasis on partnerships (Great Britain, 1995a).

In England and Wales, policy towards

peripheral estates has followed, rather than led, trends in estate and urban regeneration policy formation. Thus programmes have inherited the national trend towards integrated area-targeting, often through partnership arrangements and/or institutions specifically designed to facilitate delivery, and have been forced to comply with competitive allocation processes (Robson *et al.*, 1994). Policies have followed the national emphasis on physical regeneration, particularly on housing as promoted by EA and, latterly, economic regeneration.

Policies towards peripheral estates have differed from national urban policy trends in two important respects. First, the role of the private sector has been underemphasised, with local authorities playing a leading role in most initiatives. This may be related to the lack of businesses within peripheral estates, and to the failure of attempts, such as those in Stockbridge Village (Knowsley), to lever the private sector into the low-income and risky estate environment (Brindley *et al.*, 1989). However, an evaluation of the four Scottish partnerships indicates that private-sector involvement in housing development has been substantial (PIEDA, 1994). Secondly, there has been a strongly community-oriented approach to development, following the work of RIPE, PEP and EA. Planners have played an important advocacy role in many estates (Holmes, 1992a).

Regeneration policy towards the peripheral estates through the late 1980s and early 1990s is now analysed under four headings; physical, social and economic regeneration, and institutional arrangements and spatial scale. It is argued that the inward-looking policy response has been weakened by its inability to address the external factors which have impacted upon the estates. Furthermore, inward-looking policies are unable to deal with peripherality. However, we are seeing the emergence of an outward-looking approach to regeneration. In each section and where applicable, the emerging outward-looking policies are contrasted with the inward-looking approach.

### *Physical Regeneration*

The main aim of physical regeneration was to make the estates attractive to people who had other choices. Low and socially concentrated demand was to be tackled through internal improvements. It is clear that EA was heavily biased towards physical improvements to the housing stock, perhaps explained by the fact that most agencies involved were housing-oriented (Wright, 1990). Physical improvements have the political appeal of quickly delivering visible results (Power, forthcoming).

The most important measures which have been undertaken include improvements to the physical stock, diversification of house sizes and types, de-densification, height-lowering, improved heating and insulation, creation of on-street parking, enclosed gardens and defensible space and landscaping (Power, 1993; Stainforth SRB, 1994; Limes Farm SRB, 1994; McGregor *et al.*, 1995). In tower blocks, controlled access and/or a concierge has often been employed to promote safety and security, often linking to wider crime strategies (for example in Orchard Park, Hull; CES, 1985c). Of particular relevance to peripheral estates have been attempts to improve the provision of social amenities and retail facilities (for example, Castlemilk Partnership, 1995; Royds SRB, 1994; South Ashford SRB, 1994). It is important to note that the emphasis on local control has meant that these policies are directed towards meeting the needs of existing residents.

The goal of widening tenure options has been pursued through the formation of housing associations, limited privatisation and new home construction (McGregor and MacLennan, 1992). The Castlemilk Partnership may be starting to show some success in attracting owner-occupiers into the area, but it is recognised that these are mainly people who grew up on the estate (O'Toole *et al.*, 1995). While this kind of achievement should not be underestimated, it seems reasonable to argue that the ability of peripheral estates to attract home-purchasers is limited. Furthermore, PIEDA (1994) makes it

clear that high levels of subsidisation have been the main reason for the involvement of private-sector housing developers in the Scottish partnerships.

The success of EA is currently the subject of much debate. Robson *et al.* (1994), in their evaluation of urban policy, are generally positive about EA, particularly the way in which it brought immediate improvements in the living conditions of residents. This has positive spin-offs in terms of sense of well-being and community encouragement. They note (p. 53) that estate action schemes were most successful when combined with Urban Programme Expenditure. However, it is not clear to what extent this reflects the fact that more money is better, and to what extent it reflects a more holistic and integrated approach. Similarly, the interim evaluation of the Whitfield Partnership found evidence of 'resource synergy', the co-ordination of spending programmes, but no evidence of 'policy synergy' which leads to new and creative solutions (Kintrea *et al.*, 1995).

Linkages to other regeneration programmes are encouraged in the Government's 1993 EA Guidance (Great Britain, 1993), and it is widely recognised that physical improvements *alone* are unsustainable (Power and Tunstall, 1995). Fordham (1995) argues that sustainable estate and neighbourhood regeneration is a complex and multi-sided undertaking. If one or more element is ignored, then the whole endeavour may collapse. Provan (1993) argues that Estate Action, while scoring some notable housing successes, was unable to address the underlying causes of estate decline.

Inward- and outward-looking physical regeneration policies may be contrasted. An outward-looking housing policy would explicitly attempt to locate a peripheral housing estate within the wider housing market of a particular area (McGregor and MacLennan, 1992). For example, McGregor *et al.* (1995) note that regeneration efforts in Wester Hailes have been frustrated by an inadequate understanding of social housing in Edinburgh, which caused this estate to remain an importer of unemployment. Virtually all



policies towards peripheral estates assume that the estate should be developed as an 'acceptable' residential suburb for locals. The discussion of peripherality raised some serious doubts about the appropriateness of some outer estates as locations for social housing. Answers to questions such as this, or whether the housing stock in a particular estate should be run down, are precluded within an inward-looking approach.

Outward-looking approaches would attempt to address the physical isolation of the estate. At a micro-level, this may concern the immediate boundary of the estate. An example of this was a road-cutting through the railway embankment on one side of Ferguslie Park in Paisley (Gaster *et al.*, 1995). Conversely, the inward-looking SRB Bid for Limes Farm, an estate which can only be entered at one point, contains no proposals to improve access and address the physical isolation of the estate (Limes Farm SRB, 1994). At the city-level, there may be more conscious involvement of estate regeneration policy-makers in wider urban transport planning. For example, the Drumchapel West Link road—which is seen by Webster (1994b) as critical to the renewal of that area—required a deviation from the declared green-belt policy. Planning permission was only granted with political support at regional and district level.

Outward-looking approaches to amenity provision may do many of the same things as inward-looking policies, but for different reasons. For example, providing regional (as opposed to local) facilities which aim to attract residents from surrounding areas. The aim of such a policy might be to overcome the stigma associated with a peripheral estate, as much as it might be to provide recreational amenity for locals. Examples of this approach are the shopping centre and leisure facility developments which "locate Wester Hailes within a wider 'West Edinburgh' market" (McGregor *et al.*, 1995, p. 151).

### *Social Regeneration*

Social regeneration policies have attempted

to correct a perceived 'management deficit', to involve residents in a variety of local initiatives and to stabilise the existing population. The goals of such policies are to transform both the experience of living on the estate, and the nature of the resident population.

One of the problems facing public-sector housing estates is a remote and unresponsive housing management, compounded by social and physical conditions which demand considerable management attention. Decentralised management is thought to be more responsive and accountable (Mainwaring, 1988), and may also be seen as a way of overcoming the size problem. Changes to management practices have also been seen as compatible with the goals of diversifying tenure and resident empowerment (Holmes, 1992b). This has given rise to a diversity of systems, including housing associations and tenant management co-operatives (Finlay, 1992).

Dawson (1994) suggests that housing co-operatives may contain the seeds of a bottom-up approach to community enterprise development. McArthur (1995) notes the contribution of community pride to the sustainability of estate investments. Community empowerment has also been pursued through a range of other measures such as participatory crime strategies, opening of community, advice and youth centres, and parent-involving education schemes (for example, Castlemilk Partnership, 1995; Easterhouse, 1995; South Ashford SRB, 1994; Kintrea *et al.*, 1995).

Another important role of housing and tenant associations is through the housing allocation process. Local control is seen as promoting lettings to previously excluded groups, notably the adult children of existing residents. This is seen as stabilising the existing community. However, if the concentration of deprivation is indeed a problem, then local control may be frustrating the goal of a more heterogeneous or 'balanced' population pursued by institutions such as Scottish Homes (McArthur, 1995). For example, Fordham (1995) notes that the Wester Hailes

tenants successfully challenged plans to alter the mix of tenure of the estate. Furthermore, it is not clear to what extent strengthening local involvement has become the basis for the exclusion of certain social groupings. Social polarisation may thus be reinforced by successful community involvement. On the other hand, the social costs of not stabilising existing communities may be even greater.

Participation which is structured to achieve the goal of tenant involvement may provide an organisational unit which is inappropriate for multi-faceted estate regeneration. In some estates, there have been attempts to provide structured involvement of community groups in the strategic decision-making process. An example of this is the Castlemilk Umbrella Group, but commentators note that the purpose and objectives of this involvement remain both unclear and limited (O'Toole *et al.*, 1995; McArthur, 1995). This is made more complex by the fact that some estates defined for area-targeting purposes consist of several identifiable neighbourhoods which residents may regard as constituting 'communities' (for example, East Middlesbrough; CES, 1985b).

Community involvement may promote an inward-looking approach. It is perhaps no coincidence that the SRB bid of the Royds Community Association, which is constituted with a resident majority, is oriented to meeting the needs of existing residents (Royds SRB, 1994), while community participation receives rather less attention in the more outward-looking, economic-led Speke-Garston and Blackburn bids (Speke-Garston SRB, 1994; Blackburn SRB, 1994). A key issue for the outward-looking approach is thus the relationship between broader strategic objectives and local community-building activities. Community-based organisations require a carefully defined and negotiated sense of direction if they are not to contribute to the 'balkanisation' of urban life. They also probably require even more support and resources if they are to participate fully in strategic decision-making (McArthur, 1995).

Education has become an increasingly

important component of social regeneration strategies, with close links to emerging outward-looking economic strategies. For example, in Ferguslie Park, a 1993 comprehensive education strategy aims to improve the quality of life of residents and employment prospects (Gaster *et al.*, 1995). PIEDA (1994) suggest that the involvement of the private sector in the Scottish partnerships was an important factor in the increased emphasis on education.

### *Economic Regeneration*

Initially, economic initiatives featured less prominently in estate regeneration programmes. Writing in 1986, Sim comments that

Economic initiatives in the outer city have been much less common, partly reflecting the limits to local authority powers in this respect, partly perhaps because of the difficulties in developing opportunities in a time of severe recession. (Sim, 1986, p. 27)

This may also be seen as a result of the initial selection of predominantly residential areas for targeting. Economic initiatives have become increasingly important and, in line with national trends, they now dominate some SRB proposals—for example, see Blackburn SRB (1994) and Speke-Garston SRB (1994).

The influence of what Eisenschitz and Gough (1993) characterise as a 'bootstraps' approach to local economic development can be seen in earlier approaches to estate economic regeneration. This includes elements such as "the need for local control of the economy, the use of indigenous resources, the promotion of enterprise and the mobilisation of community co-operation" (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993, p. 4). Many of the contradictions which hamper the broader bootstraps approach, also inhibit local initiatives within peripheral estates. Peripheral estates are isolated "both from the resources of firms and from established union organisation (which) limits these initiatives and

tends to channel them into self-help" (Eisen-schitz and Gough, 1993, p. 160). Furthermore, local interventions are weakened by mobility of factors. Thus "policies can leak ... workers who become more skilled, thereby become more likely to move out of the locality" (p. 182).

In the terminology of this paper, the bootstraps approach is profoundly inward-looking. On the peripheral estates, this has been pursued through a variety of means including employment creation on the estate in construction and management positions, provision of work-spaces, local small business support, and socially useful production. Attempts at community and small business creation have generally not been successful (McGregor and McConnachie, 1995; O'Toole *et al.*, 1995; Kintrea *et al.*, 1995; Webster, 1994a). Some community organisations play an important role in poverty alleviation, but not in employment creation (for example, the Drumchapel Community Organisations Council credit union). Similarly, quasi- or intermediate-jobs, such as those provided by Heatwise (see Sinclair, 1992; McGregor and McConnachie, 1995) provide a stepping-stone to permanent employment elsewhere. However, estate-based employment remains the means, not the end.

Estates Action gave relatively little prominence to economic regeneration, partly because this was seen to be the task of other elements of urban policy. Where employment was mentioned, it was in relation to construction activities. For example, the 1993 DoE guidance specifically commends the Community Refurbishment Schemes for having "demonstrated the value of linking training opportunities to the work of improving housing estates and their environment" (Great Britain, 1993).

Construction-linked employment creation has not lived up to its original promise as a basis for economic regeneration, and tends only to provide temporary jobs (Turok, 1992b). However, outward-looking approaches to construction-linked employment generation are emerging. For example, a network

of priority areas in Glasgow is developing a common approach to employment in construction programmes, so that the jobs which are created are equitably spread across the various areas, and so that those created last for a longer period of time.

The failure of employment initiatives within estates has given rise to a range of programmes which seek to assist residents to access employment outside the estates. Such programmes generally seek to alter the skills-profile of residents, to match trained residents with vacancies, and to overcome other constraints on employment search, such as self-confidence, child-care and transport (Turok, 1992a; Turok and Healy, 1994; Begg *et al.*, 1989; McGregor and McConnachie, 1995). In terms of skills training and assisted job-search, the record is better than that of internal job-creation. Certainly organisations such as Drumchapel Opportunities have had some success in placing people in employment (Turok and Healy, 1994).

The discussion above about peripherality highlighted the importance of improved transport networks. Initially, transport policy received rather limited attention as a result of the inward-looking approach. Pickup (1992) suggested that it may be necessary to assist the job-searches of the long-term unemployed by concessionary fares on public transport, and such an approach is emerging. For example, the Castlemilk Partnership has negotiated a subsidised bus service to East Kilbride (O'Toole *et al.*, 1995), and the city-wide Glasgow Regeneration Alliance (GRA) is attempting to accelerate the implementation of a proposed light-rail transport system (GRA, 1995).

Transport networks feature prominently in the Blackburn SRB proposals for the regeneration of the Roman Road estate (Blackburn SRB, 1994). The bid, submitted by the Blackburn Single Regeneration Partnership Board, consists of interventions at a series of locations along the proposed M65 motorway, with the aim of attracting inward investment, and stimulating SME development and growth. One of three residential areas included in the bid is Roman Road, a periph-

eral housing estate, adjacent to the motorway, and site of an EA Scheme which concentrated upon physical improvements. A link road between the Roman Road Estate and one of the M65 industrial sites is proposed. Clearly the success of the regeneration proposals hinges around the success of the industrial node development strategy, and the extent to which benefits are delivered to the resident population. The bid includes proposals to improve educational performance and strategies to link job opportunities to disadvantaged residents.

Training and placement schemes have their own limitations and potentially perverse distributional consequences. A 'successful' scheme may simply displace employed people resident elsewhere. However, this is compatible with the contentious policy of balancing the spatial incidence of unemployment. There are also doubts about the efficacy of such programmes within an overall slack labour market. Even the most intensive training programmes cannot guarantee employment, or may simply force wage rates down. On the other hand, the discussion of peripherality suggested that there may indeed be inefficiencies in urban labour markets which include substantial peripheral estates.

It is clear that the outward-looking approach is principally about linking estate regeneration to appropriate economic strategies, the point where inward-looking approaches have been most lacking. Thus a more outward-looking regeneration policy would pay attention to employment creation and linking estate-based regeneration activities to the regional and sub-regional economy. PIEDA (1994) makes it clear that it is unrealistic to expect the private sector to alter commercial decisions to favour peripheral estates. Thus, since most peripheral estates do not include sites that are viable for industrial or commercial development, it may be desirable to link the estate into a viable economic zone. This approach can be seen in the Speke-Garston SRB (1994) bid, the linking of Drumchapel Initiative to the adjacent Goodyear site, and in the Greater Easterhouse Initiative's M8 development corridor

proposals (Easterhouse, 1995; GRA, 1995).

### *Institutional Arrangements and Spatial Scale*

Estate-targeted partnerships are the favoured institutional arrangements and spatial scale of inward-looking regeneration policies. The national trend towards area-targeting, with associated institutional arrangements including partnerships, was noted above. The main goal of area-targeting is to concentrate resources onto defined areas in order to promote integrated policies. Area-based approaches have the benefit of being able to "attract political support in a way which policies designed to change the economic and social structure of the country cannot" (Sim, 1986; p. 27).

While noting the complexities associated with forming and sustaining partnership approaches, the evaluations of the Scottish partnerships are generally favourable (Gaster *et al.*, 1995; O'Toole *et al.*, 1995; Kintrea *et al.*, 1995; McGregor *et al.*, 1995). Partnerships have shown themselves to be highly effective in attracting additional sources of funding, adjusting to changing conditions, improving co-ordination and overcoming the problems of sectoral fragmentation, enhancing participation and democratic accountability, and securing the symbolic commitment of major actors.

There are, however, important questions about the nature of targeting itself, which relate to the often arbitrary prioritisation and selection of areas. Other aspects of the problem of targeting are the spill-over or displacement effects (Gaster *et al.*, 1995). This results in a continual shift from one targeted area to the next:

area-based policies may ... remove deprivation in an area, but will not prevent the emergence of new areas of deprivation over time. As a consequence, area-based policies must follow deprived areas as they appear. (Nairn, 1987, p. 24)

The shifting of targets tends to translate into a short- or fixed-term funding regime (Fordham, 1995).

Area-based policies may be particularly

inappropriate to peripheral estates. Portas (1992, p. 271) notes that

whereas in the rehabilitation of an existing town, whether medieval or bourgeois, the space containing the problems coincides (more or less) with the space where actions have to be undertaken, in the case of recently built dormitory suburbs, this coincidence does not apply, given the scattered nature of working activities and locations in relation to the place of residence.

This implies that different institutional solutions are required, since

in traditional urban areas, the resources to be mobilised, the synergies to be built up, can be largely seen as 'internal'. Things are different in the 'new' areas, where one has to bring 'external' resources (to bear). (Portas, 1992, p. 271)

Similar sentiments are expressed by Robson *et al.* (1994, p. 45). They note that for those local authorities on the periphery of the conurbations, "many policy makers found it difficult to differentiate and target areas clearly". A third way of conceptualising this problem is the fact that partnerships created within peripheral estates are unlikely to contain the 'rent-earners' which Cheshire and Gordon (1993) have argued are crucial for a successful territorial competitor.

The lack of nearby centres of viable employment creation can be seen as a product of both peripherality and the spatial extent of the areas which have been chosen for policy intervention. For example, employment creation efforts in Castlemilk have been hampered by the topography which limits the availability of flat sites. However, as discussed in the previous section, there are clear signs that policy-makers are attempting to link estates with areas of employment-generating potential. The recent Scottish Office proposals for an archipelago approach to area-targeting present some opportunities for this, since they allow areas of economic potential to be linked to areas of decline (Great Britain, 1995a and 1995b).

Certainly there are benefits to concentrat-

ing resources in estate regeneration (Pinto, 1993), and the complexities of partnerships are likely to be greater within the outward-looking approach. However, area-targeting of the estate alone tends to promote an inward-looking approach which ignores the impact of the external environment on the estate, and the impact of the estate on the city-region.

### **Conclusions: The Future for Outward-looking Approaches**

The perspective that has been developed in this paper begins with the assertion that economic, social and physical conditions within a locality are related to both internal and external factors. The dynamic way in which the spatial relationship of peripherality is created and re-created has been stressed. Policy intervention is both limited and influenced by the aims, scope and nature of the institutions involved in such intervention. It has been shown that, in the context of the regeneration of the peripheral housing estates in the UK, policy has been characterised by an inward-looking approach. It has been argued that this represents a limited and unbalanced approach to estate regeneration. Such policies have failed to tackle many of the root causes of estate decline, and present no clear way of addressing peripherality.

Table 1 summarises the differences between inward- and outward-looking regeneration policies for peripheral housing estates. Inward-looking policies seek to address the causes of estate decline through measures that directly transform the nature or character of the estate and its existing population. Typical regeneration policies include improved local amenities, extensive housing investment, decentralised and tenant-led estate management, various strategies aimed at promoting social cohesion, crime reduction and a variety of local employment initiatives. They may be thought of as locality-based, in the sense that the geographical scale of intervention, and the institutional arrangements for action coincide with the spatial extent of the estate.



**Table 1.** Inward- and outward-looking regeneration policies

Policy aspect	Policy focus	
	Inward-looking	Outward-looking
Environment, access and amenity	Improve environment and provision of amenities for locals	Overcome physical isolation; transport planning; improved amenity to attract outsiders
Housing	Improve housing conditions and diversify tenure for locals; decentralised management	Improve housing to attract new residents; attention to city-wide housing allocation processes
Social regeneration	Community/tenant involvement; crime strategies; stabilisation of existing population	Measures aimed at overcoming stigmatisation and social exclusion
Economic regeneration	Local employment in estate management and construction; small business development, and training	Education, recruitment and placement; linking estate to sub-regional development; attracting inward investment
Institutional arrangements	Emphasis on tenant and housing associations control; area-based partnerships	Emphasis on city-wide partnerships; emphasis on linkages between institutions
Spatial scale	Area-targeting of estate; strongly decentralised planning approach	Linkage of areas of deprivation and potential; city-wide strategic planning

The review presented here suggests that policy is being re-oriented to 'internalise' policy 'externalities'. This implies a shift towards outward-looking policies (see Table 1). Such policies pay specific attention to factors external to the estate and to the relationship between the city and the estate. Outward-looking policies seek to address the causes of estate decline through addressing factors in the external environment which impact directly upon the estate. Typical regeneration policies include strategies to overcome isolation and improve access, transport networks and services, to attract new residents and reform the city-wide housing allocation process, to combat social exclusion and stigmatisation, and to improve access to employment. Furthermore, outward-looking policies are concerned with the impact of policies within the estate on the

wider environment; for example, employment displacements. For this reason, outward-looking approaches may emphasise strategic linkages between local initiatives and partnerships, particularly at a city-wide level, and target areas may be spatially defined to include zones of employment-generating potential. Finally, an outward-looking approach has to take a view, however flexible, on the future of the estate within the wider context of a vision for the city-region as a whole (McGregor and MacLennan, 1992). The outward-looking approach reflects, and is compatible with, the wider trends towards city/regional-level competition and policy-formulation. However, the emerging outward-looking policies face specific problems in at least three areas.

The first is a political problem; how to develop and sustain support for outward-

looking approaches. A real problem for outward-looking approaches, as compared to narrowly area-targeted approaches, is their ability to attract both higher-level political and community-level support. There is clearly enormous potential for conflict between the interests of a local community and those of other interests within the city. To understand fully the possibilities offered for estate regeneration by the outward-looking approach, it is necessary to gain a deeper understanding of the institutional and other processes which have contributed to the emergence of the new approach. For example, in the case of the SRB process it may be important to direct research at understanding whether, and in what ways, national policies, including competitive funding allocations, have contributed to the change in direction.

Outward-looking policies suggest the need for new institutional frameworks, specifically institutions which can provide a city-wide vision for local initiatives. The Scottish Office proposals for city-wide partnerships are an attempt to deal with this issue (Great Britain, 1995a), as is the Glasgow Regeneration Alliance. However, it is not clear how these city-wide institutions should relate to local initiatives, or to other local authorities. This may become a particular problem in a context of local government restructuring. For example, in the Glasgow context, the abolition of the Strathclyde Regional Council (SRC) may lead to greater competition between the local authorities which currently comprise the SRC, thus undermining the possibilities for an intra-regional redistribution of opportunities and resources.

The second is an economic problem. Precisely because outward-looking strategies are principally about economic strategies, the key aspects on which they will fail or succeed are their ability to attract private sector resources, and their ability to ensure that the benefits of economic regeneration reach the intended beneficiaries. Although economic regeneration strategies have led the way in terms of developing an outward-looking approach to regeneration, it is clear that there are limitations to this approach.

The obvious limitation is that economic regeneration may be beyond the reach of the sub-region or even the entire city-region (Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993). Even where attracting inward investment is explicitly linked to estate regeneration, there are difficulties facing attempts to secure employment for residents. For example, the Drumchapel Initiative has secured planning gain from the developer of the adjacent Goodyear site, who has undertaken to interview all local applicants for jobs which become available. Through its training schemes, the Drumchapel Initiative will attempt to ensure that applicants are properly trained. This arrangement, which probably represents the most that can reasonably be expected from this kind of inward investment, provides no guarantee that locals will actually obtain employment.

Attention to national policies (for example, welfare, monetary and fiscal policy) is still beyond the scope of city-regional intervention, although it is recognised that these have considerable impacts on peripheral estates. It remains to be seen whether the emerging outward-looking approach is able to address such structural factors sufficiently, or indeed whether sufficient will can be generated at the city-region level to redistribute resources internally. This raises a series of research issues. For example, it is not clear what resources, used in what way, will attract the private sector beyond housing and into employment-generating investment. Delivering the benefits of economic growth to the intended beneficiaries raises questions about the need for, and appropriateness of, strategies and mechanisms which target individuals within deprived communities.

The third is a programming and planning problem. We need to ask whether, and in what ways, a successful outward-looking approach to estate regeneration depends on the successful implementation of elements of the inward-looking approach. It is probably wrong to argue that outward-looking policies be seen as replacing inward-looking approaches—rather, they should complement

each other. Evaluation research could concentrate upon exploring the inter-temporal linkages between regeneration efforts.

Of more concern are the tensions, contradictions and conflicts between the primarily social goals of the inward-looking approach and the primarily economic goals of the outward-looking approach. For example, an analysis of the Speke-Garston Bid document (Speke-Garston SRB, 1994) suggests that involvement of specific communities, within a basically outward-looking approach to estate regeneration, will be subordinate to the limitations imposed by city-wide strategic considerations. The bid is led by a partnership of private, public and local community interests, with the Liverpool City Council as lead agency. The bid document makes explicit reference to the strategic objectives of the City Council's Corporate Strategy and the Merseyside 2000 Single Programme Document. Although assurances are given of "equal representation", community involvement is limited and appears to have followed preparation of the bid. The challenge for outward-looking policies is to deliver a coherent, negotiated and flexible vision of the city which local initiatives can identify with and support, without losing the valuable benefits of resident empowerment and improvements in the internal physical environment of estates.

Outward-looking policies also suggest a changing role for planners. Some of the earlier partnerships which have been formed around the peripheral estates have seen their planning documents as replacing the statutory local plans (Sim, 1990). However, outward-looking policies demand that planners play a facilitating role in attracting investment, that more attention be paid to strategic planning issues, such as transport, location of employment opportunities and city-wide residential planning. Recent Scottish Office documents place some emphasis on the statutory planning framework (Great Britain, 1995b). This raises a series of questions about the existing planning framework; for example, is it sufficiently flexible; are local wishes adequately reflected; and what is the

relationship between the planning framework and the major housing and other investors?

It is too soon to say what effects the outward-looking approach will have, and whether it will secure sustainable regeneration for peripheral estates. This paper has presented a critical theoretical justification for adopting some of the elements of such an approach. Perhaps the strongest justification for a more outward-looking approach is that it may remind policy-makers, planners, politicians and the public that a city is the sum of *all* its parts, and more besides.

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